Greek Colonisation

An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas

- VOLUME 1 -

EDITED BY

GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE

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GREEK COLONISATION

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VOLUME ONE

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GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE (ED.)

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Handbook Dedicated to the Memory of A.J. Graham

A.J. Graham (1930–2005)

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PREFACE

This volume, the first of two, marks an important phase in the completion of a large-scale project to provide in one work an overview of Greek colonies and other Greek settlements overseas.

Few events in the history of ancient Greece, or indeed of the whole ancient world, had such a large impact as Greek colonisation. Greeks founded colonies and other settlements in new environments, establishing themselves in the lands stretching from the Iberian Peninsula in the West to North Africa in the South and the Black Sea in the North East. In this colonial world Greek and local cultures met, influenced, and enriched each other, and together with the spread of the Roman empire and Christianity formed the foundations of modern European culture.

Every few years new evidence and information encourages the rewriting of the history of Greek colonisation. There is increasing need for a handbook to bring together in one work the considered opinions of historians and archaeologists from different countries. We intend that these two volumes should display recent thoughts, ideas, material and evidence. The authors are world experts on their particular regions or subjects. The aim is to present a general picture of Greek colonisation and show its importance in the history of the whole ancient world.

Both volumes of the handbook are dedicated to the late Prof. A.J. Graham, an eminent scholar who did so much for the study of Greek colonisation, and an excellent teacher, colleague and friend. I, like many others, long benefited from his sound and often pithy advice. His death on December 26th 2005, just as the corrected proofs of this volume sat ready, came as a profound sadness to all his friends and colleagues. It is a slight consolation that he had seen part of the current volume in proof and was gratified to be its dedicatee.

This project has a long history. Its originator was Prof. Irad Malkin and several of the papers published here were commissioned by him. We are all grateful to him for his vision and for the enormous amount of work he put in to the early stages. For various reasons progress was fitful. In 1999, the then Classics Editor at Brill, Job Lisman, with Prof. Malkin's support, asked me to take over. The

initial plans had to be modified: it was soon apparent that the material vastly exceeded what one volume could contain. The chapters already submitted had to be returned to authors for updating. At the same time, new authors had to be commissioned for other chapters. And chapters submitted in French and Italian had to be translated. All of this contributed further delay. One consequence is that the division of material between the two volumes reflects these exigencies and the practicalities of editing and production. To have proceeded otherwise would have delayed publication further.

The second volume will contain chapters on Cyprus (M. Iacovou), Libya (M.M. Austin), Greek colonisation in the Adriatic (P. Cabanes), the Northern Aegean (M.A. Tiverios), the Black Sea (G.R. Tsetskhladze), mainland Greece (J.-P. Descoeudres) and East Greece (A. Domínguez and G.R. Tsetskhladze) on the eve of the colonisation movement, foundation stories (J. Hall), and Greek colonisation in the Classical period (T. Figueira).

Many colleagues and friends have given their help to bring this project to fruition by reviewing papers, answering queries, checking references, etc. I am grateful to them all. In particular, I should like to thank Prof. Sir John Boardman, Prof. A. Domínguez and Dr J.F. Hargrave. I am also grateful to our two translators, Mr P. Finaldi and Dr N. Georgieva. Most of all, thanks are due to all the authors for their participation, their patience and their unstinting support.

Brill Academic Publishers has provided valuable support, financial, technical and personal, throughout. Ms Gera van Bedaf, our Desk Editor, has given outstanding help, as usual. Michiel Klein Swormink, Classics Editor at Brill from 2001 to 2004, took a considerable personal interest in the project and endeavoured to smooth our path wherever he could.

A few remarks on place names and transliterations are appropriate. Over a work of this length it has not been possible to impose absolute uniformity. The spellings used by the majority of contributors have, generally, been applied to the rest, but that has still left Aenos but Miletus, Acragas but Naukratis, etc. I am mindful of the limits of the practicable and I am content to retain such minor inconsistencies.

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze
December 2005

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger.*
AAA	*Archaiologika Analekta ex Athenon.*
AAPal	*Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo.*
AC	*L'Antiquité Classique.*
ActaAth-4o	*Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Quarto series.*
ADelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion.*
AEA	*Archivo Español de Arqueología.*
AFLPer	*Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Perugia.*
AIIN	*Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica.*
AION ArchStAnt	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico, Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica.*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History.*
AnatSt	*Anatolian Studies.*
AncW	*The Ancient World.*
Annales ESC	*Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations.*
AntCl	*L'Antiquité classique.*
AR	*Archaeological Reports.*
ArchClass	*Archeologia Classica.*
ArchHom	*Archaeologia Homerica.*
ASAA	*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene a delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente.*
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.*
ASAIA	*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene.*
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. di Lettere e Filosofia.*
ASSO	*Archivio Storico della Sicilia Orientale.*
ATL	B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery and M.F. McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists* 4 vols. (Princeton 1939–53).
Atti del CeRDAC	*Atti del Centro di Richerche e Documentazione sull' Antichità Classica.*
Atti Taranto	*Atti del . . . Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto* (Naples/Taranto). [References use number of conference and year in which it was held.]

AWE	*Ancient West & East.*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports.*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*
BdA	*Bollettino d'Arte.*
BEFAR	*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, University of London.
BSA	*The Annual of the British School at Athens.*
BSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome.*
BTGC	*Bibliografia Topografica della Colonizzazione Greca in Italia e nelle isole Tirreniche.*
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History.*
CASA	*Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia dell'Arte.*
CID	*Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes.*
CIRB	V.V. Struve *et al.* (eds.), *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani* (Moscow/Leningrad 1965) (in Russian).
CISA	*Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia antica dell'Univ. del Sacro Cuore.*
ClAnt	*Classical Antiquity.*
CPh	*Classical Philology.*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.*
CuPAUAM	*Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.*
DArch	*Dialoghi di archeologia.*
DHA	*Dialogues d'histoire ancienne.*
ÉchosCl	*Échos du monde classique. Classical Views.*
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin/Leiden 1923–).
FHG	C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum* (Paris 1841–).
GGM	C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* 2 vols. (Paris 1855–82).
HBA	*Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie.*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal.*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IGCH	C. Kraay, O. Mørkholm and M. Thompson, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York 1973).
IOSPE	B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* (Petropolis [St Petersburg] 1885–1916).
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen.*

JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*
JdS	*Journal des savants.*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
JMedAnthropA	*Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology.*
JRGZ	*Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz.*
LALIES	*Lalies: actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature.*
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. Stuart-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford).
MCV	*Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez.*
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.*
MDAI(M)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Madrider Abteilung.*
MDAI(R)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.*
MedArch	*Mediterranean Archaeology.*
MEFR	*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome.*
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité.*
MélBeyrouth	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beirut.*
MGR	*Miscellanea greca e romana.*
MHR	*Mediterranean Historical Review.*
MonAL	*Monumenti antichi, pubblicati dall'Accademia dei Lincei.*
MünstBeitr	*Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte.*
MusHelv	*Museum Helveticum.*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NSA	*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.*
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae.*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology.*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.*
OpArch	*Opuscula archaeologica.*
OpAth	*Opuscula atheniensia.*
OpRom	*Opuscula romana.*
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy.*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly.*
PP	*La Parola del Passato.*
ProcAmPhilSoc	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.*
PZ	*Prähistorische Zeitschrift.*

QuadUrbin	*Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica.*
RA	*Revue archéologique.*
RAHAL	*Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain.*
RAN	*Revue Archeólogique de Narbonnaise.*
RBPh	*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.*
RdA	*Rivista di Archeologia.*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.*
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (eds.), *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart/Munich 1893–).
REA	*Revue des études anciennes.*
REG	*Revue des études grecques.*
RendLinc	*Atti dell'Academia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti.*
RGZM	*Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz.*
RHist	*Revue historique.*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions.*
RIASA	*Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.*
RivFil	*Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica.*
RivStorAnt	*Rivista storica dell'antichità.*
RSL	*Rivista di Studi Liguri.*
RStFen	*Rivista di Studi Fenici.*
SArch	*Sicilia archeologica.*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum.*
SGDI	H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen 1885–1910).
SIMA	*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology.*
SMEA	*Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici.*
SNG	*Sylloge nummorum graecorum.*
StAnt	*Studi di antichità. Università di Lecce.*
StEtr	*Studi Etruschi.*
StPh	*Studia Phoenicia.*
Syll.	*Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum.*
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.*
WSt	*Wiener Studien.*
YaleClSt	*Yale Classical Studies.*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

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Fig. 32. Possible territorial area of Illici and its periphery (after Santos 1992, 42, fig. 8).

J. Boardman

Fig. 1. Map of the eastern Mediterranean.

Fig. 2. Proportions of excavated pottery in Al Mina.

Fig. 3. Distribution of Syrian and Phoenician objects in the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

H. Pamir

Fig. 1. Map of the north-western Levant; the Orontes delta and the Amuq plain.

Fig. 2. Southern part of the Orontes delta and Al Mina.

INTRODUCTION

REVISITING ANCIENT GREEK COLONISATION

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

The major Greek expansion around the Mediterranean and Black Seas in the Archaic period has been called in academic literature 'Greek colonisation'. Migration feature in every period of Greek, Roman[1] and Near Eastern history,[2] but Archaic Greek colonisation is distinguished from most of the rest by its scale and extent—some comparisons may be made with Alexander the Great's campaign in the Near East and the Hellenistic period,[3] but the nature and character of these events are different.

Greece itself (both the modern mainland and ancient East Greece) had witnessed migration before the Archaic period: in the late 11th–10th century B.C. the Ionians (and subsequently the Dorians and Aeolians) migrated from mainland Greece to settle the Aegean islands and the western coast of Asia Minor, where they founded 12 cities. Earlier still, the Mycenaeans had established settlements around the Mediterranean.[4]

The study of Greek colonies and other settlements overseas has a long history. Notwithstanding this, as C.M. Antonaccio recently remarked:

> The phenomena that made up Greek settlement 'abroad', usually characterized as colonization, are clearly an integral part of Greek history and the development of Greek culture(s). Yet, although the so-called Western Greeks fully participated in panhellenic cult, politics and economics, and culture the colonies are often not integrated into the master-narratives of Iron Age and Archaic Greek history. This is starting to change with an expressly comparative archaeology of colonization

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[1] See, for example, Cornell 1995; Millar 1981; Alcock 2005; Terrenato 2005.

[2] For a recent overview of the ancient Near East, see Snell 2005. See also Stein 2002; 2005a.

[3] See Shipley 2000; Rotroff 1997. For a recent overview of the period, see Erskine 2003.

[4] See the two chapters by J. Vanschoonwinkel in the present volume (pp. 41–142).

> or colonialism that is now coming to the fore and making its way into Classical Studies . . .[5]

She continues:

> Excavating colonization has also occasioned digging into the history of the study of Greek colonization and into the relevance of other colonialisms, and led to a long-overdue dialogue between Anglophone and European scholars with their respective perspectives and agendas.[6]

The state of our knowledge is frequently analysed. In one such attempt, made in 1984, J.-P. Morel concluded:

> Some subjects of research have become or are becoming less important. . . .: [1] the Myceneans in the western Mediterranean and especially the question of continuity or discontinuity of a Greek presence between the Bronze Age and the eighth century; [2] the foundation dates of the colonies and secondary colonies (one may recall the heated discussions which until very recently took place over the relative and absolute chronology of Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea and of Megara Hyblaea and Selinus); [3] the motives of Greek colonization accompanied by the debate between the agrarian and commercial hypotheses; [4] the relation between mother cities and their colonies; [5] the political history of the cities of Magna Graecia and particularly the disputes between them.[7]

These remarks, once again, focus mainly on Magna Graecia and Sicily, but the same issues exist/have always existed for other areas. How far has modern scholarship advanced in the study of different aspects of Greek colonisation?[8]

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[5] Antonaccio 2005, 97. Her observation is addressed specifically at southern Italy and Sicily. These regions have been more or less incorporated in the general discussion about Archaic Greece; other regions, such as Spain, the south of France, the Black Sea, etc., were virtually ignored, although this is now starting to change (see, for instance, Osborne 1996; Pomeroy *et al.* 1999; Whitley 2001; Hansen and Nielsen 2004; Morris and Powell 2006).

[6] Antonaccio 2005, 97. The term 'the archaeology of Greek colonisation' was used first in the title of a book in 1994 (Tsetskhladze and De Angelis 1994). In 1997, one of the reviewers of this book was so surprised by the term that he asked himself 'The archaeology of *what*?' (*Antiquity* 71.272, 500). It is very interesting to see how scholarship has developed since the appearance of that book. C.M. Antonaccio not only called her 2005 paper 'Excavating Colonization'; it is the title of her forthcoming book (University of Texas Press) (Antonaccio 2005, 112). See also Dietler 2005.

[7] Morel 1984, 123–4; *cf.* Holloway 1981; Snodgrass 1994. See also Graham 1982 and 'Epilogue' in Boardman 1999a, 267–82.

[8] Many issues are discussed in the following chapters. Here I shall concentrate mostly on general matters. I shall also provide literature (mainly in English) covering the whole spectrum of issues which has appeared in between the completion

If not Colonisation, then what?

The Second Edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, published in 1970, gives the following definition of Greek colonisation (A.J. Graham, p. 264):

> Colonization was always a natural activity for Greeks, living in a poor country. Mycenaean colonies of the Late Bronze Age have been revealed by archaeologists (e.g. at Miletus), the coast of Asia Minor and the islands off it were settled at the beginning of the Iron Age, and there was much colonization in Asia under Alexander and in the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, the greatest colonizing achievement, by which Greek cities were spread round the coasts of the Mediterranean and Pontus, is that of the archaic period, *c.* 750–*c.* 550.

By the Third Edition of the same work, published in 1996 (D. Ridgway, p. 362), this had changed to:

> 'Colonization', in the language of a former imperial power, is a somewhat misleading definition of the process of major Greek expansion that took place between *c.* 734 and 580 B.C. In fact, the process itself was not so much 'Greek' as directed in different ways and for different reasons by a number of independent city-states . . . This at least emerges with relative clarity from both the historical and the archaeological evidence. For the rest, the mass of general and particular information that has accumulated under these two headings is only rarely susceptible to a single uncontroversial interpretation. Although the position has greatly improved since the 1930s, it is still only too true that archaeologists and ancient historians do not always appreciate each other's aims and methods—a problem that is exacerbated by the fact that on the subject of colonization ancient no less than modern authors are more than usually influenced by their own political agenda and accordingly more than usually liable to project the priorities, practices, and terminology of their own times onto the much earlier events they purport to describe.

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of the various chapters and publication (see my 'Preface'). If I seem to be making heavy use of quotations, my view is that presenting an author's arguments in his own words provides greater clarity than any paraphrase, especially in an introductory piece such as this. It must be emphasised that southern Italy and Sicily continue to be at the forefront of our investigations. In addition to the literature cited later in the present volume, see Menéndez Varela 2003; Skele 2002; Attema *et al.* 2002; 2005; Attema 2004; Krinzinger 2000; Gassner 2003; Burgers 2004; Greco 2002; Di Vita 2002; Bonfante 2003; Smith and Serrati 2000; Bispham and Smith 2000; D. Ridgway 2002; De Angelis 2001; Gleba 2003; etc. See also several volumes published by the Accordia Research Institute, London and chapters in the present volume by E. Greco (pp. 169–200) and B. d'Agostino (pp. 201–38). For other regions, the most recent literature can be found in Hansen and Nielsen 2004.

In the quarter of a century between these two definitions the scholarly attitude to Greek colonisation changed dramatically in several respects. One matter to receive much attention was that of terminology. In a debate that still continues many have questioned whether what happened was really 'colonisation'.[9] The answer often depends on the academic background of the writer—ancient historian, classicist, classical archaeologist, anthropologist, specialist in the archaeology of ancient Europe, inter-disciplinary, etc. P. van Dommelen's 1997 definition of the term 'colonialism' is frequently cited:

> The presence of one or more groups of foreign people in a region at some distance from their place of origin (the 'colonizers'), and the existence of asymmetrical socioeconomic relationships of dominance or exploitation between the colonizing groups and the inhabitants of the colonized regions.[10]

His more recent definition (2002) is closer to the conception of this volume:

> The term *colonial* is widely used in Mediterranean archaeology to describe situations in which the archaeological and historical evidence shows people living in clearly distinct settlements in a 'foreign' region or enclave at some distance from their place of origin. The situation most often referred to in these terms is the Greek presence in southern Italy and Sicily from the eighth century B.C. onward. The prominence of the Greek cities even gave this region the name Magna Graecia. Other cases are Roman occupation of the Mediterranean and northwestern Europe, the Phoenician settlements in the central and western Mediterranean, and the Greek presence on the shores of the Black Sea. While these may be less well known, they should certainly not be regarded as somehow 'less colonial'.[11]

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[9] See, for example, Osborne 1998.

[10] van Dommelen 1997, 306.

[11] van Dommelen 2002, 121. He continues: 'The colonial terminology commonly used to refer to these situations has never been questioned, because the abundant archaeological evidence clearly shows a sharp contrast between the local cultures of, for instance, the Italian and Spanish mainland and the Greek or Phoenician presence in these regions. The arrival of both Greeks and Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean is moreover well documented by numerous classical authors who have written extensively about the foundation of new cities in foreign countries, explicitly labeling these as *coloniae*. It is because the colonial terminology appeared to provide a coherent and transparent framework for studying a wide variety of loosely related situations [that] colonialism has become a well-established and prominent feature of Mediterranean and classical archaeology and ancient history' (van Dommelen 2002, 121). See also van Dommelen 2005.

Several articles published in recent years have demonstrated that colonisation is essentially a modern Anglophone concept, based on examination and interpretation of the imperial activity of the European powers of our era, transported back and forced onto ancient Greece.[12] Despite such criticism, books continue to appear which link ancient and modern colonisation and 'colonialism'(s), not just conflating their interpretation but encouraging comparative approaches.[13] Such recent writing can be seen as simply the other side of the coin: concerns about the distant past too heavily influenced by concerns about the recent past and the obsessions of the present. Seldom can an author be found who is at home equally with colonisation ancient and modern, and with the relevant scholarly debates: modern colonialism is no simple or uniform phenomenon, and the models, the debates over the causes, motives, processes and consequences, the economic aspects and the terminology to be deployed are just as lively. The ancient has been refracted through the modern lens, but modern-era colonialism has sought inspiration in or links to that of the distant past (as interpreted at that point of the recent past). Just as modern colonialism, now far removed from the spirit of the age, can be used subjectively to damn by association its ancient 'predecessor', what was, until a few generations ago, seen as the straightforward colonial and trading activities of the ancients could form a model for comparable activities by modern European states (directed by classically educated élites), when colonialism was very much 'a good thing' and one entirely in the spirit of the age. Of course, the then interpretation of that ancient colonialism was just as liable to be influenced by the imperial mindset as it may now be by an anti-imperial one.

According to N. Purcell, '"colonization" is a category in crisis in the study of the ancient Mediterranean',[14] but I would suggest that it is the term 'colonisation' itself that is in crisis. It cannot be denied that there were Greek settlements spread wide and far beyond the Aegean; the problem is what to call them and the process that brought them about. As J. Whitley has sensibly remarked, '. . . we

[12] See, most recently, Owen 2005; Snodgrass 2005. For criticism of the outlook and methodology of T.J. Dunbabin and others, see De Angelis 1998; Domínguez 2002, 65–70; Shepherd 2005; Snodgrass 2005. And few would think of discussing 18th-century Bombay or 19th-century Singapore in a framework of *emporion/apoikia*, etc.

[13] See, for example, Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Gosden 2004; Stein 2005b.

[14] Purcell 2005, 115.

have to call this process something, and colonisation is as good a term as any'.[15] There must be a limit to the preoccupation with semantic quibbling and word-chopping without adopting the Alice-like position of making words mean whatever we want them to mean.

What we have to do is to define the term colonisation when we use it in connexion with Archaic Greece. Terminology can never reflect the full reality—it can illuminate or distort in equal measure.

One can agree with van Dommelen's conclusion that the term 'colonial' should *not* be avoided:

> I do wish to call for more caution, however, when using the term and most of all for an awareness of [its] inherent subtle variations and outright contradictions . . . I want to reiterate two cardinal points of post-colonial theory that appear to me to be particularly relevant for archaeologists: in the first place, that the implication of the term *colonial* can be appreciated only if the cultural dimension of colonialism is regarded in conjunction with the 'hard reality' of economic exploitation and military occupation. Second, given the local roots of 'colonial culture' in any specific context, colonialism should be considered as much a local phenomenon as a supraregional process.[16]

Reasons for Colonisation

The reasons for colonisation are the most difficult to identify and disentangle.[17] There were particular reasons for the establishment of each colony and it is practically impossible to make watertight generalisations. Many writers adopt a perspective influenced by modern experiences: overpopulation, food shortages, the hunt for raw materials, etc. These seldom seem relevant to Archaic Greece. We still have no hard evidence of overpopulation in those parts of the Greek mainland from which the vast majority of Greek colonists set out—the Megarid, Corinthia, Achaea or Euboea.[18] It has already been noted in the literature that those areas for which we have evidence of a rising population in the 8th century B.C., such as the Argolid and Attica, never despatched colonies.[19] Even later, in the 7th–6th

[15] Whitley 2001, 125.
[16] van Dommelen 2002, 142.
[17] For a general discussion, see Graham 1982, 157–9.
[18] Whitley 2001, 125.
[19] Whitley 2001, 125–6.

centuries, shortage of land was not a problem for farmers in mainland Greece.[20] Although the *chora* of Metapontum is often cited to show that colonists were driven by a search for fertile land, what we know about land division in Metapontum dates from the 5th–4th centuries B.C., which is when agricultural activity seems to have been at its most intense, with very little information about earlier times.[21] If overpopulation drove colonisation, this was so only in respect of some secondary colonisation, as in the case of Megara Hyblaea establishing Selinus.[22] As to the hunt for raw materials, frequently for metals, usually from the Black Sea, study demonstrates that the Black Sea was not rich in metals, as had been supposed, and that the Milesian colonies had access to plenty of natural resources close to home.[23] To continue with examples from the Pontic region, archaeobotanical studies from local and Greek sites reveal that Greeks did not plant crops known to the locals, instead they brought with them and planted familiar crops.[24]

Ancient written sources seldom mention reasons for colonisation; where they do, the emphasis is always on forced emigration and conflict.[25] The 8th century B.C. is not the 17th–18th centuries A.D. In the early Archaic period little was known of distant lands—there were no trade routes plied regularly by shipping. According to one modern scholar, it was 'murder' to establish a colony.[26] The people had no idea where they were going, how many of them would get there, and what they would find when they did.[27] Another practice

[20] Foxhall 2003, 77.

[21] Carter 1990, 413. For the early settlement and necropolis of Metapontum, see Carter 2004. See now Carter 2006.

[22] De Angelis 1994; 2003a, 101–27.

[23] Tsetskhladze and Treister 1995.

[24] Pashkevich 2001.

[25] Dougherty 1993a; Miller 1997; Bernstein 2004.

[26] Dougherty 2003b. '. . . founding a colony overseas can be as dangerous and as violent as war. Thucydides, in fact, in Nikias' speech before the Sicilian expedition, inverts the metaphor; he describes the proposed all-out military enterprise in terms of colonizing foreign territory—each means a dangerous confrontation with hostile peoples and requires a large demonstration of force' (Dougherty 2003b, 187); *cf.* Dougherty 2003a, 31–82.

[27] '. . . the Greeks often settled territory occupied by native populations, and Thucydides shows us how dangerous and violent confrontations with local peoples could be; his account of the founding of Syracuse . . . mentioned the native Sikels, who had been expelled to make room for the Greeks. Two poets, contemporaries of the archaic colonization movement, also mention confrontations between the Greek colonists and local populations. Mimnermos, in a fragment from the *Nanno*,

known from ancient times is of tyrants ridding themselves of (to them) undesirable people by forcing them to migrate.[28] The population of the earliest colonies was small; we have few firm figures, one is of 1,000 people at Leucas, 200 at Apollonia in Illyria and the same number at Cyrene.[29]

The most obvious of example of forced migration in response to a clear set of circumstances is Ionia, a very wealthy region of which Miletus was the main city.[30] From the second half of the 7th century, neighbouring Lydia began to expand, gradually absorbing Ionian territory; this was the time that Ionia sent out its first colonies. Greater misfortune befell it from the middle of the 6th century when the Achaemenid empire began to conquer Ionian territory and then, in the wake of the Ionian revolt in 499–494 B.C., laying it waste. Ancient written sources indicate directly that the Ionian population fled from the Persians—their choice was flight or to remain and be enslaved or killed (*FGrHist* 2 BF71). Thus, they established between 75 and 90 colonies around the Black Sea and several in the western Mediterranean. Of course, there was a shortage of land and a shortage of food, but this was not from overpopulation, it arose from loss of resources to a conquering foe; and external difficulties provoked internal tension between different political groups, especially in Miletus. One Ionian city, Teos, after sending out colonies to Abdera in Aegean Thrace and Phanagoria in the Black Sea, became so depopulated that Abdera was asked to send people back to refound the mother city.[31]

describes the violence of the settlement of Kolophon and the *hybris* of the colonists . . . Archilochos also recalls the hostility between Greeks and Thracians when Paros colonized the island of Thasos' (Dougherty 2003b, 187–8).

[28] Graham 1982, 158.

[29] Graham 1982, 146.

[30] On Ionian colonisation, including the Black Sea, and for the reasons behind it, see Tsetskhladze 1994; 2002a; Gorman 2001, 47–85; and the chapter by J.-P. Morel in the present volume (pp. 359–428).

[31] Graham 1991 (2001); 1992 (2001). The collected papers of A.J. Graham on Greek colonisation were brought together in a book published in 2001 (see Graham 2001). I will cite his papers in the form used in this note—original date of publication first. On Phanagoria, see Tsetskhladze 2002b.

Dating the First Colonies

Few if any ancient written sources contemporary with Greek colonisation survive.[32] Our information comes from a whole range of Greek and Latin authors. Herodotus, Thucydides, Strabo, Ps.-Skymnos and Eusebius are our main sources on the establishment and description of colonies. As A.J. Graham mentions, Homer provides us in the *Odyssey* (6. 7–11; 9. 116–141) not just with information on geography, trade and life in the Greek city but with an account of an ideal colonial site;[33] however, we do not know when Homer lived (one of the latest suggestions is the mid-7th century B.C.).[34] Ancient authors give foundation dates for colonies, for instance Thucydides provides those for Sicily, discussed many times in the academic literature.[35] But how accurate are these dates when he was writing a few centuries later? The dates given in ancient written sources need to be compared with those obtained from archaeological evidence, especially the earliest Greek pottery found in colonial sites (see Table 6 at the end of this Introduction). Let me use Sicily as an example. It is not known how Thucydides used to calculate foundation dates, although several suggestions have been made.[36] A comparison has already been made of the dates given by Thucydides and those provided by the earliest Greek pottery (see Table 1).

Recently, A. Nijboer returned to examing the absolute chronology for Greek colonisation in Sicily.[37] He also compared the foundation dates given by Thucydides and Eusebius with the earliest pottery (see Table 2, which he based on a table compiled by J.N. Coldstream). Nijboer has demonstrated that Thucydides was largely accurate in his dating, also using what Thucydides had written about the Phoenician presence (Thucydides 6. 2; 6. 6) to support his conclusions. New data about the foundation of Carthage in the late 9th

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[32] For a general discussion of the sources (written, archaeological, etc.), see Graham 1982, 83–92; Boardman 1999a, 10–21. Sources for individual cities are discussed in the relevant chapters; see also Hansen and Nielsen 2004, *passim*.

[33] Graham 1982, 85.

[34] Boardman 1999a, 274; Snodgrass 1998, 12–3. For the most recent discussion of the Homeric question, see Ross 2005, 299–301; Morris and Powell 2006, 93–116.

[35] See, for example, Snodgrass 1987, 52–4, 58–61; Morris 1996. See also A. Domínguez's chapter on Sicily in the present volume (pp. 253–358).

[36] See Morris 1996, 52–3.

[37] Nijboer 2005, 256–8. For South Italy, see Yntema 2000.

Table 1
Relative Chronology of Sicilian Foundations

SITE	DATES OF EST. PER THUC. (6.3–5)	CHEVRON SKYPHOI	THAPSOS WARE	EPC (720–680)	MPC (680–650)	LPC (650–610)	EC (610–590)
Naxos	734		•	•	•	•	•
Syracuse	733		•	•	•	•	•
Leontini	729		•	•	•	•	•
Megara Hyblaea	728	•	•	•	•	•	•
Gela	688		•	•	•	•	•
Selinus	628				•	•	•

After Morris 1996, tabls. 1–3, fig. 1. Key: EPC—Early Protocorinthian; MPC—Middle Protocorinthian; LPC—Late Protocorinthian; EC—Early (Ripe) Corinthian.

Table 2
Earliest ceramics and the foundation dates of some Greek colonies on Sicily, and their foundation dates according to Thucydides and Eusebius

COLONY	DATE THUC.	DATE EUS.	EARLIEST CORINTHIAN POTTERY Settlement	EARLIEST CORINTHIAN POTTERY Sanctuary	EARLIEST CORINTHIAN POTTERY Cemetery
Naxos	734	741/736	LG skyphos		
Syracuse	733	736/734	LG-EPC. Thapsos style: several skyphoi	Some LG + EPC ceramics	EPC aryballoi
Leontini	729		3 fragments LG Thapsos style		
Megara Hyblaea	728		Many fragments of LG ceramics: Thapsos style		
Zancle	After 734	Before 717		LG kotyle fragments	
Mylae (Chersonesus)		717			EPC aryballoi/kotyle
Taras		706			EPC aryballos
Gela	688	690		Some EPC ceramics	Some EPC and MPC ceramics

After Nijboer 2005, 257. Key: LG—Late Geometric; EPC—Early Protocorinthian.

century B.C. (see below) support Thucydides by confirming a Phoenican presence on Sicily before the arrival of Greeks.[38]

Even this approach has drawbacks:[39] how extensively has the site been studied, have the earliest habitation levels been reached, and what is the context of the earliest Greek pottery—is it an isolated find or is there a considerable quantity? There are many other issues connected with this, not least changes in absolute/relative chronology (see below). Sicily is not the only place where we experience these problems. For instance there are similar difficulties with the foundation dates of Berezan, Histria and several other settlements on the Black Sea.[40] The foundation date given by Eusebius (95) for Berezan is 746/5; by Eusebius (6) for Histria it is 656/5 B.C., and by Ps.-Skymnos (6) the end of the 7th century. But the earliest pottery yielded after many years of excavation of these two sites is no later than the third quarter of the 7th century (the quantity of it is quite impressive). Another problem is Sinope for which we have two foundation dates in literary sources—the first in the 8th century (Eusebius 2. 81; Ps-Skymnos 941–952). But archaeological excavation has so far produced nothing earlier than the late 7th century. Furthermore, until recently, a few pieces of 8th-century B.C. pottery in the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge, allegedly from Histria, have been used to date the establishment of the first Greek colonies on the Black Sea to the 8th century, or at least to demonstrate that so-called pre-colonial contacts existed then. Now we know that their attribution was erroneous; in reality they come from Al Mina.[41]

Sometimes the earliest Greek pottery long predates the accepted date of foundation of a colony or settlement. This situation can be as problematic as the converse. The most recent example, as far as I know, comes from the eastern Black Sea—ancient Colchis. Three pieces of North Ionian Late Wild Goat pottery of the beginning–first third of the 6th century were discovered in 2003 at Eshera, an inland site not far from the colony of Dioskurias whose traditional

[38] Nijboer 2005, 259–61.

[39] Also noted by Morris 1996 and Nijboer 2005. For an attempt to lower the ceramic chronology using the study of jewellery, see Jackson 2004.

[40] For details, with bibliography, see Tsetskhladze 1994, 111–20.

[41] For details, with bibliography, see Tsetskhladze 1994, 111–3. For so-called pre-colonial contacts in general, see Graham 1990 (2001); for doubts about the existence of such contacts around the Black Sea, see Tsetskhladze 1998a, 10–5; and for Italy, see D. Ridgway 2004.

establishment date (by Miletus) is not until the middle of that century.[42] Does this mean that we should revise the foundation date to fit the pottery? First of all, the three pieces probably come from a single vessel; secondly, Eshera is a local site. Regrettably, no context for the find has been given, except that the pieces were found with local pottery. This settlement had already yielded rosette bowls of 600–540 B.C. and Ionian cups of the second-third quarters of the 6th century. And these are stronger indicators that a mid-6th century date is correct than a single earlier piece which might have arrived in any one of several ways. Unfortunately, we still do not know the extent of Dioscurias because most of it is either submerged or lies beneath the modern city.[43]

In several cases we know the name of a colony from written sources but have been unable to locate it archaeologically, or unable to investigate it because it lies under a modern city.[44] The first Greek colonies and overseas settlements were small, situated mainly on peninsulas for easier defence. Since the Archaic period the landscape has changed—sea levels have risen, peninsulas have become islands, suffered erosion, been submerged, destroyed by earthquakes ancient and modern, etc.[45]

A New Absolute Chronolgy for the Mediterranean Iron Age?

The current situation has been disordered by attempts to change the absolute chronology of the Mediterranean Iron Age.[46] Traditionally, stylistic developments in Greek Geometric pottery combined with the dates given by Thucydides have provided the conventional absolute chronology for the entire Mediterranean. More and more use is

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[42] Tsetskhladze forthcoming. For a new classification system for East Greek pottery, see Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005.

[43] For Dioscurias and Eshera, see Tsetskhladze 1998b, 15–26.

[44] Hansen and Nielsen 2004, *passim.*

[45] See Stiros and Jones 1996; Tsetskhladze 1998a, 18–9.

[46] For the latest discussion, see Nijboer 2005. 'At present archaeologists use for the period the following chronologies . . .: the conventional, the adjusted, the low and the high absolute chronology. The debate on absolute dates during the Iron Age has become confused on account of the independent positions taken by scholars from various parts of the Mediterranean. It is no longer possible to explain the present situation to a first year archaeology student because he or she understands perfectly well that 800 B.C. in Spain is also 800 B.C. in the Levant, just as A.D. 2000 in Rome is A.D. 2000 in New York' (Nijboer 2005, 256). See also Bartoloni and Delpino 2005.

being made of radiocarbon dating to construct the revised absolute chronology. In Spain, the establishment date of Phoenician settlements on the southern coasts has been raised by 50–100 years back into the 9th century, with implications not just for Spain but for Phoenician expansion in general.[47] Radiocarbon dates from Carthage also confirm the advance of the Phoenicians in the 9th century, thus supporting the traditional foundation date of Carthage (814/13 B.C.) which could not be established by the conventional absolute chronology (see Table 3).[48]

Table 3
Greek fine wares from the earliest settlement layers of Carthage so far excavated (after Nijboer 2005, 260)

STRATIGRAPHY	DATE	GREEK FINE WARES	DATE
Phase I	*ca.* 760–740	1 Euboean LG skyphos	*ca.* 750–715
Layer IIa	*ca.* 740–725		*ca.* 750–715
		1 Euboean LG skyphos	
		1 Cycladic(?) LG open vessel	*ca.* 750–715
		1 Pithekoussan Aetos 666 kotyle	*ca.* 750–715
		1 Pithekoussan LG flat bowl or plate	*ca.* 750–715
		2 Greek open vessels	?
Layer IIb	*ca.* 725–700	5 sherds of Euboean LG skyphoi	*ca.* 750–715
		1 Pithekoussan juglet	?

Following the change to the chronology for Central Europe, the absolute chronology of specific Iron Age phases in Italy has been raised by 70–80 years.[49] Notwithstanding this, most specialists continue to adhere to conventional chronology. This results in two dates for each single event in the Orientalising period. Moreover, the chronology of southern Italy is related to the Mediterranean; that of northern Italy to Europe, where the modified chronology for Central Europe is based mainly on dendrochronology (Table 4).[50]

[47] Aubet 1993, 167–84, 314–6.
[48] See Nijboer 2005, 259–61. See also Ridgway 1998; Kourou 2002; Boardman forthcoming.
[49] See Nijboer 2005, 261–4.
[50] Nijboer 2005, 266–7.

Table 4
Absolute chronologies of the Aegean and Central Europe
(after Nijboer 2005, 268)[51]

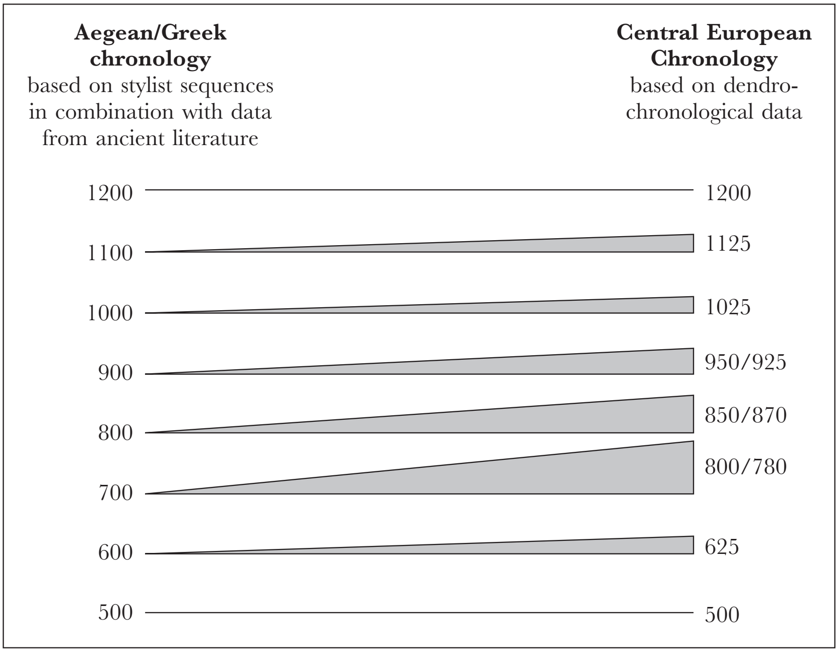

Table 5 summarises the present situation with the absolute chronology for the Aegean, Italy and Central Europe.

Two chronologies have been proposed for the Levant: one would lower the chronology of the Early Iron Age II period in Palestine to the 9th century; the other would raise it.[52] Radiocarbon and dendrochronological research at Gordion suggests that the date of the so-called Cimmerian destruction level be moved from *ca.* 700 B.C. to 830–800 B.C. This has implications not only for Phrygian archaeology but for that of the whole of Anatolia. It is unsurprising that several scholars have opposed this change.[53]

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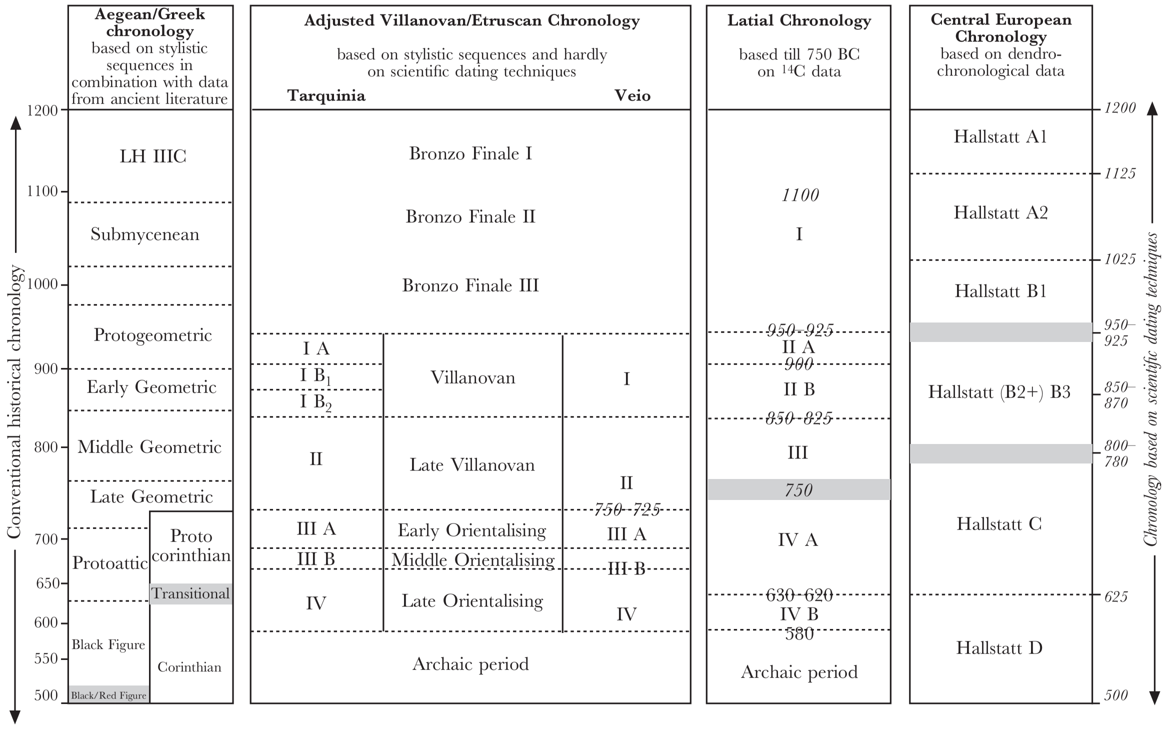
[51] Conventional absolute chronology (left); absolute chronology based on scientific dating techniques (right). Nijboer (2005, 268) comments on this table that there are essentially no problems between the two for 1200 B.C.–1000 B.C. although they are based on different methods—triangulation indicates that the absolute chronology for this period is more or less correct. The results diverge somewhat from 900 B.C. onward, reaching their greatest discrepancy in the 8th century B.C.

[52] Finkelstein 1996; 2004; Mazar 1997; 2004; Coldstream 2003.

[53] The new chronology was announced first at the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages

Table 5
Absolute chronologies for the Aegean, Italy and Central Europe showing method(s) used to obtain them (after Nijboer 2005, 267).



In view of all these developments, Nijboer suggests that the absolute chronology of the Geometric sequence should be raised: Early Geometric from 900 B.C. to 950/925, with a continuance into the 9th century; Middle Geometric from 850 B.C. to the early 9th century and continuing into the late 9th; Late Geometric from 770 B.C. to 825/800 and continuing into the late 8th century; Early Protocorinthian from 725 B.C. to around 750/740 and continuing into the early 7th century. The remaining Corinthian sequence during the 7th century stays unchanged.[54]

Typology and Nomenclature of Greek Settlements

We face pitfalls with the terminology used by ancient and modern[55] authors to describe Greek cities and colonies, which comes mainly from (and applies to) the Classical period and later.[56] Its application to the Archaic period complicates more than it clarifies. According to the ideal Classical concept of a *polis* (city-state), each city should have a grid-plan, fortification walls, a designated area for temples and cult activity (*temenos*), market-place (*agora*), *gymnasium*, theatre, etc. We can identify these features more or less easily when excavating Classical and Hellenistic sites, but they were not the norm in ear-

Colloquium at Van in August 2001. Several short publications on the internet followed. The materials of the Colloquium were published in 2005 (see Çilingiroğlu and Darbyshire 2005, 45–6; see also Kealhofer 2005, 10–55). For other recent publications, see Muscarella 2003; Keenan 2004; Magee 2005; etc.

[54] Nijboer 2005, 269. He underlines that, for him, what was 700 B.C. under the traditional dating is still 700 under the new (Nijboer 2005, 268).

[55] 'Historians study a term [*polis*] not for its own sake but in order to grasp the concept behind the term, to determine its essence, to find all the essential characteristics that go with it and transform these criteria into a description or even a definition of the concept. In doing all of this they are faced with the problem that they have to apply modern terms and concepts in their description both of the ancient societies themselves and of the concepts used by the ancients themselves to describe them' (Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 25).

[56] These problems have always been a focus of scholarly attention, but the work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre (1993–2005) has had an enormous influence on our understanding of many of the problems and the terminology. It has published seven volumes of *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* (as *Historia* Einzelschriften) and nine of *Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* (published by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in its series *Historik-filosofiske Meddelelser*). The final publication of the Centre (of over 1400 pages), in which 49 scholars from many countries participated, appeared in 2004—see Hansen and Nielsen 2004. See also Mitchell and Rhodes 1997.

lier periods. Even to use the term *polis* for the Archaic period, in either mainland Greece or the colonial world, causes problems: the concept belongs to a later date and describes a city-state enjoying independent political and social institutions (not least its own constitution), and furnished with an agricultural territory (*chora*).[57]

Let me pay detailed attention to several issues. According to M.H. Hansen:

> In Hellas in the Archaic and Classical periods 'belonging' in a political context meant, first of all, belonging to one's *polis*. For a Greek citizen the *polis* was his fatherland (*patris*). Above *polis* level he might belong to an *ethnos*; below *polis* level he might belong to a civic subdivision (a *demos* or a *phyle*, etc.). But he would not think of sacrificing his life for his *ethnos* or his *demos*, whereas he was expected, if necessary, to die for his *polis*. The *polis* provided its citizens with a sense of common identity, based on traditions, culture, ceremonies, symbols and sometimes (presumed) common descent.[58]

And he concludes:

> . . . the concept of the *polis* mattered to the Greeks. They did not just live in *poleis*, they found it important to live in *poleis* rather than in some other form of political community. They were highly conscious of this and that is one reason why the *polis* and the ancient Greek concept of *polis* are so important and well worth studying.[59]

To define a *polis* the Copenhagen Polis Centre used 40 different attributes, such as territory, history, laws, constitution, *proxenoi*, cults, calendar, participation in the Panhellenic Games, mint, urban centre, walls, temples, political architecture, etc.[60]

Thus, what do we understand by the term *polis*? The most recent definition is:

> . . . in Archaic and Classical sources the term *polis* used in the sense of 'town' to denote a named urban centre is applied not just to any urban centre but only to a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the sense of political community. Thus, the term *polis* has two different *meanings*: town and state; but even when it is used in the sense of town its *references*, its denotation, seems almost invariably to be what

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57 On *chorai*, see Brunet 1999; *Problemi* 2001.

58 Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 12.

59 Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 14.

60 Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 26. The inventory lists 1035 Archaic and Classical *poleis*; there are several dozen more for which we lack information or harbour doubts about their status.

> the Greeks called *polis* in the sense of a *koinonia politon politeias* and what we call a city-state.[61]

Greek texts use not just the word *polis* but *asty, polisma, polismation*, *polichne* and *polichnion* to describe what we know call towns or cities. For us the first two are important; the others are found in writings of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. *Asty* is used along with *polis* in its sense of 'town' but never to describe a city-state. *Asty* is more common in Archaic sources (including inscriptions); in the Classical period it is gradually and completely replaced by *polis*. *Polisma*, like *asty*, denotes an urban rather than a political entity; its use is mainly literary and it is extremely rare to find it in epigraphical sources.[62]

The Copenhagen Polis Centre has introduced the concept of the 'dependent *polis*' and identified 15 types: (1) a *polis* situated inside the territory of a larger *polis*; (2) a *polis* in the *peraia* controlled by an island; (3) an *emporion* organised as a *polis* dependent on a larger *polis*; (4) a colony being a *polis* dependent on a mother city; (5) an Athenian *kleroucby* and/or colony; (6) a perioikic *polis* in Laconia; (7) a *polis* that is a member of a federation; (8) a *polis* that is a member of a hegemonic league (*symmachia*) which has developed into an 'empire' (*arche*); (9) a *polis* that persists as a *polis* after a *sympoliteia* with another *polis*; (10) a *polis* that persists as a *polis* after a *synoikismos*; (11) a *polis* that, together with other *poleis*, makes up a 'tribal state'; (12) a *polis* that is controlled by an empire/kingdom; (13) a *polis* founded as a fortress; (14) a major port of an inland *polis*; and (15) a *polis* that is the same as the civic subdivision of another *polis*. As Hansen admits himself, there is considerable overlap between these various types;[63] and it is often difficult to apply them to the hard evidence.[64]

The terminology described above is applied mainly to the cities

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[61] Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 34. '. . . in the Classical period the *polis* was a small, highly institutionalised and self-governing community of adult male citizens (called *politai* or *astoi*) living with their wives and children in an urban centre (also called *polis* or, sometimes, *asty*) and its hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*) together with two other types of people: foreigners (*xenoi*) and slaves. As a political community, the *polis* was felt to be one's fatherland (*patris*) and it was identified with its citizens more than its territory' (Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 31).

[62] Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 47–8.

[63] Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 87–94.

[64] From my own attempts, as a member of the Polis Centre, to apply this categorisation to the Greek settlements situated around the Cimmerian Bosporus. See Tsetskhladze 1996–97; 1997a.

and towns of mainland Greece; and even the ancient Greeks differentiated these from settlements (colonies) situated outside Hellas (mainland Greece).[65] It is often difficult to apply the concept of *polis* to the colonial world, at least until the 6th century. The term *apoikia* is generally used for colonies; its literal translation is 'a settlement far from home, a colony'.[66] Although the term carries no particular political or social meaning, it can include a *polis* with independent political and social arrangements and possessing a *chora*.[67]

To distinguish another kind of colonial settlement, *emporion* is used.[68] It is a kind of trading post or settlement, lacking a *chora* or any independent social and political structure, established in a foreign land, either as a self-contained site or as part of an existing native urban settlement, sometimes with the permission of local rulers and under their control. The first use of the term *emporion* was by Herodotus (2. 178–179) in the 5th century to describe Ionian Naukratis in Egypt.[69] But this term too is artificial: a *polis* was also a trading centre, in some cases with a designated area called, in ancient writings, an *emporion*.[70] And excavation of so-called *emporia* demonstrates that these were not just trading stations but also centres of manufacture.[71] Sometimes ancient written sources call a Greek colony an *emporion*, demonstrating that a colony was considered a trading settlement as well.[72]

In recent times the formulation port-of-trade (introduced for the first time for the ancient world by K. Polanyi in the 1950–60s) has gained increased favour with historians of the ancient economy,[73] for

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[65] For the latest discussion, see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 150–3.

[66] *LSJ s.v.*

[67] Some scholars dispute the use of the term *apoikia* (either overall or in specific instances). See Osborne 1999, 252; *cf.* Wilson 1997. Hansen recently proposed that *apoikia* should be rendered as 'emigrant community' rather than colony (Hansen and Neilsen 2004, 150, n. 2).

[68] On the meaning and use of *emporion*, see M.H. Hansen's chapter in the present volume (pp. 1–40). See also Laffineur and Greco 2005.

[69] For the latest discussion on Herodotus' information on Egypt, see Harrison 2003 and A.B. Lloyd in Karageorghis and Taifacos 2004.

[70] Examples are given in M.H. Hansen's chapter below.

[71] Tsetskhladze 2000.

[72] There are very clear examples from the Black Sea, especially from the Bosporan kingdom (Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, etc.) and Colchis (Phasis and Dioskurias). See Hind 1995–96; 1997; Koshelenko and Marinovitch 2000. On Panticapaeum, see Treister 2002.

[73] For the latest discussion about the ancient economy from a theoretical standpoint, see Manning and Morris 2005.

example Archaic Naukratis is so labelled,[74] and it was more than a trading place—it manufactured pottery, votives and faience scarab seals.[75] A. Möller has suggested nine defining characteristics for an ideal port-of-trade: geographical situation; separation from the hinterland; the political and economic structures of the trading partners; the form of foundation; administration; infrastructure; population structure; kinds of goods exchanged; and non-economic functions.[76] However, to identify a place as a port-of trade, not all nine need to be present. After discussing these characteristics with reference to Naukratis, she concluded:

> After considering Polanyi's concept of the port of trade, the status of Naukratis can certainly no longer be interpreted as 'the fulcrum by which the enterprising Hellenic race brought the power of their arms and of their wits to bear on the most ancient and venerable empire in the world,' but as the place where the quite powerful Saïte pharaohs granted the enterprising Greeks access to grain and much sought-after luxury items. By granting the Greeks a port of trade, the Egyptian pharaoh managed to integrate them into his system of external trade, turning them indeed into 'Egyptian traders' . . ., while guaranteeing Egypt's passive trade.[77]

Urbanisation

The Copenhagen Polis Centre introduced the concept of the 'imaginary *polis*' to describe 'a *polis* that did not exist anywhere as a tangible physical reality, but only in the mind of one or more persons—namely, in the mind of the Greeks of the Archaic and Classical period'.[78] Colonisation and overseas settlement are considered as the means of establishing such an idealised *polis*.[79]

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[74] Möller 2000, 182–211; 2001. For the tendency to call Al Mina a port-of-trade, see Luke 2003, 11–22.

[75] Boardman 1999, 123. Chian pottery was most probably produced on the spot and using imported clay.

[76] Möller 2001, 147.

[77] Möller 2001, 154.

[78] Hansen 2005, 9.

[79] Hansen 2005, 11–12: 'Not all, but many of, . . . [colonies] were planned by their *metropoleis*. And the regulations laid down by the founders comprised almost all aspects of the new *polis*: number and social composition of the colonists, distribution of land between them, building of a walled urban centre, laws and constitution, the gods to be worshipped, and the future relationships between *metropolis* and *apoikia*. In the first period of colonisation, that is in the eighth century, many

Increased attention has been paid to the phenomenon of urbanisation,[80] not least for its importance to identifying the onset and rise of the *polis* in both colonies and mother cities (see below). When colonisation started nearly all places in mainland Greece were classed as large villages or small towns and were not city-states (not even Corinth, Argos or Athens).[81] For instance, the largest town in Aetolia was Kalydon, but this was not its capital. Although Corinth had one of the earliest stone temples in mainland Greece, which is taken as a sign of early urbanisation, in the 8th–7th centuries the settlement was no larger than a village and was spread over a large area. This pattern was not uncommon in central Greece—a large settlement composed of a number of hamlets or villages, loosely grouped around an *acropolis*. In Eretria there is neither an obvious street plan nor clear orientation of the houses; the temple of Apollo provided the only centre to the community, but in the 8th century it was little different from the surrounding houses.

Single-room apsidal and oval houses were the norm in the 'Dark Age'. All activity, such as eating, sleeping, cooking and storage, was concentrated in this one room or in the open air. From around the middle of the 8th century B.C. distinct changes can be detected at a few sites. Rectangular houses supplanted the previous types, but they remained one-room structures. There were also *megaron* houses with a small porch. Some oval houses were remodelled as rectangular by the addition of corners. From the 7th century B.C. some signs appear of space being subdivided. The change over to courtyard houses took a long time to complete—very often this later type existed alongside earlier ones.[82] In central Greece itself domestic architecture followed this general pattern of development, and by the end of the 7th century the move to courtyard houses and porch structures was largely complete (but the interior space and number

of these issues were probably left to the colonists themselves and were handled pragmatically and *ad hoc* when the colonists arrived at their destination. But when secondary colonies were set up, and when colonists were sent out from Hellas in the late Archaic and Classical periods, we can assume that the organisation of the new colony was planned with rigorous rationality and in great detail. In every single case the organisers must have tried to impose what they believed to be the best solution. Accordingly, plans for a new colony must have had a certain resemblance to a utopia, and since the Greeks founded new *poleis* all the time, colonisation provided a unique opportunity constantly to think, or rather rethink, the *polis*.'

[80] See, for example, Anderson *et al.* 1997; and now Osborne and Cunliffe 2005. For the number of inhabitants of Greek cities, see now Hansen 2004.

[81] For a summary, see Whitley 2001, 165–74.

[82] Morris 2000, 280–5.

of rooms was much smaller than in Classical and especially 4th-century domestic architecture).[83] Of course there was local diversity. Much the same can be said about other parts of Greece, although the quantity of evidence varies. Macedonian settlements were very different. There was a strong local tradition of building houses from mud brick without stone foundations. All of this led to the formation of tell sites, whose planning and domestic architecture showed considerable changes over time.[84]

For the Archaic period, the existence of fortification walls cannot be considered essential. They were more a response to geographical circumstances or local conditions than a political manifestation.[85] It is also very difficult in the Archaic period to identify the *agora*, *temenos*, etc. Until the late 6th century it is impossible to discern special districts populated by full-time or part-time artisans and their workshops.[86]

Let us turn now to East Greece (Ionia). Archaic dwellings in Miletus were small, rectangular, one-room contructions of mud brick or pisé on a stone foundation course.[87] Postholes have been discovered during excavation.[88] Whilst these may indicate the presence of wooden houses, they are just as likely to be evidence of pit houses, the sole form of domestic architecture for Milesian colonies around the Black Sea until the late Archaic period.[89] Unfortunately, we know nothing about Archaic Teos where only a small-scale survey of the site has been carried out; whilst investigation of Abdera, a Tean colony, has produced apsidal, *megaron* and courtyard houses.[90] Phanagoria, another Tean colony, yielded one-room mud-brick houses built directly on the ground and wattle-and-daub buildings, as well as a wooden sanctuary of the end of the 6th century B.C. dedicated to Kabiri.[91] Investigation at Clazomenae has unearthed the remains of an oval or apsidal house, and at Smyrna, a multi-room rectangular structure of the 9th century B.C. is known (in the middle of the 8th cen-

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[83] Morris 1998, *passim*; Nevett 1999, 154–73. See now Ault and Nevett 2005.
[84] Morris 1998, 11, 36, 43–7, 50.
[85] Snodgrass 1991, 9.
[86] Morris 1991, 38.
[87] Senff 2000.
[88] Greaves 2002, 79; Gorman 2001, 198.
[89] Tsetskhladze 2004, 230–42.
[90] Morris 1998, 48–9, 52.
[91] Tsetskhladze 2004, 258, 137.

tury, apsidal houses reappear here, but in the 7th century the pattern reverts to rectangular multi-room houses).[92] We know little about Phocaea itself but its colonies Massalia and Emporion contained one-room dwellings with mud-brick walls.[93]

In Archaic Miletus there was no distinctive place capable of being identified as the *temenos*: there were six temples (dedicated to Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Dionysus, Apollo and Demeter) scattered in different parts of the city.[94]

To summarise:

> Urban space was created during the Archaic period, not before it. At its beginning, most large settlements consisted of individual house plots, almost randomly distributed. The only focus for the community was the central sanctuary, which may, in the early period, have looked little different from the houses around it. Settlements organised on some underlying principle, such as a common axis, become more common in the seventh century. Such 'new towns', however, were sometimes little more than 'new villages', planned communities which ultimately failed. In the larger settlements of Old Greece principles of urban design had become apparent by the end of the sixth century B.C. A city now had to have walls, temples and public supplies of water. Space for the dead had to be firmly separated from space for the living. Still, a town has to be more than a comfortable residential area, however impressive its civic centre. After all, many of the political functions of Greek states could equally well take place in a sanctuary.[95]

In 1991 I. Morris concluded:

> . . . urbanisation was slow and limited in early Greece, and that if we wanted to draw a line between 'city' and 'non-city' stages, it would probably be in the late sixth century. The rise of the polis and the rise of the city were anything but synonymous.[96]

No developments or discoveries in the 15 years since invalidate this conclusion. We should not forget that the end of the 6th–beginning of the 5th century B.C. marked the end of Archaic Greek colonisation.

Town-planning was one of the major features of urbanisation. Nearly everyone writing about this subject mentions the regular laying

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[92] Morris 1998, 16, 21.

[93] See the chapters by J.-P. Morel (pp. 358–428) and A. Domínguez (on Iberia, pp. 429–506) in the present volume.

[94] Greaves 2002, 82–6.

[95] Whitley 2001, 174.

[96] Morris 1991, 40.

out of settlements and Hippodamus. First of all, regular planning is not a Greek idea; the inspiration came from the Near East.[97] Secondly, Hippodamus had nothing to do with the planning of his home city, Miletus. Archaeological investigations in Kalabaktepe and other parts of Archaic Miletus have produced no evidence of regular planning.[98] In any case, the Hippodamian system is not Archaic at all, it belongs to the Classical period. Furthermore, as recent studies demonstrate, he was not an innovative town-planner, whilst Hippodamian planning starts with streets and *insulae*, not houses.[99]

The colonies in southern Italy and Sicily are always cited as a manifestation of early Greek urbanisation. But, as the evidence indicates, this is quite misleading: urban features, including regular planning, did not appear immediately.[100] It took the colonists some time to establish themselves, and only after one or two generations could attention be paid to developing various of the urban features that are common in the Classical period. The physical appearance of settlements depended much on local geographical, demographic and other conditions. In the West planning *per strigas* (thin, elongated, rectangular blocks) does not occur until long after the establishment of a colony. There are no examples earlier than the 7th century—only Megara Hyblaea displays a form of strip-planning immediately after foundation. Until we have reliable archaeological evidence, it is still uncertain whether the alleged strip-planning of later sites, such as Syracuse, Croton, etc., reflects the truth.[101] The literature overestimates the degree to which early towns were planned. Several Western colonies probably developed as dispersed communities in which agriculture and dwellings were intermixed.

> Even early sixth-century settlements were not necessarily fully planned. Kamarina, for example, on the south coast of Sicily, originally a Syracusan colony ca. 599, had minimal planning in its early phase, with a central street and probably an *agora*. Like Syracuse, it was open-textured, not settled across all its 150 ha extent.[102]

A properly planned settlement is always a secondary colony.[103]

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[97] de Geus 2001.
[98] Greaves 2002, 79–82.
[99] Shipley 2005, 383.
[100] Fischer-Hansen 1996.
[101] Shipley 2005, 345.
[102] Shipley 2005, 345.
[103] Shipley 2005, 345.

Comprehensive planning is possible only on a blank canvas, such as the foundation of a city from scratch—but, as I have noted, in the early phases of the existence of a colony there are other more pressing matters to be attended to. It is true that grid-planning might have begun in the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily, but not when they were first settled. It spread to the Aegean in the 6th century, though it did not take a firm hold until the second half of the next century.[104]

Indeed, it seems that urbanisation developed first in the colonial world and then influenced developments back home;[105] likewise the emergence of the *polis* took place in a colonial context and then took root in mainland Greece.[106] It was not essential that a mother city be a *polis* for it to establish a colony. The best example is Achaea, which was a very active coloniser in the 8th century but did not develop *poleis* itself until about 500 B.C.[107]

Formal Establishment of Colonies

Nearly every chapter in this volume (as well as in Volume 2) discusses how colonies were organised and despatched, the arrival of the first colonists, the rôle of religion, etc. In this introduction it falls to me just to give a very general overview.

We have a few inscriptions, such as foundation decrees of the late Archaic period, which describe the process and formalities of founding a colony; the vast majority of the information comes, however, from Classical and later authors.[108] Some colonies were established by a mother city as an act of state, others as a private venture organised by an individual or group, in each case choosing an *oikist*, who came from no particular group or class but was in many cases a nobleman.[109] The *oikist* then consulted the Delphic Oracle in order

[104] Shipley 2005, 337. See also McInerney 2004.

[105] Monumental temple architecture started in the West. Furthermore, sculptured metopes and the roofing system (Klein 1998) employed in mainland Greece both originated in the West as well (for details, see Shepherd 2005, 37–40).

[106] Malkin 1987, 12; Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 19.

[107] Morgan and Hall 1996.

[108] For a lengthy discussion, see Graham 1982, 83–92, 143–55; 1983; Malkin 1985; 1986; 1987; 1993a; 1993b; 1994a; 1994b; 1996a; 1996b.

[109] A recent trend is to suggest that the powers and functions of the *oikist* have hitherto been overemphasised, that archaeological evidence does not support interpretations involving dynamic founders/leaders, state-sponsored activity or single

to obtain the approval of the gods for his venture: the colony would be a new home for the Greek gods as well as for the settlers. The colonists and those who stayed behind bound themselves by a solemn oath not to harm each other (initially, colonies reproduced the same cults, calendars, dialects, scripts, state offices and social and political divisions as in their mother cities). The *oikist* was a very important man. It was he who named the new city, as well as selecting its precise site when the party arrived at its destination; he supervised the building of the city walls, dwellings and temples, and the division of land. The death of the *oikist* may be seen as the end of the foundation process: he became a hero and his tomb was worshipped with rituals and offerings.

It was a widely held opinion, based mainly on the information of Classical authors, that only males set off to colonise; and that Greek men took local women.[110] Of course, intermarriage was practised and many ventures may have been entirely male, but we know that women (priestesses) accompanied men in the foundation of Thasos and Massalia (Pausanias 10. 28. 3; Strabo 4. 179). It is also possible that women followed their men to a colony once it had been established. In any case, we have no evidence from the Archaic sources to be certain one way or another.

Phoenicians, Greeks and the 'Gateway to the East'

A frequently asked question is: who were the first colonisers—the Greeks or the Phoenicians? It is very difficult to answer with any certainty. The Phoenicians were forced to flee their homeland in the Levant by the expansion of the Assyrian empire.[111] But it seems that the main aim of Phoenician migration was commercial. In the 8th

foundation moments—decisions may have been consensual rather than centrally directed—and that colonies were initially private ventures (Osborne 1998; Malkin 2002a; *cf.* Shipley 2005, 348).

[110] For the rôle of women and intermarriage, including how to identify it from archaeological material, especially from local fibulae in Italy, see Graham 1982, 147–8; 1984 (2001); Coldstream 1993; Shepherd 1999. As J. Boardman aptly remarks, 'native types of safety-pin (fibula) . . . had been used by men too' (Boardman 1999a, 277).

[111] On the Phoenicians and Phoenician expansion, see H.G. Niemeyer's chapter in the present volume (pp. 143–68); Aubet 2001; Niemeyer 2003; 2004b; Raaflaub 2004; Sommer 2004; Bierling 2002; Sagona 2004; Lipinski 2004; van Dommelen 2005; etc.

century B.C. Greeks were moving into the relatively close territories of central and southern Italy, whilst the Phoenicians established small settlements in Sardinia and further to the west and south.[112] The Greek settlements were designed for permanence; those of the Phoenicians disappeared over time, probably absorbed by the locals. The fall of many Phoenician settlements is dated within the 6th century B.C.[113] The new radiocarbon data from Spain and Carthage (mentioned above) challenges our understanding of the Phoenicians, especially of when they started their 'colonising' activity—it pushes the date of Phoenician expansion back from the 8th to the first half/middle of the 9th century.

Down to the 5th century B.C., Greek culture was heavily influenced by ideas from the Near East, including Egypt.[114] There are Near Eastern objects in Greece; we also know of migrant (especially Syrian) craftsmen settling in mainland Greece.[115] Lefkandi in Euboea received a large quantity of Eastern and Egyptian objects.[116] This is of particular significance—the earliest colonisers were Euboean, and it is unsurprising that they should look to the Near East as their first destination.[117] Which brings us to Al Mina, in northern Syria at the mouth of the Orontes river, the 'Greeks' gateway to the Near East'.[118]

The site was excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley before the Second World War, since when its interpretation has provoked a hot debate which still continues.[119] The architectural remains, where they exist, are poorly preserved—construction was of mud brick—but the site's importance lies in the large quantity of Greek pottery it has yielded: from first occupation down to about 700 B.C. the vast majority of it Euboean, some probably from Samos, very little Corinthian, and some made by Greeks in Cyprus[120] or Syria; from about 700 B.C.

[112] Boardman 1999a, 276; 1999c, 43.

[113] Sagona 2004, 258–9.

[114] Burkert 2004; Fletcher 2004; Guralnick 1997; Kuhrt 2002; Tanner 2003; Boardman 1994a; 1999a, 268; West 1997, etc.

[115] Boardman 1999a, 270–1.

[116] Popham 1994; Boardman 1999a, 270–1; Lemos 2001.

[117] On Euboea, see Bats and d'Agostino 1998; D. Ridgway 2004; Lemos 2001; 2005.

[118] Boardman 1999a, 270–1.

[119] Graham 1986 (2001); Boardman 1990; 1999a, 270–1; 1999b; 2002b; 2005; Descoeudres 2002; Kearsley 1999; Luke 2003; Pamir and Nishiyama 2002; Niemeyer 2004a; 2005. See also the chapters by J. Boardman (pp. 507–34) and H. Pamir (pp. 535–43) in the present volume.

[120] Cyprus was more important than had been thought to the Mediterranean

onward, remains of Greek pottery and non-Greek local wares (Syrian and Cypriot-shape) are roughly equal.[121] It is very difficult, based on pottery alone, to say whether the settlement was the first Greek *emporion*/port-of-trade, a distribution centre for Greek pottery to the Near East, or a Euboean quarter within a local settlement, and who was transporting these pots. But since the Euboeans and the Levantines already knew each other, it is most probable that some Euboeans were living in a local settlement controlled by a local ruler. Euboean pottery has been found at various Near Eastern sites.[122] It surely came via Al Mina. And we know of Greek mercenary sites at Mezaz Hashavyahu and Tell Kabri.[123]

Recently, the *preliminary* results of study of a large body of Syrian and Phoenician pottery from Al Mina (now kept at the British Museum) have been published. G. Lehmann concludes:

> . . . in the 8th century B.C., Al Mina was only a very small harbour with an important hinterland, serving the Iron Age kingdom of Unqi in the present 'Amuq plain, the Mediterranean gate to northern Syria and eventually Mesopotamia. From my own observations at the site, I estimate the size of the ancient settlement at some 4 ha. Thus, Al Mina would have had similar dimensions to other small, but specialised trading sites such as Pithekoussai on Ischia or Toscanos in Spain. Specialised in trade and exchange, these sites or ports of trade depended much on the supply in food and daily needs from the surrounding settlement system. As Woolley pointed out, the nearby settlement of modern Sabuni may have played such a role for supply to Al Mina . . . According to the research presented here it seems to be most probable that . . . a mixed community of Greeks, Phoenicians and local Syrians existed also at Al Mina. Who ruled the port? During its period of independence the local state of Unqi was most probably in control. If only for tax reasons, any state ruling the 'Amuq plain must have had a significant interest in controlling the port.[124]

Soon after 740 B.C. Al Mina came under the control of the Assyrian empire.[125]

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network. See Boardman 1999c; Karageorghis 2002a; 2002b; 2003a; 2003b; Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998; Macnamara 2001; Matthäus 2001; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003; D. Ridgway 2001; Steel 2004.

[121] Boardman 1999a, 270–1.

[122] Lemos 2005.

[123] Boardman 1999a, 272.

[124] Lehmann 2005, 84–6.

[125] Lehmann 2005, 86. 'In terms of the economic development at the interface between the Mediterranean and the Ancient Near East, Al Mina was the only gate into northern Syria. More important sites such as Tayinat lay only a few kilometers

The Euboeans were also pioneers in the western Mediterranean where, in the mid-8th century B.C., they established the *emporion* Pithekoussai on an island in the Bay of Naples (modern Ischia). Excavation has produced abundant evidence of early metallurgical production. The presence of Levantine (Syrian) and local 'Italian' groups is also recorded, as is that of mainly Euboean but also some Corinthian potters.[126] Pithekoussai declined in importance from the end of the 8th century following the foundation of Euboean Cumae on the nearby Campanian mainland.[127]

It is common in recent literature for comparisons to be made and patterns sought.[128] In this spirit, I should like to mention Berezan, the earliest Greek settlement in the northern Black Sea, founded by the Milesians more than a century after Pithekoussai.[129] It was small, established on a peninsula (now an island), and populated by locals as well as colonists. There is indisputable evidence of metallurgical activity, from the outset or very soon thereafter.[130] Furthermore, this is the only Black Sea site with early workshops housing metalworkers of the Milesian, Ephesian and Lydian schools. These artisans adapted their craftsmanship to the requirements of the local élite.[131] Like Pithekoussai, Berezan also declined; it fell under the control of the later but nearby Olbia, finally becoming an Olbian *emporion* (Herodotus 4. 18; 4. 24).

Greeks and Locals

The relationship between colonists and native inhabitants was very important.[132] There is no single model. In modern scholarship, 'political correctness' has cast a shadow. The word 'barbarian' has fallen

further up the Orontes. Whichever way research will progress from here, the Phoenician city of Tyre and its trade connections will have to be an integral part of any future studies concerning early Al Mina' (Lehmann 2005, 86). For Al Mina in the later period, see Ashton and Hughes 2005.

126 D. Ridgway 1992; 1994; 2000a; 2000b; 2004; Boardman 1994a.

127 d'Agostino 1999.

128 See, for example, Tang 2005.

129 On the Berezan settlement, see Solovyov 1999.

130 Domanskij and Marčenko 2003.

131 Treister 1998; Solovyov and Treister 2004.

132 Graham 1982, 155–7; Descoeudres 1990; Coleman and Walz 1997; Boardman 1999a, *passim*.

from favour because of its modern connotations; we forget how the Archaic Greeks used it—onomatopeically for the sound of local languages to their ears. Thus, barbarian had no cultural connotations; it simply meant someone who did not speak Greek. One should remember E. Hall's observation that 'in fifth century literature the label *the Hellenes* is customarily used to designate the whole Greek-speaking world from Sicily to the Black Sea . . . it was then and only then that *the barbarians* could come to mean the entire remainder of the human race'.[133] Modern academics have even set up an artificial dichotomy of 'Greeks' and 'Others'.[134] Scholars have increasingly applied modern definitions and standards of ethnicity (see below) to the Archaic colonial world (even the concept of 'Greekness' itself belongs to the Classical period, not earlier—see below), or searched for evidence of 'racism' in the ancient world and in the attitudes to 'Others' manifested there.[135]

The belief that Greeks 'civilised' the local peoples with whom they came into contact has gradually and rightly fallen from favour. Plato (*Epinomis* 987d) wrote that 'whatever the Greeks take from foreigners, they transform this into a better result'. The same could be said about natives taking up Greek features: they also transformed them into a better result—one better suited to their own needs and society. All relationships are a two-way process: so, just as locals were influenced by Greeks, Greek colonies adopted and adapted local practices.[136] We know now that native people played an important rôle in the foundation and laying out of Megara Hyblaea.[137] In Metapontum some of the first colonists used the simple construction methods of the local population—dwelling houses were dug partly into the ground; whilst in the building of temple in the *chora* of Sybaris, posts and pisé were used, a technique alien to mainland Greece.[138] These are just a few of many examples.[139] In many cases, Greeks and locals lived alongside each other in a Greek settlement,

[133] E. Hall 1989, 11.
[134] See, for instance, Cohen 2000.
[135] Isaac 2004; *cf.* Tuplin 1999.
[136] Dougherty and Kurke 2003b, 5.
[137] Malkin 2002a; see also De Angelis 2003b.
[138] Tsetskhladze 2004, 251–6, with literature; Carter 2006, 58–73.
[139] For more examples, see Holloway 1981; Malkin 1994b; Morgan and Hall 1996; Antonaccio 1999; 2004; 2005.

whether in the western Mediterranean or the eastern Black Sea.[140] Indeed, some mother cities also had mixed populations, for instance Miletus (where there was a very broad mixture of Greeks and non-Greeks such as Carians).[141] Nowadays, there is increased archaeological evidence that Greeks lived alongside locals in native settlements, even from the start of colonisation; a few such cases are in the Scythian lands some 500km from the shore.[142]

Many colonies were established in territory either occupied by a local population or with one close to hand (see Table 6 at the end of this Introduction). Sometimes the land for settlement and agriculture was given to the Greeks by local tribal rulers, either by special agreement or in return for payment of a moderate tribute (Strabo 7. 4. 6), as is the case for the Black Sea. At Massalia,[143] the Greeks received a welcome from the local chief (Athenaeus 13. 576a–b; Justinus 43. 3. 8–11). The relationship between the newcomers and the locals was often pacific, to their mutual benefit.[144] Greek craftsmen were employed by local rulers, for example in the Iberian Peninsula and the Black Sea, to produce prestige objects and even, as is the case in Etruria, to paint tombs, or build fortifications, as in Gaul, or public buildings, as in Iberia (Ullastret near Emporion).[145] This was characteristic mainly of Ionian colonisation. Elsewhere, things could be less peaceful. In Syracuse, for instance, the local Cyllyrii were serfs (Herodotus 7. 155), and at Heracleia Pontica on the southern Black Sea, half the local Maryandinoi were killed and the rest enslaved (Strabo 12. 2. 3). There is also evidence that local peoples engaged in piracy and attacked Greek cities.[146]

Recent scholarship has started to re-examine the nature and mechanisms of trade relations between locals and colonists—less a matter of commerce, as we understand it now, more of formalised gift-giving and exchange.[147] What we know about the locals and their

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[140] See the example of Pithekoussai cited above; Tsetskhladze 2002a; Domínguez 2004. See also the chapters by J.-P. Morel and A. Domínguez in the present volume.

[141] Greaves 2002, 122.

[142] Tsetskhladze 2003, 149–52.

[143] On Massalia, see J.-P. Morel's chapter in the present volume; Hermary 2003.

[144] See the examples in Tsetskhladze 2002a.

[145] Tsetskhladze 2002a; A. Domínguez's chapter on the Iberian Peninsula in the present volume.

[146] See, for example, Tsetskhladze 2000–01.

[147] See, for example, Kimming 2000; Kristiansen 1998, 210–89; Diepeveen-Jansen

culture is mainly the way of life of their élites; and the tastes and behaviour of nobles were practically the same in every area, whether of the Mediterranean or the Black Sea.[148] Greek pottery found in local contexts will always arouse debate as to whether it is an indicator of trade links, or of ethnic identity, or of something else. Recent studies have demonstrated convincingly that there is a close connexion between people and the specific vessels they used for eating, drinking and as grave goods.[149] It is clear that Greek pottery was *not* used in local settlements in the same way as in Greek cities.

On some occasions Greeks settled in areas with unpleasant climatic conditions. The clearest example is Colchis. According to Hippocrates (*Airs, Waters, Places* 15), the lands surrounding the Greek colony of Phasis[150] were:

> . . . marshy, hot, humid, and wooded. In every season here the rains are frequent and heavy. Here men live in marshes. The dwellings are of wood and reed constructed in the water. The inhabitants seldom go on foot to the polis and the emporium, but canoe up and down in dug-outs, for there are many canals. The water they drink is hot and stagnant, corrupted by the sun and swollen by the rains. The Phasis itself is the most stagnant of rivers and flows most sluggishly. And all the crops which grow here are bad, of poor quality and without taste, on account of the excess of water. Consequently they do not ripen. Much mist enshrouds the land because of the water . . . The seasons do not vary much, either in heat or in cold. The winds are mostly moist, except a breeze typical of the country, called *Kenkhron*, which sometimes blows strong, violent and hot. The north wind makes little impact, and when it blows it is weak and feeble.

Archaeological, palaeographic and geological investigations of the Colchian Black Sea coast (western Georgia) indeed show that the territory was marshy (it is still wetland).[151] The local population used to live in wooden houses constructed on artificial mounds.[152] It is unsurprising in these circumstances that the Greeks had to adapt

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2001, 2–20; Foxhall 1998; Tsetskhladze 1998a, 51–67; Bouzek 2000. For the Vix krater a deposition date of *ca.* 500 B.C. is now widely accepted, and according to the most recent investigations the dead woman was a queen rather than a princess (Rolley 2003). On a stone statue of a Celtic warrior of *ca.* 500 B.C. from southern France, see Dietler and Py 2003.

[148] See Ruby 1999; Kristiansen 1998, 210–89; Ruiz and Molinos 1998, 183–247.

[149] Boardman 2001, 153–67; 282–9; 2002a; 2004. See also Tsetskhladze 1998a, 51–67; Rathje *et al.* 2002; Schmaltz and Söldner 2003; Rückert and Kolb 2003.

[150] For Phasis, see Tsetskhladze 1998b, 7–12.

[151] Tsetskhladze 1997b, 122–3.

[152] Tsetskhladze 1997b, 123–8.

their way of life to local conditions, and this they did.[153] The situation of Gyenos,[154] another colony in Colchis, was much the same. The Greek population of Colchis had even to import grain and salt from northern Black Sea Greek colonies. One aspect is striking: very few Greek lamps (either imported or made locally) have been found in Colchis, about 22 for the whole eastern Black Sea.[155] It seems that Greeks may have borrowed an alternative way of lighting from the locals.[156] Colchis produced honey and wax in large quantities, even for export (wax) (Strabo 11. 2. 17); thus it is possible that wax candles were produced (either tapers or bowl-shaped with inserted-wicks), although the use of blubber is another option to be considered (*cf.* Xenophon *Anabasis* 5. 4. 28; Strabo 12. 3. 19).[157]

It is often difficult to detect cultural influences. Frequently, we are dealing with objects which display a mixture of styles; and it is not easy to interpret such objects, especially those locally produced. We can identify possible origins of particular stylistic traits, but how far can this be thought of as general cultural influence rather than a borrowing of individual features which can be adapted and incorporated into something essentially local in inspiration? Even if the feature (style, shape, etc.) arose in one 'culture' and for a specific purpose, this does not mean that this purpose, the cultural baggage surrounding its creation, was carried with it into a different culture. A style might have been absorbed, but its context was transformed. This is the particularly the case in such a region as Etruria:

> A number of recent discoveries and publications have shown that monumental art began in Etruria in the early, and not in the late, 7th century B.C., with strong suggestions that . . . the first impulse and quite probably the artists themselves reached Italy from the Near East, rather than from (or through) Greece. . . . But it is also generally accepted that within a couple of generations, still within the 7th century, there was a sharp turn—represented by the story of Demaratus of Corinth in ancient written sources—towards all things Greek: after which Near Eastern and traditional local traits remained as no more than faintly disreputable 'contaminations' in the essentially Hellenized Etruscan culture . . . The second part of this assessment appears to me rather questionable, and I shall discuss it here on the basis of two examples of

[153] See Tsetskhladze 1997b.
[154] For Phasis, see Tsetskhladze 1998b, 12–5.
[155] Tsetskhladze 1997b, 128–9.
[156] Tsetskhladze 1997b, 128.
[157] Fossey 2003.

> monumental sculture from the territory of Caere: the stone statues of Ceri and the terracotta cut-out akroteria from Acquarossa. Taken together with their probable antecedents and successors, these monuments, in my view, offer evidence for a strong strain of Oriental inspiration that remained alive in Etruscan art (and beyond) across all the Archaic Greek influences. Such an inspiration was however (and this is my main contention) entirely absorbed, transformed and adapted according to local needs, ideas and tastes, without thereby losing any of its power of representation and communication.[158]

We are presented with the same difficulties in the Iberian Peninsula. According to A. Domínguez, we cannot conclude from the evidence that Iberia was Hellenised: '[Iberia] assumed Greek cultural features and reinterpreted them, frequently on her own account. Or she used Greeks, in the best of cases, to express in a Greek manner, truly Iberian ideas—but little more'.[159]

Some New Theories

The pattern of interaction between Greeks and local peoples was complex. 'Ethnic groups shade off into one another and interaction and interdependence have led to a high degree of acculturation.'[160] Several theories have been brought forward, occasioning much discussion on how to explain and elucidate the nature and form of contacts and relations between Greeks and 'Others'.

A new term, 'Middle Ground', has been suggested to force a discussion of these relationships[161] that goes beyond terms such as 'acculturation' or 'frontier history'[162] to describe something that is both 'centre' and 'periphery'. It was first used by R. White in the context of encounters between American Indians and Europeans in the Great Lakes in the 17th–19th centuries:

> On the Middle Ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings. People try to persuade others who are different from

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[158] F. Ridgway 2001, 351.
[159] Domínguez 1999, 324. *Cf.* Domínguez 2002.
[160] E. Hall 1989, 170.
[161] Malkin 1998c; 2002.
[162] For the Middle Ground as a replacement for frontier history, see Berend 2002, xiv.

> them by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and the practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through them new practices—the shared meanings and practices of the Middle Ground.[163]

The appropriateness of its use for describing the relationship between Greeks, Etruscans and local élites in the Bay of Naples has been discussed by I. Malkin.[164] Neither Campanians nor Etruscans were alien barbarians living in a hitherto unrecognised terrain. They dwelt in a region in which Greeks, Etruscans, Phoenicians and locals mixed as traders, craftsmen or migrants, or existed as colonies or the nuclei of resident communities. Thus nobody in Campania was an 'absolute other'. One of the examples Malkin uses is the story of Bakchiad Demaratos, an exiled Corinthain aristocrat who came to Etrsucan Tarquinia with three artists and was father to the legendary Roman king, Tarquinius Priscus, to illustrate individual migration and integration. The Aristonothos krater[165] as well as Nestor's Cup at Pithekoussai show how writing, lifestyle and epic content combined to disseminate Homeric motifs among the Etruscans. He cites a few other examples in his article to reinforce his conclusion that Campania, a frontier zone for Greeks and Etruscans, who mixed there with local élites, witnessed the emergence of a Middle Ground in which Greek mythic frameworks were spread, adapted and appropriated. It was a mediation zone, one where a new culture emerged, a 'colonial' culture, but one of accommodation not imperialism. The colonial situation was a threat to neither party, thus a Middle Ground could emerge, underpinned by myths of Greek *Nostoi* origins which enjoyed success flowed because these origins were not regarded as exclusively Greek to begin with. Homeric myths were something that the Greeks could bring to market as a cultural commodity.

Another term to have gained currency in recent times is 'hybridity', borrowed from literary and cultural theory and Postcolonial Studies, described as 'a space between two extremes of colonizer and colonized . . . a "third space" of communication and negotiation'. It has since been stretched to form 'a dynamic within which the colonizer's culture and identity are transformed by an encounter that produces the necessity of communication between groups using

[163] White 1991, x.
[164] Malkin 2002. See also Malkin 1998a.
[165] See also Dougherty 2003.

different languages, cultures, and ideologies . . .';[166] it may be applied to culture and persons as well as to colonial space.[167] Antonaccio believes that hybridity 'offers a more productive approach than either the polarities of Greek and barbarian, or the unidirectional process implied with the term "Hellenization" . . .'.[168] To prove her point, she uses, among other examples, Attic red-figure nestorides attributed to Polygnotos (interpreted as 'transculturated or hybrid objects', probably produced in southern Italy in '. . . a metropolitan centre in response to colonial experience, possibly of Athens herself'),[169] and a Corinthianising krater of the late 7th century from Morgantina Necropolis. The shape and the rays emanating from its foot derived from mixing bowls at Corinth, probably by way of Syracuse; the handle plates, stirrup handles and the colour are clear borrowings from Corinthian exports, but the wavy line motif and syntax of the object are not found in the Corinthian (or other Greek) tradition and are most probably local to Morgantina. Thus, a local craftsman produced a hybrid vessel, combining features from the indigenous and colonial repertories to create something that does not simply imitate a Greek original but combines aspects of two cultures and idioms. This is but one example. In fact, the entire assemblage of ceramics discovered at inland sites of the 7th–5th centuries is hybrid.[170]

A given theory will fit some sets of actual circumstances far better than it fits others. But as I have mentioned above, there is no single, uniform process to what we call Greek colonisation. We are again talking about terminology. People sometimes seem to be discussing different concepts because they are using different terms, when in fact they are often discussing the same phenomenon.

The contemporary phenomenon of globalisation, so much talked about by politicians and political scientists, has exerted an influence on study of the ancient Mediterranean. P. Horden and N. Purcell's book *The Corrupting Sea*, the first volume of which appeared in 2000, is recent evidence of this. According to them:

> The [Mediterranean] sea, its islands, and the countries that surround it, communicate across it, and share its climate, still seem to many

[166] Antonaccio 2003, 59.
[167] Antonaccio 2005, 100.
[168] Antonaccio 2005, 100. See also van Dommelen 2005.
[169] Antonaccio 2005, 102–4.
[170] Antonaccio 2005, 106–7. *Cf.* Antonaccio 2004.

> historians to be far less worth studying as a collectivity than is Europe or the Middle East, Christendom or Islam. These, not the Mediterranean, form the major units of enquiry and determine the characteristic orientation of more specialized research—with damaging consequences for intra-Mediterranean comparisons. For all the frequency with which it is referred to (or simply invoked on title pages), Mediterranean history is a division of the subject of history as a whole that has yet to achieve full articulacy and recognition.[171]

The publication of this book has brought forth many reviews and a number of conferences, largely in support of its central thesis and testing it for the Mediterranean in antiquity.[172] Pan-Mediterraneanism is not new (but neither is globalisation: were not European explorers, traders and empire-builders forging something of the sort for centuries?). It can be used as a means of looking at much of the ancient world, but its usefulness is limited by geography just as it is with 'Europe', the 'Near East', etc.: how can it deal satisfactorily with Romano-German or Graeco-Persian matters, for instance? It may reinforce the attention paid to a Mediterranean core at the expense of a number of peripheries, a false dichotomy in what was a heavily interconnected world, and diminish due recognition of other 'divisions' of history (a paradoxical outcome in light of the quotation). We must wait upon Horden and Purcell's second volume, which promises to look at the Mediterranean from the outside and provide further perspectives, before we can essay a considered judgment.

Ethnicity

As well as ethnicity,[173] Hellenicity, Hellenic identity and Greekness have received enormous attention in recent academic writing. Central to these discussions are J. Hall's two books.[174] As J. Davies has

[171] Horden and Purcell 2000, 15.

[172] See, for example, the material of an international workshop in Tel Aviv published in *MHR* 18.2 (2003), with contributions by L. Foxhall, I. Malkin, I. Morris, N. Purcell, B.D. Shaw and G. Woolf. See also Harris 2005, with contributions by D. Abulafia, S.E. Alcock, C.D. Armstrong, R.S. Bagnall, G.W. Bowersock, A. Bresson, A. Chaniotis, W.V. Harris, M. Herzfeld, P. Horden, F. Marshall, N. Purcell, S. Saïd and M. van de Mieroop. *Cf.* Bang 2004.

[173] For discussion of this issue in a Near Eastern context, see Snell 2005, 370–83; van Soldt 2005.

[174] J. Hall 1997; 2002. See also J. Hall 2001; 2003; 2004.

observed, '. . . the very word "Greek" itself, together with other ethnic identifiers such as "Dorian" or "Pelasgian" and with group-labels such as "tribe", is caught up in a debate about ethnicity and ethnogenesis, the argument being that "Dorians", "Gelontes", and so on denoted not primordial group but recent, artificial, fluid social constructs'.[175] All works published since have engaged with Hall, to support him, update him or challenge him.[176] Without going into great detail about Greek self-perceptions of their origins and ethnicity, I will allow myself to quote a long passage of Thucydides (1. 3):

> . . . before the time of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, the name Hellas did not exist at all, and different parts were known by the names of different tribes, with the name 'Pelasgian' predominating. After Hellen and his sons had grown powereful in Phthiotis and had been invited as allies into other states, these states separately and because of their connection with the family of Hellen began to be called 'Hellenic'. But it took a long time before the name ousted all the other names. The best evidence for this can be found in Homer, who, though he was born much later than the time of the Trojan War, nowhere uses the name 'Hellenic' for the whole force. Instead he keeps this name for the followers of Achilles who came from Phthiotis and were in fact the original Hellenes. For the rest in his poems he uses the words 'Danaans', 'Argives', and 'Achaeans'. He does not even use the term *barbaroi*, and this, in my opinion, is because in his time the Hellenes were not yet known by one name, and so marked off as something separate from the outside world. By 'Hellenic' I mean here both those who took on the name city by city, as a result of a common language, and those who were later all called by the common name.

It is clear that in the Archaic period the Greeks were not a single people; they identified themselves mainly by their place of residence. They recognised their common origins—language, blood, gods, etc.—only when there was a serious outside threat; and this happened first not until 480 B.C. when Persia invaded Greece and Carthage

[175] Davies 2002, 237.

[176] Antonaccio 2001; 2003; 2004; 2005; Malkin 2001a; 2001b; Morgan 2001; Thomas 2001; etc. The latest discussion of his work is published in *AWE* 4.2 (2005), 409–60, with a leading piece by L.G. Mitchell ('Ethnic Identity and the Community of the Hellenes'), and contributions by C.J. Tuplin ('Helleniceties: Marginal Notes to a Book and Review'), R. Osborne ('The Good of Ethnicity'), A.M. Snodgrass ('Sanctuary, Shared Cult and Hellenicity: an Archaeological Angle'), G. Shepherd ('Hellenicity: More Views from the Margins'), A.J. Domínguez ('Hellenic Identity and Greek Colonisation') and J. Boardman ('Ethnicity-Shmicity?'). *Cf.* McInerney 2001; Konstan 2001; Domínguez 2004; Kerschner 2004.

Sicily.[177] Herodotus (8. 144) is the first to convey this message: 'Our common Greekness: we are one in blood and one in language; those shrines of the gods belong to us all in common, as do the sacrifices in common, and there are our customs, bred of a common upbringing.'

In written sources, for example Herodotus, discussion of native peoples is often confused or confusing.[178] For instance, the Colchians are declared Egyptians because they practised circumcision and linen-working, as did the Egyptians (2. 104–105); the Scythian Gelonoi are deemed to be descended from the Hellenes (4. 108–109); and the Cappadocians are called ('by the Greeks') Syrians (1. 72). According to Strabo (12. 3. 9), the Paphlagonians '. . . are bounded on the east by the Halys River, "which", according to Herodotus, "flows from the south between the Syrians and the Paphlagonians and empties into the Euxine Sea, as it called"; by "Syrians", however, he means the "Cappadocians", and in fact they are still to-day called "White Syrians", while those outside the Taurus are called "Syrians"'.

How can we 'excavate ethnicity'?[179] This is another question that has received increased attention with, once again, the focus on southern Italy and, especially, Sicily.[180] Burial rites[181] and pottery[182] have provided the principal evidence to be examined.[183] It is often the case that archaeology cannot provide definite answers. Let me illustrate this from another area of Greek colonisation in which a significant local population dwelt both within Greek colonies and in their vicinity: the Black Sea. There are no stone public buildings or even fortifications (except at Histria) in the Black Sea colonies until the Late Archaic period.[184] Even dwellings and shrines are subterraneous[185] (the first rural stone temple dates from the late 6th–early 5th century).[186] At the same time there is a large quantity of handmade

[177] Morris and Powell 2006, 9–10.
[178] *Cf.* J. Hall 2003, 31; Thomas 2001, 215–6. See also Karageorghis and Taifacos 2004.
[179] *Cf.* Jones 1997.
[180] For the latest, see Shepherd 2005; Antonaccio 2005.
[181] Shepherd 1995; 1999; *cf.* Frederiksen 1999.
[182] Antonaccio 2005, 101–6.
[183] For a discussion and examples of how to use all manner of archaeological remains, see Gassner 2003; Gnade 2002 (who discusses the Archaic period as well as the post-Archaic).
[184] See evidence and discussion in Tsetskhladze 2004.
[185] Tsetskhladze 2004.
[186] Golovacheva and Rogov 2001.

pottery (between 10 and 36%).[187] Thus, what kind of ethnic identity can we ascribe to these colonies and settlements? At first glance the settlements seem local. Accepting the evidence at face value would require us to claim that there were no Greeks in the Black Sea, at least in the Archaic period.[188] Burial rites are no help: often it is difficult to distinguish Greek burials from local in a colony's necropolis.[189] The tombstones themselves may add to the confusion: next to some that are typically Greek others of local anthropomorphic-type can be found, but with inscriptions in Greek and containing typical Greek grave goods. And this is the case for the Classical and Hellenistic periods as well.[190] If we examine the names on the tombstones, 'Greek' names appear on tombs containing 'barbarian' rites and vice versa. We know that it is unsound to place complete reliance on names as a means of ethnic identification.[191]

Thus, the situation varies from region to region and no single pattern can be detected or applied.

Greek Colonies and Settlements in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea: A Brief Conspectus

The establishment of Greek colonies around the Mediterranean and Black Seas in the Archaic period took place at a time and in a context of exploration, the acquisition of new geographical and technical knowledge, and the mutual entriching of each other's cultures. It was not just expansion and colonisation as we understand it from a modern point of view. It was dictated by internal and external considerations. Thanks to colonisation, boundaries, both physical and intellectual, were pushed, so that, as Plato remarked (*Phaedo* 109b), the world extended from the Pillars of Hercules to the River Phasis, that is from the western tip of the Mediterranean to the eastern edge of the Black Sea.

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[187] Tsetskhladze 1998a, 45; 2004, 256–7.

[188] From the middle/end of the 5th century B.C. the Greek colonies around the Black Sea looked as grand and Greek as any on the Greek mainland or in the West (see Tsetskhladze 2003, 141–4).

[189] Tsetskhladze 1998a, 45; Damyanov 2005.

[190] Tsetskhladze and Kondrashev 2001.

[191] Tsetskhladze 1998a, 45.

Greek colonisation produced about 230 colonies and settlements.[192] Several were the result of secondary colonisation—colonies established by other colonies; fewer than half have been studied archaeologically. Many overseas settlements are recorded in written sources, but it is impossible to determine their status or locate them archaeologically. The main colonisers in the Archaic period were Chalcis, Corinth, Eretria, Megara, Miletus and Phocaea (see Table 6 at the end).

The earliest foundation in the Mediterranean was Pithekoussai, which lasted for about half a century, declining after the establishment of nearby Euboean Cumae. The character of Al Mina remains unclear, but it is obvious that it was the first meeting place between Greeks and Near Eastern societies.

Southern Italy and Sicily were well stocked with colonies. In the former, Sybaris was established by Achaeans in *ca.* 720 B.C. It had good farmland for producing corn and wine. Another Achaean foundation was Croton (in about 710 B.C.), also with good farmland; the temple of Hera Lacinia stands in the Archaic city. Metapontum, also Achaean, had an excellent harbour; there were many temples in the city, including one to Apollo. Poseidonia (Paestrum), again Achaean, has yeielded fortification walls, temples dedicated to Hera, Ceres and Athena, and had close links with the Etruscans. Tarentum, Siris and Locri were Spartan foundations. The colonies soon became large and wealthy, and then began to establish their own colonies: Locri, for example, founded Medma, Hipponium and Metaurus.

In Sicily, Syracuse, established by the Corinthians in 734 B.C., was the richest Greek colony. It possessed a fine harbour and temples to Athena, Zeus and Apollo; one Ionic temple was unfinished. Naxos, a Chalcidian foundation of 734 B.C., was built on a local settlement from which the native inhabitants had been displaced. Leontini (established 728 B.C.), also Chalcidian, was also established on a local site from which the native Sicels were expelled; it had fortification walls. Soon afterwards the Chalcidians founded Catane. Rhegion was a joint foundation of Chalcidians from Zancle and Messenians from the Peloponnese, whilst Zancle itself (later Messina) had been founded soon after Naxos by Cumae. Megara Hyblaea was a Megarian colony; it exhibits some regular planning—excavation has unearthed the earliest houses, temples, etc. Gela, a Dorian

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[192] Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 152.

foundation of 688 B.C. in which Rhodians and Cretans participated, displaced a local settlement; we know of temples to Athena and Demeter. In the 7th century B.C. these colonies expanded by establishing their own: Syracuse founded Helorus, Acrae, Casmenae and Camarina; Megara Hyblaea, Selinus; Zancle, Himera; and Gela, Acragas.

Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily soon outgrew their mother cities in wealth and display. For this reason southern Italy became known as Magna Graecia. Syracuse by repute was the largest and most beautiful of all Greek cities. In the 5th century Acragas had a population of 80,000; Sybaris between 100,000 and 300,000, and filled a circuit of about 10km; etc. Even the earliest inscription in the Greek alphabet, scratched on a local vase, was discovered in Italy (near Gabii); it dates to *ca.* 770 B.C.

In North Africa perhaps the fertile land of the Cyrenaican seaboard and plateau attracted the Greeks. In *ca.* 632 B.C. Dorian colonists from the island of Thera established Cyrene. Initially they settled on the small offshore island of Platea. After a few years the native Libyans persuaded them to move to a better site, Cyrene. The colonists took local wives. Cyrene prospered and in the 6th century invited new settlers from the Peloponnese and the Dorian islands; as a result, the new colony of Barca was established. This expansion alarmed the natives who, in 570 B.C., sought Egyptian help against the Greeks. From *ca.* 515 B.C. Cyrene formed part of the Persian empire, but it continued to prosper. The city had grand public buildings, including temples to Apollo, Zeus and Demeter. There were other Greek cities in Libya—Apollonia (established by Thera), and Euhesperides and Tauchira (both colonies of Cyrene itself).

In Egypt the pharaohs employed Ionians and Carians as mercenaries from the early 7th century B.C. In *ca.* 650 B.C. Chios, Teos, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, Mytilene, Aegina, Samos and Miletus established an *emporion*, Naukratis, on the Nile Delta. The settlement was under strict Egyptian control who forbade intermarriage between Greeks and locals. Many of the states established a joint sanctuary (Hellenion), with separate temples for Aegina, Samos and Miletus. This was not just a trading station but a production centre for pottery, votives and faience scarab seals.

Greek colonists opened up the Adriatic coast, the lands of local Illyrians, in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. A possible attraction of the area was its silver mines. Corcyra (Corfu), settled first by

Eretrians and then, in 733 B.C., by Corinthians, had two temples of Artemis and one of Dionysus. Relations between the colony and its mother city of Corinth were tense and in the 7th century there was a battle between them. In about 627 B.C. Corcyra and Corinth established Epidamnus, of which little is known archaeologically; shortly afterwards Corinth founded Apollonia, a wealthy colony.

For the colonies of the northern shore of the Aegean the main sources are literary; there is little archaeological evidence, especially for the Archaic period. The chief colonisers were the Chalcidians, whose main colony here was Torone, and the Eretrians, who founded Mende, Scione and Methone. Corinth founded Potidaea in *ca.* 600 B.C. The Parians, who occupied the island of Thasos in the 680s, established several cities on the mainland opposite, including Neapolis (Kavalla) and Oesyme in Thracian lands whose foundation occasioned conflict with the native Thracians. The Chians established Maroneia and the Aeolians Aenos. Abdera, a wealthy colony situated in Aegean Thrace, was founded twice: the first time by Clazomenians in the second half of the 7th century B.C.; the second time by Teans in *ca.* 545. Both were Ionian.

Another Ionian colony, Massalia in the south of France, was established by Phocaea in *ca.* 600 B.C. Ancient tradition, not contemporary with the event, speaks of the welcome the colonists received from the native ruler and their commitment to intermarry with native women. The earliest dwellings were one-room constructions of mud brick on stone foundations. For a long time Massalia lacked a *chora* thanks to the proximity of local settlements to the city walls and the unsuitability of the local terrain for grain cultivation. Therefore, for economic survival, Massalia needed to establish very close links with the Gauls and other local peoples—as it did with the Etruscans. Gradually it established sub-colonies or settlements in the near hinterland. Another Phocaean foundation, established at the same time as Massalia, was Emporion in Spain, home to a local Tartessian kingdom and several Phoenician settlements. Originally it was a small settlement on an island; in *ca.* 575 B.C. it moved to the adjacent mainland, an area populated by locals, who came to form part of the Greek city. Because of the marshy surroundings, Emporion had very little *chora*, at least until the 5th–4th centuries. Thus, like Massalia, it developed close relations with local peoples from the outset in order to ensure its prosperity. We know nothing archaeologically about Rhode, the other Greek colony in Spain.

Few were the Ionian colonies in Magna Graecia. In Etruria Ionians established their quarter in Gravisca (the harbour of Tarquinia) in about 600 B.C. This was not just a centre for trade between Greeks and Etruscans; it was a production centre as well, including a gem workshop founded in the late 6th century. Elea/Hyele was entirely Greek and we have no evidence to suggest that locals formed any part of it. Initially it enjoyed friendly relations with local chiefs; however, in about 520 B.C. it had to erect fortification walls. Alalia, established by Phocaea in about 565 B.C., was surrounded by local people too, but we know little about relations with them.

The main area of Ionian colonisation was the Black Sea, known to Greeks at first as 'Inhospitable'. The Hellespont and Propontis, where such colonies as Thracian Chersonesus (by Athens in 561–556 B.C.), Cyzicus (by Miletus in 756 and then again in 679 B.C.), Perinthus (by Samos in 602 B.C.), Chalcedon (by Megara in 685 or 676 B.C.), and Byzantium (in 668 or 659 B.C.) were established, provided the gateway to the Black Sea. Miletus was the principal coloniser of the Black Sea, founding its first colonies here in the last third/end of the 7th century—Histria, the settlement on Berezan (ancient Borysthenites), Sinope, Apollonia Pontica and Amisus. The 6th century B.C. saw a major wave of colonisation. Several dozen cities and settlements were established—Panticapaeum, Olbia, Kepoi, Patraeus, Odessus, Phanagoria, Gorgippia, Phasis, Gyenos, Dioskurias and many others. Heracleia Pontica was founded in 554 B.C. by Megarians and Boeotians; Hermonassa was a joint colony of Miletus and Mytilene. The Black Sea littoral was heavily populated by locals, chief among them the Thracians, Getae, Scythians, Colchians, Mariandynoi, Chalybes and Macrones. Several of these were hostile to the Greeks from the outset: for example, in the large area between Heracleia Pontica and Byzantium there were no Greek colonies or settlements despite the fertile land and excellent harbours, apparently ideal territory for the establishment of colonies, because, as ancient Greek written sources tell us, this was a region inhabited by hostile locals.

Thus, even at a cursory glance, it can be seen that Greek colonisation owned no single reason, followed no particular model and responded in a variety of ways to the diverse local circumstances it confronted.

Table 6
Main Greek Colonies and Settlements in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (adapted from Graham 1982, 160–2; Osborne 1996, 121–5; with additions from Tsetskhladze and De Angelis 1994, *passim*; Hansen and Neilsen 2004, *passim*)

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPU-LATION
Abdera	1. Clazomenae 2. Teos	1. 654 (Eusebius) 2. *ca.* 545	second half of 7th c.	No
Abydos	Miletus	*ca.* 680–652 (Strabo)		
Acanthus	Andros	655 (Eusebius)	?6th c.	
Acrae	Syracuse	663 (Thucydides)	second quarter of 7th c.	
Acragas	Gela	580	*ca.* 600–575	Yes
Adria	Aegina	late 6th c. (Strabo)	*ca.* 525–500	
Aenos	Aeolia	second half of 7th c.–first half of 6th c. (Herodotus, Ephorus, Ps.-Skymnos, Strabo)		Yes
Agathe	Phocaea	shortly after 600	third quarter of 7th c.	
Alalia	Phocaea/ Massalia	*ca.* 545	*ca.* 575–550	
Alopeconnesus	Aeolians	before 561 (Ephorus, Strabo)		Yes
Ambracia	Corinth	*ca.* 655–625		
Amisus	Miletus (and Phocaea?)	late 7th c.	*ca.* 600–575	?Yes
Anaktorion	Corinth and Corcyra	*ca.* 655–625	*ca.* 625–600	
Apollonia in Illyria	Corinth and Corcyra	*ca.* 600	*ca.* 600	Yes
Apollonia in Libya	Thera		*ca.* 600	Yes
Apollonia Pontica	Miletus	*ca.* 610 (Ps.-Skymnos)	late 7th c.	Yes
Argilus	Andros	?655 (Eusebius)	mid-7th c.	

Table 6 (*cont.*)

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPU-LATION
Assera	Chalcis			
Assus	Methymna	?7th c.	6th c.	
Astacus	Megara and Athens	?711 (Eusebius)		
Barca	Cyrene	*ca.* 560–550		
Berezan	Miletus	647	*ca.* 630	Yes
Bisanthe	Samos			
Black Corcyra	Cnidus	6th c.	600–575	
Byzantium	Megara	659 (Eusebius) or 668	650–625	
Callatis	Heracleia Pontica	late 6th c.	4th c.	
Camarina	Syracuse	601 (Eusebius); shortly before *ca.* 597 (Thucydides)	late 7th c.	No
Cardia	Miletus and Clazomenae	late 7th c.		
Casmenae	Syracuse	shortly before *ca.* 642 (Thucydides)	*ca.* 600	
Catane	Chalcis	737/6 (Eusebius); *ca.* 728 (Thucydides)	second half of 8th c.	Yes
Caulonia	Croton		*ca.* 700	No
Cerasus	Sinope			Yes
Chalcedon	Megara	685 and 679 (Eusebius)		
Chersonesus Taurica	Heracleia Pontica	421	525–500	Yes
Chersonesus (Thracian)	Athens	561–556		
Cius	Miletus	627		
Cleonae	Chalcis			
Colonae	Miletus			
Corcyra	1. Eretria 2. Corinth	1. Plutarch 2. 707/6 (Eusebius); same as Syracuse (Strabo)	second half of 8th c.	Yes

Table 6 (*cont.*)

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPU-LATION
Cotyora	Sinope			Yes
Croton	Achaea	709 (Eusebius)	7th c.	No
Cumae (Italy)	Chalcis and Eretria	1050 (Eusebius)	some pre-750 in pre-Hellenic context; first colonial pottery after 725	Yes
Cydonia	Samos (then Aegina)	*ca.* 520 (Herodotus)		
Cyrene	Thera	1. 762/1 2. 632/1 (Eusebius)	late 7th c.	Yes
Cyzicus	Miletus	1. 756/5 2. 676/5 (Eusebius)		
Dicaearchia	Samos	531 (Eusebius)		
Dioskurias	Miletus	*ca.* 550	early/first third of 6th c. (local inland settlement)	Yes
Elea/Hyele	Phocaea	*ca.* 540	first half of 6th c.	
Emporion	Phocaea	*ca.* 600	*ca.* 600–575	Yes
Epidamnus	Corcyra	627 (Eusebius)		
Euhesperides	Cyrene	before *ca.* 515	610–575	
Gale	Chalcis			
Galepsus	Thasos		*ca.* 625	
Gela	Rhodes and Crete	692/1 (Eusebius); shortly before 688 (Thucydides)	*ca.* 700	Yes
Gryneion	Aeolia		by 500	
Helorus	Syracuse		*ca.* 700	
Heracleia Minoa	Selinus	before 510	mid-6th c.	No
Heracleia Pontica	Megara and Boeotians	554 (Ps.-Skymnos) (Strabo)		Yes
Hermonassa	Miletus and Mytilene		575–550	?Yes

Table 6 (*cont.*)

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPU-LATION
Himera	Zancle/Mylae	650/49 (Eusebius); 648 (Ptolemy, Diodorus)	*ca.* 625	
Hipponium	Locri Epizephyrii		*ca.* 620	
Histria	Miletus	657 (Eusebius)	630	Yes
Hyria	Crete	?7th c.	6th c.	
Kelenderis	Samos			
Kepoi	Miletus	mid-6th c.	580–560	?Yes
Lampsacus	Miletus	654 (Eusebius)		
Laus	Sybaris			
Leontini	Chalcis	shortly before 728 (Thucydides)	750–725	Yes
Leros	Miletus		7th c.	
Leuca	Corinth	mid-7th c.		
Limnae	Miletus			
Lipara	Cnidus	630 (Eusebius)	575–550	
Locri Epizephyrii	Locris	679 (Eusebius); *temp* Messenian War (Aristotle)	*ca.* 700	Yes
Madytus	Lesbos			
Maroneia	Chios	before *ca.* 650		
Massalia	Phocaea	598 (Eusebius)	*ca.* 600	
Mecyberna	Chalcis			
Medma	Locri Epizephyrii		*ca.* 600	
Megara Hyblaea	Megara	728 (Thucydides); before Syracuse (Ephorus)	third quarter of 8th c.	No
Mende	Eretria		?11th c.	
Mesembria	Megara, Byzantium, Chalcedon	493	*ca.* 500	
Metapontum	Achaea	775/4 (Eusebius)	last quarter of 8th c.	Yes
Metaurus	1. Zancle 2. Locri Epizep.		1. 700–650 2. *ca.* 550	
Methone	Eretria	*ca.* 706 or *ca.* 733		
Miletopolis	Miletus			

Table 6 (*cont.*)

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPU-LATION
Mylae	Zancle	716 (Eusebius)	last quarter of 8th c.	No
Myrmekion	Miletus or Panticapaeum		575–550	
Nagidos	Samos			
Naukratis	several Ionian cities	*ca.* 655 (Strabo)	last quarter of 7th c.	Yes
Naxos (Sicily)	Chalcis	737 (Eusebius); shortly before 733 (Thucydides)	third quarter of 8th c.	Yes
Neapolis (Kavalla)	Thasos		*ca.* 650–625	
Nymphaeum	Miletus		580–570	Yes
Oasis Polis	Samos	before *ca.* 525		
Odessus	Miletus	585–539	*ca.* 560	
Oesyme	Thasos		650–625	
Olbia	Miletus	647	575–550	Yes
Paesus	Miletus			
Pandosia	Achaeans/Elis	775/4 (Eusebius)	*ca.* 725–700	
Panticapaeum	Miletus		590–570	Yes
Parium	Paros, Miletus, Erythrae	709		
Parthenope	Cumae/Rhodes	12th c. (Strabo)	675–650	
Patraeus	Miletus	550–500	mid 6th c.	?Yes
Perinthus	Samos	602 (Eusebius)		
Phanagoria	Teos	*ca.* 545	*ca.* 540	?Yes
Phaselis	Rhodes	?688		
Phasis	Miletus		*ca.* 550–530	Yes
Pilorus	Chalcis			
Pithekoussai	Chalcis and Eretria		*ca.* 750–725	Up to a point
Poseidonia	Sybaris		*ca.* 600	No
Poteidaea	Corinth	625–585	*ca.* 600	
Priapus	Miletus			
Proconnesus	Miletus	before *ca.* 690		
Prusias	?Miletus	627 (Eusebius)		
Pyxus	Sybaris			
Rhegion	Chalcis (and Zancle)	8th c.	720s	
Rhode	Rhodes	9th–8th cc.	late 7th c.	

Table 6 (*cont.*)

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPU-LATION
Samothrace	Samos	600–500	*ca.* 700	Yes
Sane	Andros	655		
Sarte	Chalcis			
Scepsis	Miletus			
Scione	Achaea			
Selinus	Megara Hyblaea	651 (Diodorus); 650 (Eusebius); 628 (Thucydides)	mid-7th c.	Nearby
Selymbria	Megara	before Byzantium		
Sermyle	Chalcis			
Sestus	Lesbos			
Side	Cyme	7th–6th c.		
Sigeum	Athens	620–610		
Singus	Chalcis			
Sinope	Miletus	1. pre-757 (Ps.-Skymnos) 2. 631/0 (Eusebius)	last third of 7th c.	
Siris	Colophon	*ca.* 680–652	*ca.* 700	
Spina				
Stagirus	Chalcidians	656 (Eusebius)		
Stryme	Thasos	*ca.* 650		
Sybaris	Achaea	720s (Ps.-Skymnos); 710/9 (Eusebius)	720s	No
Syracuse	Corinth	735	*ca.* 750–725	Yes
Tanais	?Miletus		*ca.* 625–600	
Taras	Sparta	706 (Eusebius)	*ca.* 700	Yes
Tauchira	Cyrene		*ca.* 630	
Temesa	?Croton		*ca.* 500	
Terina	Croton		*ca.* 500	
Thasos	Paros	1425 (Eusebius); mid-7th c. Archilocus)	*ca.* 650	Yes
Theodosia	Miletus	550–500	580–570	Yes
Tieion	Miletus			
Tomis	Miletus		early 6th c.	
Torone	Chalcis	before *ca.* 650	late 12th c.	Yes
Trapezus	Sinope	757/6 (Eusebius)		Yes

Table 6 (*cont.*)

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPU-LATION
Tyras	Miletus	mid-6th c.	second half of 6th c.	?Yes
Tyritace	Miletus		575–550	?Yes
Zancle	Cumae/Chalcis	8th c.	third quarter of 8th c.	No

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EMPORION. A STUDY OF THE USE AND MEANING OF THE TERM IN THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS[1]

Mogens Herman Hansen

The concept of *emporion* is found in any account of Greek colonisation and in any discussion of foreign trade in the ancient Greek world.[2] Indeed, a whole book has been devoted to the use and meaning of the term.[3] *Emporion* is the ancient Greek word for what in modern English is called a trading station (*LSJ s.v.*) or, more specifically, a port-of-trade. The port-of-trade in early societies has become one of the key concepts in economic and sociological theory, and here the term *emporion* is often used for ports-of-trade found anywhere in the world.[4] Analysing the *emporion* as a historical phenomenon restricted to the ancient world we have, as usual, to make a choice between two different methods. One is to study the concept behind the term and the settlements actually described in our sources as being *emporia*, no matter whether they are trading stations in the sense discussed by modern historians. The other method is to shift the focus of investigation from attestations of the term to what it denotes and use *emporion* as a designation of ancient Greek trading stations, irrespective of whether they are attested in the sources as *emporia*. The first method is applied, for example, by A. Bresson in his 1993 article; the second by D. Ridgway in his study of Pithekoussai and in his article '*Emporion*' in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.[5] In the main part of this article I adopt the first method, but add a section about what can be learned by preferring the second.

[1] This chapter is a substantially revised and updated version of Hansen 1997a.

[2] Colonisation: Graham 1964, 4–5; 1982, 129, 134–5, 140; Ridgway 1992, 107–9; Tsetskhladze and De Angelis 1994, 4, 56, 62, 70, 117, 137. Trade: Mele 1979; Vélissaropoulos 1980; Cartledge 1983, 11.

[3] Bresson and Rouillard 1993. It contains the acts of six seminars held in 1989–91, and the longest contribution is an extremely valuable article by A. Bresson about the Greek cities and their *emporia* (pp. 163–226).

[4] Polanyi 1963. For a justified criticism of the view that the Greek *emporion* was a Polanyan port-of-trade, see Figueira 1984 followed by Bresson 1993, 163–5.

[5] Ridgway 1996b, 524.

The Sources

Like *kome, emporion* is one of the terms which has found favour with modern historians although it is not much used in the sources. Pithekoussai and Gravisca[6] in Italy as well as Al Mina in Syria[7] are settlements which modern historians like to describe as being *emporia*, but neither is called an *emporion* in any of our sources. Apart from the toponym Emporion, which seems to have been used in *ca.* 550 B.C. as the name of an Ionian colony in Spain (see below), there is in fact no occurrence of the word *emporion* in any Archaic text, and the oldest attestations are in Attic inscriptions of the mid-5th century: two boundary stones found in the Piraeus both inscribed ἐμπορίο καὶ hoδῒ hόρος (*IG* I³ 1101 A and B) and τοῖς ἐμπορί[οις] in a fragmentary decree, presumably regulating the foundation of a colony (*IG* I³ 47 A. 7).[8] Of the authors Herodotus is the first to use *emporion*, for example, about Naukratis (2. 179), and apart from Demosthenes (see below) the word occurs only infrequently in other Classical authors.

Another problematical aspect of the evidence is that the majority of the Classical references concern the Athenian *emporion* in the Piraeus whereas evidence of other *emporia* is scarce. With one notable exception all references in Classical inscriptions are to the *emporion* in Athens, and the earliest epigraphical attestations of an *emporion* in, for example, Histiaea (*IG* XII 9 1186. 29; *Staatsverträge* 563) and Miletus (*Milet* 140. 32; *I. Cret.* I VIII 6. 31–2) are of the 3rd century B.C. The exception is a 4th-century inscription testifying to a number of inland *emporia* in Thrace (see below).[9] The literary sources show the same Athenian predominance in the Classical period. Both in Demosthenes and in Strabo there are about 60 occurrences of the term, but almost all the Demosthenic passages refer to Athens,

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[6] For Pithekoussai: Frederiksen 1979, 277; Ridgway 1992, 107–9; 1996b, 524; Greco 1994, but see d'Agostino 1999, 207, 212, 216. For Gravisca: Torelli 1988, 181; Cornell 1995, 109–12.

[7] Boardman 1990, 186; v Reden 1997, 1020; but see Graham 1986, 51–65; Perreault 1993, 62–8; Baurain 1997, 257–8.

[8] After the publication of the Pistiros inscription (see below), however, we cannot preclude that the proper restoration is not ἐμπορί[οις] but ἐμπορί[ταις].

[9] Velkov and Domaradzka 1994. For several improved readings and interpretations, see Avram 1997–98; v Bredow 1997.

whereas Strabo mentions 46 different *emporia*.[10] In the 4th-century *Periplous* ascribed to Ps.-Skylax, on the other hand, no more than seven named sites are classified as being an *emporion*. Adding up all the Classical sources the term is used about 31 named sites only, whereas over 100 *emporia* are known from Hellenistic and Roman sources (see below).

The predominance of Hellenistic and Roman *emporia* can also be illustrated by a study of how the term *emporion* is used by some of the late authors who often cite their source so that their site-classification can be used retrospectively to shed light on the Archaic and Classical periods. Let me adduce two examples: Pausanias' guide includes over 700 references to *poleis* of which some are to former *poleis* or ruined *poleis*,[11] but he uses the term *emporion* only twice and in both cases the reference is to Hellenistic Delos.[12] Stephanus of Byzantium lists some 2940 sites as being *poleis*[13] whereas 12 sites only are classified as an *emporion*; in 6 cases his entry includes a source reference, and the author referred to is either Hellenistic or Roman.[14]

Two Types of Emporion?

After these preliminary remarks I address the questions: how is the term *emporion* used in the sources? and what is the relation between the concept of *emporion* and the concept of *polis*? The first distinction to be acknowledged is between (1) a community which *has* an *emporion* and (2) a community which *is* an *emporion*.

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[10] Étienne 1993, 23–34 lists 47 *emporia*, but his no. 1 is a reference to a unknown number of unnamed Indian *emporia* and no. 26 (Delos) is not explicitly classified as an *emporion*. Strabo mentions *emporoi*, but has no site-classification. Conversely, Étienne has left out the reference in 4. 4. 1 to an *emporion* in Britain used by the Veneti, for which see Rouillard 1993, 37 with n. 8. So the total number of individual and (mostly) named *emporia* is 46.

[11] Rubinstein 1995, 218–9.

[12] Pausanias 3. 23. 3; 8. 33. 2.

[13] Whitehead 1994, 102.

[14] 'Ακάνναι (57. 7, no source); Βαρύγαζα (159. 17, no source); Βήσσυγα (168. 5, no source); Πίστιρος (171. 6, 524. 11, no source); Ἕλλα (268. 1, Polybius); Μόσυλον (457. 1, Marcianus); Νάρβων (469. 10, Strabo); Νικομήδειον (475. 19, Arrian); Ὄννη (493. 17, Marcianus); Ταναΐς (601. 10–11, *cf.* 131. 3, Strabo); Φαναγόρεια (657. 9–10, no source); Χάραξ (688. 11, no source).

In the first case the *emporion* is an institution.[15] It is a harbour or a part of a harbour or lying next to a harbour;[16] it is the place to which the *emporoi* bring their goods and carry others away,[17] which implies that it is the centre of foreign trade and distinct from the *agora* which is the centre of local trade;[18] it is a clearly defined part of a *polis* usually marked by *horoi*[19] and supervised by officials called *epimeletai tou emporiou* vel sim.;[20] import and export duties are exacted here;[21] and special rules for administration of justice operate within the *emporion*.[22]

In the second case the *emporion* is a settlement and not just an enclosed part of a settlement.[23] It is a community rather than a specific institution within a community;[24] and the traditional view has been that, in this sense, there is an essential difference or even an opposition between an *emporion* and an *apoikia* in that an *emporion* is a trading post in contradistinction to an *apoikia* which is a *polis*.[25] In the sources, however, there are several instances of a community

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[15] Bresson 1993, 164–5: 'les cités grecques possédaient d'ordinaire un port de commerce, disons d'emblée pour simplifier, un *emporion*, lieu d'échange légal et organisé qui était situé sur le territoire civique, en général tout près du centre urbain principal: de fait, bien souvent, cet *emporion* n'était autre que le port de la ville qui formait le cœur même de la *polis*.'

[16] Xenophon *Anab.* 1. 4. 6; Demosthenes 20. 31–33; 35. 28, 53; Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 62.

[17] Demosthenes 34. 1, 28, 36–38, 42–44. Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 51. 4.

[18] *SEG* 26 72. 19–21.

[19] *IG* I[3] 1102; Demosthenes 35. 28.

[20] ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου in Athens (*SEG* 26 72. Demosthenes 58. 8–9; Din. 2. 10; fr. 6. 6, Conomis, 42. Conomis) in Amphipolis (*SEG* 46 720) and in Miletus (*Milet* 140. 30); the ἐλλιμενισταί in Bosporus (Demosthenes 34. 34) are tax collectors.

[21] Demosthenes 35. 29–30.

[22] *Milet* 140. 59–65. On the Athenian *dikai emporikai*, see Cohen 1973.

[23] Ps.-Skylax 67: κατὰ ταῦτα Σαμοθρᾴκη νῆσος καὶ λιμήν. κατὰ ταύτην ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἐμπόρια Δρῦς, Ζώνη, ποταμὸς Ἕβρος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τεῖχος Δουρίσκος, Αἶνος πόλις καὶ λιμήν, τείχη Αἰνίων ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, Μέλας κόλπος, Μέλας ποταμός, Δερὶς ἐμπόριον, Κῶβρυς ἐμπόριον, Καρδιανῶν καὶ ἄλλο Κύπασις. 'Opposite is Samothrace, an island with a harbour. Opposite this on the mainland are two *emporia*: Drys and Zone; a river: Ebros and at the river a fortress: Douriskos; Aenus a *polis* with a harbour; some fortresses in Thrace belonging to the Aenians; Melas a bay; Melas a river; Deris an *emporion*; Cobrys an *emporion* belonging to the Cardians, and another one: Cypasis.'

[24] Herodotus 4. 17. 1: ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεϊτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης), ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιππίδαι νέμονται ἐόντες Ἕλληνες Σκύθαι. 'From the *emporion* belonging to the Borysthenites—in all of Scythia this is the central one of the *emporia* along the coast—from this *emporion* the first people are the Callipidai, who are Hellenic Scythians.'

[25] Graham 1964, 5; de Ste Croix 1967, 179; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, 65–8; Murray 1993, 107; Gras 1993, 104; Coldstream 1994, 56; Ridgway 1996b, 524; v Reden 1997, 1020.

which is described both as an *emporion* and as a *polis*, and recently the traditional view that, as communities, *polis* and *emporion* tend to be mutually exclusive terms has been replaced by the more flexible but also more complex view that of the *emporia* in the sense of communities some were trading posts, but some were city-states.[26]

Historians writing about foreign trade take the *emporion* to be primarily an institution of the *polis*,[27] whereas historians studying Greek colonisation tend to think of the *emporion* as a settlement, different from other types of settlement such as the *polis*.[28] One's first impression is that the term must cover two related but different phenomena; and a *prima facia* inspection of the sources seems to support such an interpretation.

Communities which Have an Emporion

The most famous *emporion* in the first sense of the term is the Athenians' *emporion* situated along the eastern and northern shoreline of the Grand Harbour of the Piraeus.[29] The overwhelming majority of our sources concern the *emporion* in the Piraeus.[30] But, in addition to general references to *poleis* having an *emporion* (*e.g.* Aristotle *Pol.* 1327a31; *Oec.* 1346a7), some other named *poleis* are also attested as having an *emporion, viz.*:

Aegina (Demosthenes 23. 211),
Alexandria (Aristotle *Oec.* 1352a30),
Bosporus = Panticapaeum (Demosthenes 34. 34),
Byzantium (Theopompus [*FGrHist*] fr. 62),
Corinth (Thucydides 1. 13. 5),
Phasis (Hippocrates *De Aere Aquis et Locis* 15),[31]
Rhodes (Demosthenes 56. 47),
Salamis on Cyprus (Isocrates 9. 47).[32]

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[26] Gauthier 1981, 10–13; Bresson 1993, 223–5; Hind 1994, 498.

[27] For example Vélissaropoulos 1980, 29–34; Gauthier 1981, 10–13.

[28] For example Graham 1964, 4–6; Ridgway 1992, 107–9; Tsetskhladze 1994a, 111–35; Avram 1996, 288–316.

[29] See Garland 1987, 83–95.

[30] In addition to the inscriptions cited above I can refer, for example, to *SEG* 26. 72 (the silver law of 375/4 B.C.) and to some of the speeches in the *Corpus Demosthenicum, viz.* 33. 1, 5, 6; 34 *passim*; 35 *passim*; 56 *passim.*

[31] On Phasis as a *polis*, see Tsetskhladze 1994b, 81–3.

[32] If we include early Hellenistic authors and inscriptions I can add, for example, Chalcis (Heraclides 29, *GGM* I 105); Histiaea (*IG* XII 9 1186. 29) and Miletus (*I. Cret.* I VIII 6. 31–32).

Let me quote one of the sources to illustrate this use of the term:

> The same Theopompos has the following to say about Byzantion: The citizens of Byzantion were undisciplined and accustomed to having sex and to hanging around and drinking in the taverns, because they had for a long time been governed democratically, and the city was placed close to an *emporion*, and all the people spent their time in the market-place and in the harbour.[33]

The *emporion* was a trading station for *emporoi*,[34] and *emporoi* were first of all traders who transported their wares on board a ship and sold them abroad.[35] But sometimes *emporos* is used about a tradesman who carried his wares overland (Plato *Plt.* 289E) or followed an army on campaign (Xenophon *Cyr.* 6. 2. 38). The implication is that most *poleis* with *emporia* were situated along the coast[36] or on the bank of a navigable river,[37] whereas the examples adduced above include only one inland *polis* with an *emporion, viz.* Corinth.[38] Trade overland between two neighbouring Greek *poleis* seems, in the Archaic period, to have taken place in a market set up in the borderland between the two communities.[39] All other sources we have support the view that the *emporion* of a *polis* was linked with a harbour;[40] correspondingly there is no evidence of an *emporion* in any of the Arcadian *poleis,* and in his description of the ideal *polis* Aristotle points out that every *polis* must have an *agora* (Aristotle *Pol.* 1321b12–8) whereas an

[33] Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 62: περὶ δὲ Βυζαντίων . . . ὁ αὐτός φησι Θεόπομπος τάδε· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Βυζάντιοι καὶ διὰ τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπ' ἐμπορίου κειμένην ἔχειν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν λιμένα διατρίβειν ἀκόλαστοι καὶ συνουσιάζειν καὶ πίνειν εἰθισμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν καπηλείων.

[34] Aristotle *Pol.* 1259a26; Demosthenes 33. 1 (law); *SEG* 26 72. 20–21, 38.

[35] Isager and Hansen 1975, 65; Knorringa 1926.

[36] For example the *emporia* along the north coast of the Black Sea (Herodotus 4. 17)

[37] For example Naukratis (Herodotus 2. 179).

[38] Thucydides 1. 13. 5: οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ αἰεὶ δή ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων . . . Thucydides considers trade overland to be oldfashioned and notes immediately afterwards that the Corinthians later supplemented their *emporion* κατὰ γῆν with one κατὰ θάλασσαν for seaborne trade: ἐπειδή τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἔπλῳζον . . . ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφότερα δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν. The reference must be to the harbours of Corinth at Cenchreae and Lechaion.

[39] Called ἀγορὰ ἐφορία 'frontier-market' see Dracon's homicide law (*IG* I[3] 104. 27–28), quoted by Demosthenes in 23. 37 and explained in 23. 39–40.

[40] Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, 28–45.

emporion can be dispensed with by those who do not want one (Aristotle *Pol.* 1327a31).

Communities which are Emporia

Let us move on to settlements explicitly classified as *emporia* and not as *poleis* with an *emporion*. In this sense the term *emporion* is frequently applied to one or, usually, to an unspecified number of unnamed sites, namely: *emporia* in western Sicily (Herodotus 7. 158; *cf.* Aristotle *Pol.* 1259a25); *emporia* belonging to the Medising Hellenic *poleis* (Herodotus 9. 106);[41] *emporia* controlled by Olynthus (Xenophon *Hell.* 5. 2. 16); *emporia* from which Athens imported her grain (Demosthenes 20. 31); *emporia* from which Clazomenae imported her grain (Aristotle *Oec.* 1348b21); *emporia* along the Thracian coast controlled by Thasos (Thucydides 1. 100. 2); one such unnamed *emporion* (Demosthenes 50. 47); *emporia* in Thrace controlled by Cotys (Aristotle *Oec.* 1351a22); *emporia* in Thrace controlled by Cersobleptes (Demosthenes 23. 110); *emporia* along the coast of Macedon (Demosthenes 2. 17; 7. 12; 19. 153; 19. 315); *emporia* in the Pontic region (Herodotus 4. 17; Lysias 22. 14); *emporia* controlled by Persian satraps (Aristotle *Oec.* 1346a1); *emporia* in Arabia controlled by the Arabian king (Herodotus 3. 5); *emporia* in Spain controlled by the Carthaginians (Ps.-Skylax 1); two unnamed *emporia* along the Illyrian coast (Ps.-Skylax 24). Let me quote two of the sources to illustrate this use of the term:

> Somewhat later the Thasians defected from the Athenians owing to a disagreement about the *emporia* on the coast opposite Thasos and the mine they controlled
>
> Thucydides 1. 100. 2

> when we had reached a place on the opposite mainland, an *emporion* belonging to the Thasians, and had gone ashore and were getting our dinner, I was approached by one of the sailors, Kallippos, . . .
>
> Demosthenes 50. 47.[42]

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[41] The best manuscripts, however, have ἐμπόλια instead of ἐμπόρια.

[42] Thucydides 1. 100. 2: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ξυνέβη Θασίους αὐτῶν (*sc.* the Athenians) ἀποστῆναι, διανεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας Θρᾴκῃ ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ἃ ἐνέμοντο. Dem. 50. 47: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα εἰς χωρίον τι ἐν τῇ ἀπαντικρὺ ἠπείρῳ, Θασίων ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἐκβάντες ἠριστοποιούμεθα, προσέρχεταί μοι τῶν ναυτῶν Καλλικλῆς . . .

Many an attempt has been made to identify some of these *emporia*. It has been suggested that the Sicilian *emporia* must be or at least include Himera and Selinus;[43] and Thucydides' reference to the Thasian *emporia* has been joined with Herodotus' mention of Thasian *poleis* along the Thracian coast which, according to Ps.-Skylax (67), must have included Phagres, Oesyme and Galepsus.[44] It is worth noting that in both cases the unnamed *emporia* have been identified with named settlements which in other sources are attested as *poleis*.

The identification of the Thasian *emporia* with the towns listed by Ps.-Skylax is convincing. The other identifications are far from certain, and in order to get a better understanding of the *emporion* as a settlement rather than as a harbour for foreign trade we must turn to all the passages in which the term is used as a site-classification applied to a *named* community known from other sources. An inspection of the Classical authors provides us with the following list:[45]

Borysthenes (= Olbia: Herodotus 4. 17; 24),
Canobus (Aristotle *Oec.* 1352a30–b3),
Chersonesus (in the Crimea: Ps.-Skylax 68; *SEG* 46 938),
Cobrys (Ps.-Skylax 67),
Cremni (Herodotus 4. 20),
Cypasis (Ps.-Skylax 67),
Cytorum (Ephorus fr. 185 = Strabo 12. 3. 10),
Deris (Ps.-Skylax 67),

[43] Maddoli 1982, 245–52.

[44] Herodotus 7. 109: μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας Θασίων τὰς ἠπειρώτιδας πόλις παρῄιε, . . . 'From these regions he [Xerxes] marched along the mainland *poleis* belonging to the Thasians.' The passage from Ps.-Skylax 67 is quoted and discussed above on p. 4 n. 4, see Bresson 1993, 201–5.

[45] I list only existing *emporia* and thus omit the Chians' suspicion in *ca.* 545 B.C. that the Phocaeans, if they had been allowed to settle in the Oinoussai, might have turned these small islands into a major *emporion* (Herodotus 1. 165).

[46] [New excavations and studies demonstrate that the initial settlement at Emporion was established in *ca.* 600 B.C., at the same time as Massalia itself. Step by step the dominant opinion is that Emporion was founded by Phocaeans directly and not by Massalia. See A. Domínguez's chapter on the Iberian Peninsula in the present volume—Editor.]

[47] The text is: Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν Θράκῃ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε. Ἀμφίπολις, Φάργης, Γαληψός, Οἰσύμη καὶ ἄλλα ἐμπόρια Θασίων. 'There are in Thrace the following Hellenic *poleis*: Amphipolis, Phagres, Galepsus, Oesyme and some other Thasian *emporia*.' The meaning of the three last words may be 'and some other sites, which are *emporia*', *cf.* Pl. *Grg.* 473D and *LSJ s.v.* ἄλλος II .8. This use of ἄλλος, however, is principally poetic, and the meaning is rather 'and some other Thasian *emporia*' which implies that at least Oesyme, but probably Phagres and Galepsus as well were Thasian *emporia* (Bresson 1993, 202).

Drys (Ps.-Skylax 67),
Eion (Thucydides 4. 102. 4),
Emporion (Ps.-Skylax 2),[46]
Galepsus (Ps.-Skylax 67),[47]
Myriandros (Xenophon *Anab.* 1. 4. 6),
Naukratis (Herodotus 2. 178–179; *cf.* Harpocratio *s.v. naukrarika*),
Neapolis (a Carthaginian *emporion*: Thucydides 7. 50. 2),
Oesyme (Ps.-Skylax 67),
Phagres (Ps.-Skylax 67),
Pistiros (in central Thrace: *BCH* 118 [1994] 1–15),[48]
Stryme (Harpocratio *s.v.*; see Philoch. fr. 43),
Tartessos (Herodotus 4. 152; Ephorus fr. 129b),
Theodosia (Demosthenes 20. 33),
Zone (Ps.-Skylax 67).[49]

Each of these 22 communities is called an *emporion* in the source cited in brackets. But in other sources some of them are explicitly classified as *poleis* and most of them are known for activities characteristic of a *polis*. The evidence for each community is as follows.

Borysthenes (= Olbia). For an identification of the *emporion* Borysthenes with the *polis* Borysthenes = Olbia, see Appendix at the end of the chapter. Olbia is attested as a *polis* in the urban sense (*SEG* 41 619. 1, 490–480 B.C.) and in the political sense (*SEG* 32 794. 3, 325 B.C.).

Canobus is an Egyptian *emporion* called 'a *polis* at the end of the world' by Aeschylus (*PV* 846).

Chersonesus (in the Crimea) is attested as a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense (*Syll.*^{3} 360 = *DGE* 173, 4th/3rd century B.C.). The city-ethnic Χερσονίτης is attested in several 4th century sepulchral inscriptions (*CIRB* 173, 194, 195).

Deris (in the Thracian Chersonesus). The only reference to the site is in Ps.-Skylax 67 where Δέρις is listed as an *emporion* situated between the Melas river and Cobrys (*cf. ATL* I 480, where a location between Aenos and the Melas river is proposed.[50] Δέρις is tentatively equated with Deirhv, ethnic: Δειραῖος, recorded in Stephanus of Byzantium 224. 1–2 as a *polis* and a member of the Delian League (Πόλις

[48] To be distinguished from the *polis* Pistiros mentioned by Herodotus at 7. 109. See also Stephanus of Byzantium 171. 6: Βίστιρος, πόλις Θρᾴκης, ὡς Πίστιρος τὸ ἐμπόριον compared with 524. 11: Πίστιρος, ἐμπόριον Θρᾴκης.

[49] In Ps.-Skylax 102 δάνη is a widely accepted conjecture for the manuscript Ἀλάνη, but since Adana is otherwise unattested before the late Hellenistic period I follow, for example, Hirschfeld (*RE* I 344) in finding the conjecture questionable.

[50] See also Kahrstedt 1954, 20–1, with nn. 47–48; Isaac 1986, 187.

Ἀθηναίων συμμαχική). Following Meineke and Krech, the editors of *IG* I³ believe that Stephanus of Byzantium's source is Craterus' συναγωγὴ ψηφισμάτων, and at *IG* I³ 100 fr. 26 they print the reconstructed city-ethnic Δειραῖοι.

Drys is recorded as a member of the Delian League in the Athenian assessment decree of 422/21 B.C. (*IG* I³ 77. V. 29). In a Delphic inscription of the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. the ethnic Δρυῖται is listed alongside other ethnics which are indisputably city-ethnics (*F. Delphes* III 1 497. 5). The presumption is that Dryites is a city-ethnic too.

Eion is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotus in 7. 113. The inhabitants seem to have struck coins in *ca.* 500–440 B.C.[51] During and after the Persian War it was ruled by Boges (Herodotus 7. 113) and is also described as an *asty* (Herodotus 7. 107). Eion was an Athenian *klerouchia* between 476/75 and 405/04 B.C. (Thucydides 1. 98. 1; *Schol.* Aeschines 2. 34). According to Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 51) Eion was inhabited by *Amphipolitai* when in 355 B.C. the Athenians conquered and destroyed the place. In the most detailed study of the status of this settlement B. Isaac claims that Eion was a fortification, but never a proper settlement—which means that it cannot have been a *polis*.[52] Isaac's view is based, *inter alia*, on the common belief that an Athenian *klerouchia* and an *emporion* cannot have been a *polis*. But the evidence shows that Athenian *klerouchiai* were *poleis*.[53] Furthermore virtually every settlement called *asty* is attested as being called *polis* as well.[54] The problem is rather whether Eion before 476/75 B.C. was a *Greek polis*, and that question cannot be answered before the place has been properly excavated.[55]

Emporion. The oldest attestion of the toponym Emporion is in Ps.-Skylax 2. In the manuscript the text is: εἶταἐμποριον πόλιν. Ἕλληνίδα. ἧὄνομα ἐμπόριον. Of the editors Klausen (Berlin 1831) has: Εἶτα ἐμπόριον, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ᾗ ὄνομα Ἐμπόριον, whereas Müller (Paris 1855) prints: Εἶτα Ἐμπόριον (πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ᾗ ὄνομα Ἐμπόριον). If we follow Klausen, Emporion is classified both as an *emporion* and as a *polis*. If we prefer Müller's interpretation Emporion is classified

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[51] Head 1911, 197.
[52] Isaac 1986, 60–3.
[53] Hansen 1997b, 33–4.
[54] Hansen 1997b, 58–60.
[55] *Cf.* Hereward 1963, 75.

as a *polis* and that it was an *emporion* too is an inference from the toponym. From *ca.* 350 B.C. Emporion struck coins inscribed ΕΜΠ[56] and the settlement was obviously a *polis* in the 4th century B.C. The word ἐμπποριταισιν is attested in a business letter of *ca.* 530–500 B.C. (*SEG* 37 838. 3). If it is the dative plural of the ethnic Ἐμπορίτης, the presumption is that Emporion was a *polis* already in the 6th century B.C., but see p. 28.

Galepsus. At Ps.-Skylax 67 Galepsus is one of the four toponyms listed after the heading: Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε. Galepsus is described as a Thasian colony (Thucydides 4. 107. 3; 5. 6. 1) and one of the major *poleis* in the neighbourhood of Amphipolis (Diodorus Siculus 12. 68, 424 B.C.). Attestations of the toponym Galepsus or the ethnic Galepsius may be to the homonymous *polis* on Sithonia mentioned by Herodotus in 7. 122. The Γαλέψιοι recorded some 14 times in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I^3 259. IV. 15, etc.) are usually taken to be the citizens of the Thasian colony, but may just as well be the citizens of the *polis* on Pallene. A coin inscribed ΓΑΛΗΨΙΩΝ has been ascribed to Galepsus on Sithonia mentioned by Herodotus,[57] but belongs, rather, to Galepsus in the Thasian *peraia.*[58]

Cobrys is listed as a πόλις Θρᾴκης by Stephanus of Byzantium quoting Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 84) but in such a way that we cannot be sure whether Theopompus is his authority for the toponym only or for the site-classification as well.

Cremni is still unlocated, but if, as has been suggested, Cremni was the earliest Greek name for Panticapaeum itself, it was a *polis.*[59]

Cypasis is listed as a πόλις περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον by Stephanus of Byzantium quoting Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 162), but in such a way that we cannot be sure whether Hecataeus is his authority for the toponym only or for the site-classification as well.

Cytorum is listed as a Hellenic *polis* by Ps.-Skylax in the chapter on Paphlagonia (90).[60] But according to Strabo (12. 3. 10) it had been an *emporion* belonging to Sinope until it was synoecised into the *polis* of Amastris together with three other settlements: Cromne, Sesamus and Tieion. The synoecism seems to have taken place

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[56] Head 1911, 3.
[57] Demetriadi 1974, 32–3.
[58] M. Hatzopoulos, in personal conversation.
[59] Hind 1997, 112.
[60] The manuscript of Ps.-Skylax has Κύτωρις, Strabo—Κύτωρον whereas Κύτωρος is found in *Etym. Magn.* and some other sources.

ca. 300 B.C. In Ps.-Skylax Sesamus and Tieion are listed as Hellenic *poleis* alongside Cytorum, and we know that both Sesamus[61] and Tieion[62] struck coins in the second half of the 4th century B.C. The presumption is that all four were *poleis* before *synoikismos*, as is in fact stated by Ps.-Skymnos (961, Müller).

Myriandros. In Xenophon's *Anabasis* (1. 4. 6) Myriandros is described both as a *polis* inhabited by Phoenicians and as an *emporion*.

Naukratis. Herodotus classifies Naukratis first as a *polis* (2. 178) and then as an *emporion* (2. 179). For the *polis*-status of Naukratis, see below.

Neapolis is referred to by Thucydides in the accusative as Νέαν πόλιν (7. 50. 2), not as Νεάπολιν (for which, see, for example, *F. Delphes* III 6 143: Strabo 5. 4. 9) and that is an indication that *polis* is not just part of the toponym but also a site-classification.

Oesyme. In Ps.-Skylax 67 Oesyme is the last of four toponyms listed after the heading: Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε. Oesyme is described as a Thasian colony (Thucydides 4. 107. 3) and as one of the major *poleis* in the neighbourhood of Amphipolis (Diodorus 12. 68, 424 B.C.). The ethnic Οἰσυμαίων is attested on two stamped amphora handles (*SEG* 38. 636) and in a Delphic *proxeny* decree of *ca.* 240–200 B.C. (*SGDI* 2600).

Phagres. At Ps.-Skylax 67 Galepsus is one of four toponyms listed after the heading: Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἵδε. In a Delphic inscription of the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. the ethnic Φαγρήσιο[ι] is listed alongside other ethnics which are indisputably city-ethnics (*F. Delphes* III 1 497. 4).

Pistiros is to be distinguished from the *polis* Pistiros mentioned by Herodotus at 7. 109 (see also Stephanus of Byzantium 171. 6: Βίστιρος, πόλιν Θρᾴκης, ὡς Πίστιρος τὸ ἐμπόριον compared with 524. 11: Πίστιρος, ἐμπόριον Θρᾴκης). On the status of Pistiros, see below.

Stryme. According to Herodotus (7. 108), Stryme was a dependency of Thasos and one of the *poleis* passed by Xerxes' army in the spring of 480 B.C.; and according to Heraclides Ponticus (see Stephanus of Byzantium 708. 1) or Philostephanus (*FHG* III 32 fr. 19), quoted by Harpocratio *s.v.* Στρύμη, Galepsus and the island of Stryme were Thasian colonies (*apoikiai*) along the coast of Thrace. In 361/60 B.C.

[61] Head 1911, 507.
[62] Head 1911, 518.

the Thasians quarrelled with the Maroneians over Stryme and were forced by the Athenians to settle the dispute by arbitration (Demosthenes 12. 17; Philochorus [*FGrHist* 328] fr. 43), and in this connexion Stryme is called a χωρίον (Demosthenes 50. 22). If Stryme was an *emporion* in the mid-4th century B.C., it was probably a *polis* which had an *emporion* and there is no other way of deciding whether in the 4th century Stryme was still a *polis* like, for example, Thasian Galepsus and Oesyme, (Ps.-Skylax 67) or whether it was just a stronghold.

Tartessos (Herodotus 4. 152; Ephorus fr. 129b). In Ephorus (fr. 129b) Tartessos is classified both as an *emporion* and as a *polis*.

Theodosia struck coins inscribed ΘΕΟΔΟ. Admittedly, the mint seems to have stopped in the 4th century and probably *ca.* 370 B.C. when Leucon I conquered Theodosia and made it a part of the Bosporan kingdom.[63] In the following years Theodosia was made the second *emporion* of the Bosporan kingdom (Demosthenes 20. 31)—the first one being Panticapaeum (Dem. 34. 34), but there is no reason to doubt that it was still a (dependent) *polis*: the city-ethnic is attested in a funeral inscription of the late 4th century B.C. (*CIRB* 231); in contemporary inscriptions both Leucon I (389/88–349/48 B.C.) and Parisades (344/43–311/10 B.C.) are described as ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θευδοσίης (*e.g.* *Syll.*[3] 211, 214). Bosporus = Panticapaeum was certainly considered to be a *polis*[64] and the analogy with Panticapaeum combined with the attestation of the city-ethnic strongly suggests that Theodosia persisted as a dependent *polis* after it had lost its *autonomia* and was set up as an *emporion*.

Zone is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotus (7. 59). It is attested as a member of the Delian League in the assessment decree of 421 B.C. (*IG* I^3 77. V. 27–28: Ζόνε παρὰ Σέρριον). Zone struck coins in the mid-4th century B.C.[65] The ethnic Ζωναῖος is attested in a 3rd-century honorific decree from Samothrace (*IG* XII 8 155. 5) and side by side with the Dryitae in the Delphic list mentioned above

[63] See Hind 1994, 498. Note, however, that Theodosia struck coins again in the 3rd century B.C., see *SNG*, British Museum IX, 969–71. See also Koshelenko and Marinovitch 2000.

[64] Compare, for example, the use of the city-ethnic Βοσπορίτης in Athenian sepulchral inscriptions (*IG* II^2 8429, the second half of the 4th century B.C.); the contemporary *proxeny* decrees (*IOSPE* II 1–3), and the 4th-century coins inscribed ΠΑΝ (Kraay and Hirmer 1966, 440–2).

[65] Galani-Krikou 1996.

(*F. Delphes* III 1. 497. 5).[66] Zone was apparently a dependent *polis* under Samothrace.

To sum up. In three cases, *viz.* Cobrys, Cremni and Cypasis, we must suspend judgment since we have no other source which can shed further light on the status of the community.

Next, three *emporia* were Phoenician communities in, respectively, Spain (Tartessos), North Africa (Neapolis), and Syria (Myriandros). All three were barbarian communities, but our Greek sources show that the Greeks thought of them not only as *emporia* but as *poleis* as well. A fourth barbarian *emporion* called a *polis* in Greek sources was Canobus in the Nile Delta.

For most of the other *emporia* there is sufficient evidence to show that, either indisputably or probably, they were Hellenic *poleis* both in the urban and in the political sense of the term, *viz.* Borysthenes, Chersonesus, Deris, Drys, Eion, Emporion, Galepsus, Naukratis, Oesyme, Phagres, Stryme, Theodosia and Zone. For two of these, the *polis* classification has been much debated and sometimes disputed, *i.e.* Eion and Naukratis. In the case of Eion there is, I admit, room for doubt; but Naukratis is, in my opinion, a well attested example of a community which was both an *emporion* and a *polis*. Finally, the recently discovered *emporion* of Pistiros is a special case. Being an inland *emporion* it adds a new dimension to what we know about *emporia* of the Classical period. It has been noted, however, that it lay near a navigable river and that trade was by ships, in which case the anomaly dwindles almost to insignificance (see Note 101 below).

The Case of Naukratis

Both epigraphical and numismatic evidence shows that Naukratis was a *polis* in the 4th century B.C. onwards. Of the relatively few inscriptions unearthed during W.M.F. Petrie's excavations one is an honorary decree with the heading: ἡ πόλις ἡ Ναυκρατιτ[ῶν]. It is now dated to the 2nd century B.C. and demonstrates the *polis* status of Naukratis in the Ptolemaic period.[67] Next, a few coins inscribed

[66] *F. Delphes* has -τωναῖοι, and [Z]ωναῖοι is L. Robert's improved reading of the text; *cf.* Robert 1969, 81–2.

[67] Petrie 1898, 63 no. 3 = *OGIS* 120. Originally dated to the 4th century B.C.,

NAY have been found in and around Naukratis. They are undated, but 'the style is that of the 4th century B.C.', indicating that Naukratis was a *polis* in the age of Alexander.[68]

Let us move a century back and ask: was Naukratis already a *polis* in the 5th and 4th centuries before Alexander? First, it is called a *polis* by Herodotus and that is in itself an important indication. Whether Herodotus' classification applies to the Archaic period will be discussed below, but there can be no doubt that it was meant to describe the settlement in Herodotus' own age. Admittedly, describing Naukratis as a *polis* Herodotus uses the word in its urban and not in its political sense,[69] but like all other Classical Greek authors Herodotus did not use the term of *polis* about any urban centre but only about a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the political sense of the term.[70] Both in Herodotus and in other authors there are so few exceptions to this rule that the presumption is that, in the eyes of Herodotus, Naukratis must have been a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense of the word.[71] But was Herodotus right?

In the second book of his work about the sanctuary of Apollo at Gryneion, Hermeias of Methymna[72] describes some rituals which

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but now downdated to the 3rd century; see *Egypt. Delta* I 751 15. 1. See also J. Boardman's chapter in the present volume.

[68] Head 1911, 845.

[69] See, for example, Bresson 1980, 292–3 who notes that in 2. 178 *polis* is used exclusively in the sense of town (*ville*), not in the sense of state (*cité*).

[70] Hansen 1996b, 39–54; 2000, 205–8.

[71] Hansen 2000, 199, 201–2.

[72] A 4th-century author according to Jacoby (*FGrHist* 558) who, however, does not include the fragment. Athenaeus states that the treatise on Apollo Gryneios was by a certain Hermeias, but does not record any patronymic or ethnic. In other parts of his work he quotes Hermeias of Methymna (438C), Hermeias of Kourion (563D–E), and Hermeias of Samos, the son of Hermodorus (606C). Hermeias of Methymna was a historian of the first half of the 4th century B.C. (Diodorus 15. 37); Hermeias of Kourion (on Cyprus) was an iambic poet of the 3rd century B.C. (*The Oxford Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, 164); Hermeias of Samos, the son of Hermodorus, was possibly the author of an *erotikos logos* and lived *ca.* 200 B.C. (*ibid.*). Unless the reference is to an otherwise unknown person, the Hermeias quoted at *Ath.* 149D–E must be identified with one of the three authors listed above. The other Greek authors named Hermeias can be ruled out since they are all later than Athenaeus, see *Canon of Greek Authors and Works*^{3}, 193–4. The historian is *a priori* a more likely candidate than the iambic poet and the rhetorician (?), and furthermore, Gryneion was situated in Aeolis on the coast of Asia Minor just south of Lesbos. Thus, as suggested by Müller in *FHG* II 80, the author of the treatise on Apollo Gryneios, who refers to the *prytaneion* in Naukratis, was probably Hermeias of Methymna who lived in the first half of the 4th century B.C. For the sanctuary

took place in the *prytaneion* in Naukratis.[73] Hermeias wrote his book in the 4th century B.C. and stresses that the rituals were old ones; the implication is that the *prytaneion* in Naukratis must go back at least to the 5th century, possibly even to the Archaic period. The presence of a *prytaneion* is a strong indication that the settlement was a *polis* in the political sense.[74]

Next, the city-ethnic Ναυκρατίτης is attested in one 5th century and three 4th century Athenian sepulchral inscriptions[75] adduced by M. Austin[76] in support of the view that Naukratis must have been a *polis* in the political sense in the late 5th century and probably from the reign of Amasis onwards.[77] Bresson objects that the use of an *ethnikon* is not a sufficient indication of the existence of a *polis*.[78] The ethnics Μεμφίτης and Δαφναΐτης, for example, are attested in two 5th century graffiti in the Memnonion in Abydos.[79] Here the ethnic must indicate the city where a person lives and not the political community of which he is a member. By analogy the ethnic Ναυκρατίτης must indicate habitation only and not necessarily citizenship. The problem with this argument is that Bresson does not take the provenance of the sources into account. The ethnics Μεμφίτης and Δαφναίτης are attested in Egyptian graffiti, Ναυκρατίτης on the other hand is attested in Athenian sepulchral inscriptions of the Classical period, and here all ethnics derived from toponyms denoting towns seem to have been city-ethnics, *i.e.* ethnics used about citizens of a *polis* in the political sense.[80]

As further evidence in support of his view that Naukratis was not a proper *polis* in the Classical period Bresson adduces a 5th-century

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of Apollo in Gryneion (lying on the west coast of Asia Minor not far from Lesbos), see Parke 1985, 171–6.

[73] *Ath.* 149D (= *FHG* II 80 fr. 2): παρὰ δὲ Ναυκρατίταις, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμείας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Γρυνείου Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι γενεθλίοις Ἑστίας Πρυτανίτιδος καὶ Διονυσίοις, ἔτι δὲ τῇ τοῦ Κωμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρει, εἰσιόντες πάντες ἐν στολαῖς λευκαῖς, ἃς μέχρι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι πρυτανικὰς ἐσθῆτας . . . It is the words μέχρι καὶ νῦν which show that the rituals must have been introduced a long time before Hermeias' description of them.

[74] Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 30–7.

[75] *IG* II[2] 9984 (sepulchral inscription of the late 5th century commemorating Διονύσιος Παρμένοντο<ς> Ναυκρατίτης); the three 4th-century inscriptions are *IG* II[2] 9985–9987.

[76] Austin 1970, 65–6 n. 3.

[77] Austin 1970, 29–33, interpreting Herodotus 2. 178.

[78] Bresson 1980, 316–7.

[79] Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919, nos. 614 and 536.

[80] Hansen 1996a, 184–5.

Lindian *proxeny* decree for a certain Damoxenos, son of Hermon living in Egypt (Δαμόξενον Ἕρμωνος ἐν Αἰγύπτωι οἰκέοντα);[81] Bresson believes that, according to Herodotus, the Greeks in Naukratis were divided into two—and only two—categories: a commercial and transient population *versus* the permanent settlers.[82] Damoxenos must be one of the permanent settlers in Naukratis, but he is recorded as living in Egypt, not as being a citizen of Naukratis. Bresson infers that the permanent settlers of Naukratis cannot have formed a *polis* community of citizens. There is, however, one problem with Bresson's interpretation of the *proxeny* decree: it was to be set up in the Hellenion in Naukratis, which belonged to the population of the *emporion*. The presumption is that the *emporion* part of Naukratis accommodated permanent settlers as well as a transient population of *emporoi*[83] and if that was the case, the honorific decree does not disprove the assumption based on Herodotus' account, that Naukratis was not only an *emporion*, it was also a *polis*, and Herodotus' account of the *polis* and the *emporion* is fully compatible with having three different groups of people in Naukratis: citizens, resident foreigners and non-resident *emporoi*.[84]

Following M. Austin and T. Figueira[85] I believe that no inference about the *polis* status of Naukratis can be made from the Lindian decree, whereas, conversely, there are in fact other *proxeny* decrees and similar documents in which we find Naukratitans who must be citizens of Naukratis: first there is an Athenian *proxeny* decree of the mid-4th century.[86] Since the proxeny institution was closely connected with the *polis* or political communities larger than the *polis*.[87] the fact that a Naukratites is honoured with *proxenia* indicates that Naukratis was a political community and probably a *polis*. Second, we have a slightly earlier Delphic list of contributions to the re-building of the

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[81] *IG* XII 1 760 = *Syll.*[3] 110 n. 4; *SEG* 30 1884; 34 791; 38 785; 41 643.

[82] Bresson 1980, 301–2.

[83] Figueira 1988, 545–6.

[84] *Syll.*[3] 110 is probably a *proxeny* decree for one of the transient Greeks using the *emporion* in Naukratis, the honorand is (?) the son of Pytheas of Aig ---- ([---]αν Πυθέω Αἰγ[---]. The commonly accepted restoration of the ethnic is Αἰγ[ινάταν]. Bresson prefers the restoration Αἰγ[ύπτιον] and argues that the honorand was a native Egyptian settled in Naukratis. I am, however, persuaded by the defence of the traditional restoration in Figueira 1988, 547–8.

[85] Austin 1970, 65–6, n. 3; Figueira 1988, 546.

[86] *IG* II[2] 206 (Athenian *proxeny* decree of 349/48 B.C. for Θεογένης ὁ Ναυκρατίτης).

[87] Rhodes 1995, 103–7.

temple of Apollo. In this document the ethnic Ναυκρατίτης appears both in the plural, designating the community of Naukratis as such, and in the singular designating individual members of the community.[88] The Delphic document lists altogether 30 different city-ethnics. The 29 others designate *poleis* in the political sense. There is no need to make Naukratis the exception.[89]

What other arguments can be produced to support the view that 5th-century Naukratis was *not* a *polis* in the political sense? As far as I can see only two and neither carries any weight: 1. If Naukratis was a settlement ruled by Pharaoh, and if the *emporion* was controlled by officials elected by the various *poleis* who had joined to set up the trading post, Naukratis can not have enjoyed *autonomia*, and (by implication) it can not have been a proper *polis*; 2. *Polis* (in the sense of political community) and *emporion* are opposed site-classifications and since Herodotus is generally believed to have been inconsistent in his use of the term *polis*, the presumption is that Naukratis was in fact an *emporion*, but not a *polis*.[90]

1. Naukratis was, of course, a dependency and did not enjoy *autonomia*. The settlement was ruled by the Pharaoh who could impose taxes,[91] and the *emporion* was indeed controlled by the nine *poleis* listed by Herodotus. But lack of *autonomia* did not deprive a settlement of its status as a *polis*. The Ionian *poleis*, for example, belonged to the king of Persia just as much as Naukratis belonged to the Pharaoh,[92] and the presence of annually elected Corinthian *epidemiourgoi* did not deprive Potidaea of its status as a *polis*.[93]
2. As argued above, an investigation of the word *polis* in Herodotus shows that he used the term much more consistently than traditionally believed, and the above survey of the other communities

[88] *CID* II 4 (list of contributors 360 B.C. including: Ναυκρατῖται ἐξ Αἰγύπτου [col. 1. 37], Εὐτέλης Ναυκρατίτης [col. 3. 21] and Τῦρις Ναυκρατίτης [col. 3. 24]).

[89] See Hansen 1996a, 193.

[90] Bowden 1996, 29–30: 'The fact that Herodotus refers to the settlement as a *polis* does not prove anything about its formal status: Herodotus may be using the word loosely . . .'

[91] See the royal rescript imposing a 10% tax on all gold, silver and manufactured goods in Naukratis, issued by Nectanebo I (378–360 B.C.), quoted in Lloyd 1975, 28.

[92] Hansen 1997b, 36 no. 11.

[93] *Epidemiourgoi* (Thucydides 1. 56. 1); Potidaea a *polis* in the political sense of the term (Thucydides 1. 66. 1; *SEG* 38 662. 4).

called *emporia* in the Classical sources shows that *polis* and *emporion* were not necessarily opposed terms. Quite the contrary.

Finally, was Naukratis a *polis* in the Archaic period? First, we have no support for the view that Herodotus' classification of Naukratis as a *polis* can be projected back to the time of Amasis. The archaeological remains indicate that the Greek settlement at Naukratis antedated the reign of Amasis by at least a generation and must be traced back to the late 7th century.[94] Thus, we must reject what Herodotus seems to imply, that it was Amasis who allowed the Greeks in Egypt to found Naukratis as a *polis* (in the urban sense). The excavation shows that Naukratis from the very beginning, *i.e.* in the late 7th century B.C., was a settlement with important trading facilities, and with a very mixed population,[95] but the early archaeological remains do not help us to answer the question whether it was a *polis* in the political sense as well. Similarly, there is no solid support for the view that Naukratis was an *emporion* in the period around 600 B.C. Herodotus' link between Amasis and the subdivison of Naukratis into a *polis* for the settlers and a separate *emporion* for the visitors may be just another anachronistic piece of information: correct for Herodotus' own time, but erroneously projected back to the early 6th century. There is no reason to distrust Herodotus' statement 'that Naukratis in former times (τὸ παλαιόν) had been the only *emporion* in Egypt and that there was no other'. But we cannot establish whether τὸ παλαιόν refers to the period *ca.* 500 B.C. or *ca.* 600 B.C.

To conclude, I follow Austin in believing that, in the age of Herodotus, Naukratis was both a *polis* and an *emporion*: 'Herodotus is making here a fundamental distinction between the residents in the πόλις of Naukratis and those who only came for trade but did not settle permanently in Naukratis—the latter being presumably excluded from the πόλις of Naukratis.'[96] Naukratis was not just an *emporion*, it was a *polis* which had an *emporion*. The difference from other *poleis* with an *emporion* is that in Naukratis the *emporion* was not an integrated part of the *polis*, but separate from the *polis* and administered by separate officials appointed by other *poleis*. On the other hand, I suspend judgment on the question whether Naukratis was

[94] Boardman 1994, 139 and Boardman in the present volume.

[95] Austin 1970, 23–7.

[96] Austin 1970, 30. For a similar conclusion, see also Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, 37.

called a *polis* and/or an *emporion* by the Greeks in the reign of Amasis, *i.e.* in the first half of the 6th century.

The Case of Pistiros

Of all the settlements referred to as being an *emporion* we are left with Pistiros, known from an inscription found in Thrace some 200 km north-west of Maroneia and published in 1994.[97] The new document is a charter issued by one of the successors of king Cotys of Thrace (383/82–359 B.C.), presumably Amadokos.[98] It is, in fact, a renewal of the privileges bestowed by the late king Cotys on a community of Greek traders in Pistiros. As a group the traders are called ἐμπορῖται, a rare word presumably used synonymously with ἔμποροι, but not quite: ἔμποροι are traders who travel from place to place. The ἐμπορῖται seem to be the inhabitants of the *emporion* of whom only some were *emporoi*.[99] Pistiros is not explicitly called an ἐμπόριον, but from the term *emporitai* and the reference to other *emporia* in the neighbourhood (lines 22–24) it seems safe to infer that the place *was* an *emporion*, an inference supported by Stephanus of Byzantium's note: Πίστιρος, ἐμπόριον Θρᾴκης (524. 11).[100]

The Greek traders are subjects of the Thracian prince, but enjoy some privileges which are specified and guaranteed in the charter.

[97] *Edition princeps* by Velkov and Domaradzka 1994, see *SEG* 43 486. 45 874; Avram 1997–98; v Bredow 1997; Archibald 1999, 438–40. This chapter was submitted before I could see *BCH* 123 (1999), published in May 2000, in which a whole section is devoted to Pistiros. I have left my original treatment untouched but added some new notes (98, 100–101, 106–107), and added comments to other notes (102–104). For an improved text, see Chankowski and Domaradzka 1999. For some very seminal views and observations, see especially Loukopoulou 1999 and Bravo and Chankowski 1999.

[98] v Bredow 1997, 111–3.

[99] It is apparent from lines 10–11 that the *emporitai* own land and flocks: γῆγ καὶ βοσκὴν ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἐμπορῖται. This observation receives some support from Hesych. ἐμπορίσαι. μέτοικοι. The form ἐμπορίσαι must be corrupt and the emendation ἐμπορῖται (*LSJ* *s.v.*, now apparently confirmed by *SEG* 38 1036, see *infra*) suggests that the reference is to settlers or persons who stay for a longer period rather than to travellers. Many of them are probably town-dwellers each in possession of a house in the town and a farm in the immediate hinterland, see, for example, *Syll.*^{3} 141 the decree regulating the colonisation of Black Corcyra.

[100] I agree with Bravo and Chankowski (1999, 281) that Pistiros was a *polis*, but *pace* Bravo and Chankowski, I believe that it was an *emporion* as well. The term *emporitai* used about the inhabitants strongly suggests that their settlement was an *emporion*.

It is also apparent from the charter that Pistiros is only one of several *emporia* and that they all have the Greek *polis* Maroneia on the coast of Thrace as their principal trading partner. Apart from being traders the *emporitai* are the owners of landed property in the vicinity of the *emporion* (lines 10–12) which shows that Pistiros had a hinterland. Including its territory, Pistiros must have been a semi-Greek and semi-barbarian settlement, and the Greek *emporoi* are middlemen in charge of the exchange of goods between the Greek colonies on the coast, principally Maroneia, and the Thracians ruled by the successor of Cotys. Finally, Pistiros is an inland *emporion* and the goods in which the *emporitai* trade are transported not in ships but in waggons.[101]

The inscription does not provide any clear information about the status of the community, and Pistiros has not yet been securely located. The stone was found in the village of Assardere not far from the ancient remains of a Late Classical fortified settlement near Vetren, and the editors of the text as well as others who have commented on the inscription assume without any discussion that Pistiros can be identified with this settlement.[102] In his article, however, G. Tsetskhladze disputes the identification, in my opinion persuasively. The archaeological remains indicate that Vetren was a non-Greek community whereas the inscription shows that Pistiros was a mixed settlement with a strong element of Greek settlers among its inhabitants. According to Tsetskhladze, Pistiros has not yet been found.[103]

To understand the status of this still unlocated *emporion* we must, in my opinion, start with the toponym Πίστιρος (lines 14, 22–24, 33) and the ethnic Πιστιρηνῶμ (line 16). It is unlikely that the ethnic denotes all the inhabitants of Pistiros, *emporitai* and others alike, since, in line 38, they are referred to as the 'inhabitants' (οἰκητόρων). Next,

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[101] Loukopoulou (1999, 365) has the important observation that Pistiros was situated at the River Hebros and thus, like other *emporia*, was essentially a maritime settlement. In the same vein, she rejects the restoration ἅμαξας in lines 25–6 and suggests instead ἁμαξ[άπαν] (Loukopoulou 1999, 363).

[102] Velkov and Domaradzka 1994, 5–6; v Bredow 1997, 113; see most recently Archibald 1999, 438–40. For a full treatment of the identification of Pistiros with the ancient settlement at Adnijska Vodenica, see now Bonakov 1999.

[103] Tsetskhladze 2000. I do not agree with the attempt (see Salviat 1999, 267–71) to identify Pistiros with the *polis* of Pistyros, mentioned by Herodotus in 7. 109. This settlement is explicitly included among the coastal *poleis*, a description which precludes an identification with inland Pistiros.

Pistoros is a rare name and it seems reasonable to assume that there must have been some connexion between the *polis* Pistiros on the coast and the homonymous inland *emporion*,[104] and that the Pistirenians living in the *emporion* were citizens of the *polis*, just like others of the inhabitants were citizens of Apollonia, Maroneia and Thasos.[105]

One possible scenario is as follows. The *emporion* of Pistiros was an inland trading station, originally founded by merchants coming from the *polis* of Pistiros, a dependency of Thasos situated on the Thracian coast (Herodotus 7. 109). The core of the settlers (τῶν οἰκητόρων in line 38) were from the outset citizens of the *polis* Pistiros (*cf.* Πιστιρηνῶμ in line 16), but some of the other inhabitants were citizens of Maroneia, Apollonia and Thasos (lines 27–33) and in the 4th century they may have formed the most important element of the population. It is apparent from the inscription that it was only one out of a number of *emporia* in inland Thrace involved principally in trade with Maroneia (lines 21–24). The *emporion* was surrounded by native Thracians (τοῖς Θραιξίν in lines 8–9) who lived dispersed in the *chora* (ἐπαυλιστάς in line 12) and were prevented from settling in the urban centre.[106] The mixture of four different ethnics suggests that Pistiros was not an ordinary *polis* in its own right. But we cannot preclude the possibility that Pistiros was a kind of dependent *polis* whose citizens are described as Πιστιρηνοί, and that the Μαρωνῖται, the Θάσιοι and the Ἀπολλωνιῆται lived in Pistiros as metics, but with their own separate law courts (4–7).

It is, of course, possible to suggest different explanations which fit the information provided by the new inscription. Yet, I note that, according to the above reconstruction, Pistiros seems to have been organised more or less like Naukratis: both were Greek urban settlements surrounded by an indigenous population and under the suzerainty of a non-Greek king; they were organised partly as a dependent *polis* of respectively Pistirenians and Naukratitians, and

[104] Velkov and Domaradzka 1994, 7; v Bredow 1997, 114. Loukopoulou 1999, 368 assumes a transfer of the settlement, *i.e.* a *metoikesis*. In my view colonisation is equally possible.

[105] It is nowhere stated that the citizens of Apollonia, Maroneia and Thasos were among the *emporitai* = the Pistirenians. The Maronitai, Apolloniatai, and Thasioi may well have been *emporoi, i.e.* travelling merchants or merchants living for a shorter or longer period in Pistiros without becoming citizens of the community.

[106] Following Loukopoulou (1999, 360) and Salviat (1999, 263) I am now inclined to believe that the *epaulistai* in line 12 are bivouacing troops.

partly as an *emporion* inhabited by citizens from a number of other Greek *poleis* and, to some extent, with their own separate institutions.[107]

The Emporion as an Institution and as a Dependent Polis

To sum up, most of the settlements which in Classical sources are described as *emporia* are in fact *poleis* which had an *emporion*. Securely attested examples of *emporia* which were not *poleis* belong in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[108] For the Classical period the distinction between a community which has an *emporion* and one which is an *emporion* is fading away and sometimes seems to vanish, but not quite.

First, in *poleis* such as Athens, Corinth and Byzantium the *emporion* was an integrated part of the *polis*, undoubtedly an important one, but nevertheless just one piece of a complicated puzzle. In the case of the settlements identified as being *emporia*, the centre for international trade may have been the paramount feature of the settlement, where the majority of the citizens worked and from which the *polis* got almost all its revenue.

Second, all the sites classified as being *emporia* are either barbarian settlements or colonial Greek settlements which were centres of trade between Greeks and barbarians. Several *poleis* in Greece had an *emporion*, but not one single *emporion* settlement was situated in Greece itself. Here we have evidence of numerous trading stations

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[107] Loukopoulou (1999, 366–8) makes the same comparison, but does not share my view that Pistiros and Naukratis were *poleis* as well as *emporia*.

[108] *Syll.*[3] 880.22ff. (Macedonia, A.D. 202). A number of such *emporia* are attested in Strabo's work. Of the 46 individual *emporia* he mentions (see n. 10 above) 28 are explicitly classified as *poleis* as well, *viz.* (2) Belo, (4) Malaca, (5) Carthago Nova, (6) Emporion, (7) Corduba, (8) Gadeira, (9) Narbo, (10) Arelate, (12) Corbilo, (14) Lougdunūm, (17) Dicearchia, (18) Medma, (20) Segesta (*polisma*), (22) Aegina, (23) Corinthus, (24) Anaktorion, (27) Ephesus, (29) Comana, (31) Pessinus, (32) Apamea, (33) Olbia, (34) Tanais, (35) Phanagoria, (36) Panticapaeum, (37) Dioskurias, (38) Phasis, (42) Alexandria, (44) Coptus. Some others were indisputably *poleis* although not classified as *poleis* by Strabo, for example, (16) Aquileia and (21) Acragas. But at least seven and probably several more were *not poleis: viz.* (11) Bourgidala the *emporion* of the Bitourigian *ethnos*, (13) Genabūm the *emporion* of the Carnoutian *ethnos*, (19) Canysion the *emporion* of the Canisitian *ethnos*, (30) Taviūm explicitly classified as a *phrourion*, (40) Opis explicitly classified as a *kome*, (41) Leuce Come, and (47) Charax called a *topos*. The numbers in brackets refer to Étienne's list (1993, 24–6). Furthermore, 37 *emporia* are listed in the *Periplous Maris Erythraei*. See Counillon 1993, 56–7; Casson 1989.

which were (fortified) settlements without being *poleis*, but none of them is called an *emporion* in Greek sources. Two such settlements were Creusis in Boeotia and Sounion in Attica.

Third, most of the unnamed *emporia* (listed above p. 7) are described as belonging to or controlled by for example, the Thasians, the Olynthians, the Thracian king Cotys or a Persian satrap, and most of the named sites attested both as *emporia* and as *poleis* are also known to have been dependencies, for example, of the Pharaoh (Naukratis), or the Odrysian king (Pistiros), or the king of Bosporus (Chersonesus, Theodosia), or Thasos (Galepsus, Oesyme, Phagres) or Massalia (Emporion).[109] Thus, a site classified as both a *polis* and an *emporion* seems to be a dependent *polis* and not an *polis autonomos* such as Athens or Corinth or Aegina. Furthermore it seems to have been a specific type of dependent *polis*, namely one in which the port was the dominant part of the settlement.

Finally, almost all *emporia* were lying on the sea and were ports-of-trade. But there are examples of inland *emporia*. Pistiros is the oldest example of this form of *emporion*; but is only one of several *emporia* in inland Thrace.[110] Apart from Thucydides' reference to Corinth it is also the only explicit attestation we have got of an inland *emporion* whose trade was conducted over land instead of by sea.[111]

These considerations indicate that, after all, there was an 'objective' difference, between a usually autonomous *polis* which had an *emporion* (for example, Aegina) and an *emporion-polis* which was usually a dependency (for example, Chersonesus and Theodosia). But our sources testify to a 'subjective' distinction as well. Even when the *emporion* was *not* the paramount feature of a *polis* described as *having* an *emporion*, it may have been the aspect of *polis* life which an

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[109] Like other secondary colonies founded by Massalia, Emporion may, at least initially, have been a Massaliote dependency, *cf.* Ps.-Skymnos 201–210 and Gschnitzer 1958, 26. [See editorial note in Note 46 above.]

[110] In the Pistiros inscription 21–25 we read: ὅσα εἰς Μαρώνεια[ν εἰς]άγεται ἐκ Πιστίρου η[ἐκ τῶν ἐ[μ]πορίων ἢ 'γ Μαρωνείης εἰς Πίστ[ιρ]ον η] τὰ ἐμπόρια Βελανα Πρασε[νω]ν. The plural forms ἐμπορίων and ἐμπόρια indicate a reference to at least two *emporia*. If Belana is one of them the presumption is that Πρασε[..]ν is another *emporion* and that the word is a toponym in the accusative singular, not an ethnic in the genitive plural. For the absence of a connective, see, for example, Ps.-Skylax 67: ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἐμπόρια Δρῦς Ζώνη. Bravo and Chankowski 1999, 251 and 287 suggest the same interpretation.

[111] The only other explicit reference to inland *emporia* is in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* 7. 20: ἐκ τῶν παραθαλαττίων καὶ μεσογείων ἐμπορίων.

author wanted to emphasise. In such cases the choice between classifying a settlement as a *polis* having an *emporion* or as being an *emporion* does not depend on some objective criterion but on the context in which the classification is brought. To illustrate this phenomenon it will suffice, I think, to note that even Athens can be classified as an *emporion* if it suits the context; see for example the following passage from Demosthenes' speech against Dionysodoros:

> This Dionysodoros, men of Athens, and his partner Parmeniskos came to us last year in the month Metageitnion, and said that they desired to borrow money on their ship on the terms that she should sail to Egypt and from Egypt to Rhodes or Athens, and they agreed to pay the interest for the voyage to either one of these *emporia*. We answered, men of the jury, that we would not lend money for a voyage to any other *emporion* than Athens, and so they agreed to return here . . .
> Demosthenes 56. 5–6 (translation by A.T. Murray).[112]

An analysis of this passage isolated from all other sources combined with the traditional view that *polis* and *emporion* were different types of settlement would lead to the conclusion that Athens was an *emporion* and *not* a *polis*. Similarly, the Piraeus is called an *emporion* by Isocrates[113] although the *emporion* was only a small but important part of that town; And Ephorus is quoted by Strabo for the statement that Aegina 'became an *emporion*'.[114]

To conclude: in the Classical period an *emporion* was primarily that part of a *polis* which was set off for foreign trade and placed in or next to the harbour; but if the port was the most important part of the *polis*, or if it suited the context, then the whole settlement could be classified as an *emporion*. A settlement which was both an *emporion* and a *polis* was mostly a dependent *polis*.

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[112] Demosthenes 56. 5–6: Διονυσόδωρος γὰρ οὑτοσί, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὁ κοινωνὸς αὐτοῦ Παρμενίσκος προσελθόντες ἡμῖν πέρυσιν τοῦ μεταγειτνιῶνος μηνὸς ἔλεγον ὅτι βούλονται δανείσασθαι ἐπὶ τῇ νηί, ἐφ' ᾧ τε πλεῦσαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου εἰς Ῥόδον ἢ εἰς Ἀθήνας, διομολογησάμενοι τοὺς τόκους εἰς ἑκάτερον τῶν ἐμπορίων τούτων. Ἀποκριναμένων δ' ἡμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δανείσαιμεν εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπόριον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς Ἀθήνας, οὕτω προσομολογοῦσι πλεύσεσθαι δεῦρο . . . Here Athens is called an *emporion*. If the speaker had preferred a different emphasis, he could easily have written εἰς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων instead of εἰς Ἀθήνας.

[113] Isocrates 4. 42. See Gauthier 1981, 11.

[114] Strabo 8. 6. 16 = *FGrHist* 70 fr. 176: Ἔφορος δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἀργύριον πρῶτον κοπῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ Φείδωνος· ἐμπόριον γὰρ γενέσθαι. In this case, however, we have no proof that the quote is *verbatim*.

The Port of an Inland City as an Emporion and as a Polis

In most *poleis* the *emporion* was undoubtedly a part of the town itself and situated either in the harbour or close to it. But large inland *poleis* often had a harbour on the coast some miles removed from the urban centre. In such cases the harbour could develop into a port and become a separate urban centre detached from the inland *polis*, and an *emporion* would be placed in the port near the harbour. The obvious example is Athens whose *emporion* was in the Piraeus; and the Piraeus is in fact called an *emporion*, at least once (Isocrates 4. 42). But there are many other instances of a large port connected with an inland *polis*: Naulochus was the port of Priene; Notion was the port of Colophon, and Skandeia was the port of Cythera. Although we have no specific information the presumption is that Priene, Colophon and Cythera each had an *emporion* placed in, respectively, Naulochus, Notion and Skandeia. And these ports were not just harbours with, probably, an *emporion*; they had developed into urban settlements and are attested as *poleis*. They were, of course, dependencies, each dominated by an inland *polis*; but they had the characteristics of a *polis* and were explicitly classified as *poleis*.[115] Let me here review the particularly good evidence we have for Notion and its relation to Colophon.[116]

According to Aristotle, Notion and Colophon were two parts of one *polis*, but they are adduced in the fifth book of the *Politics* as an example of how the shape and nature of the territory (*chora*) can make it difficult to keep a *polis* united and result in *stasis* (1303b7–10), and other sources show that Notion had developed into a (dependent) *polis*. Notion may have been classified as a *polis* by Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 fr. 233); the Νοτιεῖς are repeatedly recorded in the Athenian tribute lists,[117] and the city-ethnic is still attested in 4th century sources.[118] According to Thucydides, Notion belonged to Colophon (3. 34. 1–4), but it had its own *theorodokos* to host the *theoroi* who announced the Heraea at Argos (*SEG* 23 189 Col. 2. 7, *ca.* 330

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[115] Hansen 1995, 43–4.

[116] The evidence has been collected by L. Rubinstein who is responsible for Ionia in the Polis Centre's inventory of *poleis* (see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 1053–1107). See also Piérart 1984, 168–71.

[117] *IG* I^3 270. I. 8; 272. I. 24–25; 280. I. 39; 283. III. 23; 285. I. 95.

[118] *IG* II^2 1. 48–49; Aristotle *Pol.* 1303b10.

B.C.), and only towards the end of the 4th century did Notion enter into a *sympoliteia* with Colophon.[119]

The cases of Notion, Naulochus[120] and Skandeia[121] seem to corroborate the evidence we have for settlements explicitly called *emporia*: that a harbour physically separated from the town it served could develop into a self-governing urban settlement and become a (dependent) *polis*.

The Evidence for Archaic Emporia

I still have to address one crucial question: when did the *emporion* as a legal institution emerge? Traders called *emporoi* are attested already in the Homeric poems (*Od.* 2. 319; 24. 300), and the abstract noun *emporia* (trade conducted by *emporoi*) is found already in Hesiod's *Erga* (*Op.* 646); but, as argued above, there is no evidence earlier than *ca.* 450 B.C. of the term *emporion* as a site-classification applied it to trading centres such as Piraeus in Attica.

There are only two attestations of the concept of *emporion* antedating the mid-5th century B.C. One is an inference from the name of the Archaic colony Emporion in northern Spain. Emporion was founded by Massalia *ca.* 575 B.C. [see Note 46]. Archaeological evidence supports the view that trade was an important aspect of the city's life.[122] Accordingly, it is a plausible assumption that the settlement from the outset was called Emporion because it was an *emporion*. That seems to be the almost universally accepted explanation. Attestations of the toponym Emporion are, admittedly, late. It occurs for the first time in Chapter 2 of the 4th century *Periplous* ascribed to Ps.-Skylax (see above). The next attestation is in Polybius.[123] It has been argued that the original toponym was Pyrene and that the settlement only later was called Emporion.[124] Attestations of the

[119] Robert 1969, 1244–5.

[120] *Theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Argos (*SEG* 23. 189 col. 2. 10); mint in the 4th century B.C. (Head 1911, 587).

[121] Thucydides 4. 53. 2–54. 4.

[122] Almagro 1967; Morel 1975, 866–7. See also chapters by J.-P. Morel and A. Domínguez (on the Iberian Peninsula) in the present volume.

[123] Polybius 3. 39. 7; 3. 76. 2.

[124] For the view that the Πυρήνη πόλις referred to by Herodotus in 2. 33 should be placed in Spain (see Lloyd 1975, 140–6). For the view that it was the original

city-ethnic, however, strongly indicate that Emporion was the name of the Massiliote colony from its foundation in *ca.* 575 B.C. The city-ethnic ΕΜΠΟΡΙΤΩΝ is attested on some coins struck in the late 4th century B.C. and the abbreviated form ΕΜΠ is found on some earlier coins of *ca.* 400 B.C.[125] Now, a business letter of the late 6th century B.C. found in Emporion has the word ἐμπποριταισιν (line 3) which is probably an Aeolic form of the ethnic in the dative plural: ἐμπορίταις.[126] And another business letter of the mid-5th century found in nearby Pech Maho has the Ionic form Ἐμποριτέων.[127] From the ethnic we can infer that the toponym Emporion must go back probably to *ca.* 575 B.C. and from the toponym one may infer that the concept of *emporion* antedates the toponym.

The other source is Herodotus' account of Naukratis. From the statement that 'that Naukratis in former times had been the only *emporion* in Egypt', we can infer that Naukratis was an *emporion* when Herodotus visited Egypt and had been for some time, but how long? Describing the collaboration between the *poleis* which took part in the foundation of the trading centre in Naukratis Herodotus refers to the officials as governors of the *emporion* (προστάται τοῦ ἐμπορίου): The presumption is that the classification of Naukratis as an *emporion* goes back to the 6th century.

I am inclined to reject a third possible attestation. Following A. Baschmakoff,[128] A. Avram argues that the description of Thrace and

name of Emporion, see Hind 1972. For another example of Emporion as an alternative name of a settlement, see Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrHist* 273) fr. 134: . . . πόλις Ἑλληνικὴ ἔκτισται Ταναΐς, ἥτις καὶ Ἐμπόριον ὀνομάζεται. Strabo 6. 1. 5: Μέδμα, πόλις Λοκρῶν . . . πλησίον ἔχουσα ἐπίνειον καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον.

[125] Head 1911, 2; *cf. IGCH* no. 2315.

[126] *SEG* 37 838; 38 1039; 40 915; 42 972; 44 852; 45 1494.

[127] *SEG* 38 1036 = *Nomima* 2 75, *cf. SEG* 40 914; 41 891; 42 971; 43 682; 44 851; 45 1492. In the Pistiros inscription (*SEG* 43 486. 5, 8, 11, 13, 18, 25) we find for the first time an attestation of the noun *emporites* meaning a trader who operates in an *emporion.* The only attestation hitherto known was in Hesychius: ἐμπορίδαι: μέτοικοι. Now in the business documents from Emporion and Pech Maho we cannot preclude the possibility that ΕΜΠΟΡΙΤΗΣ is not an ethnic designating a citizen of Emporion, but a noun designating tradesmen from an *emporion.* Consequently the word should not be capitalised. This interpretation of both documents has in fact suggested, for the Emporion letter by Valeza (*SEG* 42 972) and for the Pech Maho transaction by Musso (*SEG* 43 682). In both cases this interpretation was suggested on the authority of Hesychius alone, before the discovery of the Pistiros inscription. As the evidence stands, however, I prefer to accept the original interpretation of the word as an ethnic, see also Slings 1994, 113; Wilson 1997, 46.

[128] Baschmakoff 1948, 22–9.

Scythia found in Chapters 67–68 of the 4th century *Periplous* ascribed to Ps.-Skylax stems from a very old *Periplous* from *ca.* 500 B.C., and that the classification in Chapter 68 of Chersonesus as an *emporion* is to a Megaro-Milesian trading post of the late 6th century, which in 422/21 B.C. became a *polis* by the influx of new colonists from Delos and Heracleia.[129] Now in Ps.-Skylax's *Periplous, emporion* is a rare term and it is indeed worth noting that six of the seven instances in which Ps.-Skylax uses the term *emporion* about a named site come from Chapters 67–68. Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest with Avram that these chapters stem from a single source; and I will not deny that Avram *may* be right in dating this source to *ca.* 500 B.C. But the absence of the word *emporion* from all known Archaic sources compared with the frequent use of it in Ps.-Skylax 67–68 should be a warning, and it seems to me to be dangerous to date the supposed source of Ps.-Skylax 67–68 to a period some 50 years before the first attestation of the term *emporion*. Moreover, at least Chapter 67 was either written or revised in the 4th century as is apparent from the mention of Daton founded by Callistratos of Aphidna in 360 B.C. If we maintain that the original version of the chapter goes back to *ca.* 500 B.C. we have to suppose that the revision was so superficial that several serious anachronisms were allowed to stand, which, I admit, is not impossible.

In any case, it is time to warn against many historians' confident and frequent use of the concept of *emporion* in descriptions of the colonisation of the Archaic period, and the view that 'even up to the mid-fifth century one could have defined any community involved in commerce as an *emporion*.'[130] And there is a further observation which supports my warning: the earliest Greek text in which explicit site-classifications can be found is Hecataeus' *Periodos Ges*. The fragments we have got show that Hecataeus applied the term *polis* to a large number of settlements.[131] Alternative site-classifications sometimes occur and—as in Ps.-Skylax's *Periplous*—they include τεῖχος and λιμήν.[132] But no fragment indicates that a settlement was classified by Hecataeus as an ἐμπόριον, and some settlements in Thrace which

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[129] Avram 1996, 289, with n. 9.

[130] Wilson 1997, 200.

[131] Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1) frs. 43, 48, 67a, 73, 88, 106, 113a, 116, 126, 129, 131, 141, 146, 148, 159, 163, 204, 217, 225, 229, 232, 266, 282, 287, 293, 304.

[132] λιμήν: fr. 343; τεῖχος: fr. 299; ἱερόν: fr. 319.

are called *emporia* in Ps.-Skylax's treatise were presumably called *poleis* in Hecataeus' work.[133] That may indeed be a coincidence, but a study of the terminology used by Hecataeus can only strengthen one's suspicion that the *emporion* as a specific institution and as a specific type of settlement may have become a widespread phenomenon only in the Classical period.

I find it relevant in this context to compare the concept of *emporion* with the concept of *agora*. Every *polis* had an *agora*,[134] which in Archaic and early Classical towns was just an open square marked off with *horoi*.[135] In the Homeric poems and in some Archaic poets the *agora* is described as the place where the people had the sessions of the assembly.[136] In the Classical period almost all traces of the *agora* as an assembly place have vanished,[137] and the *agora* was now primarily the market place.[138] The primacy of the economic aspect of the *agora* is particularly prominent in Thebes where a citizen had 'to keep off the *agora* for ten years in order to be eligible for office' (Aristotle *Pol.* 1278a25–26). Conversely, the earliest evidence we have of the economic functions of the *agora* is a reference in the Gortynian law of *ca.* 480–460 B.C. to the *agora* as the place where a slave has been bought.[139] I think that we must seriously consider the possibility that the concentration of local trade in the *agora* and of long distance trade in an *emporion* was a phenomenon to be dated in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods and to be connected with the development of the institutions of the *polis*.

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133 Drys, Zone and Cypasis are classified as *emporia* in Ps.-Skylax 67, but as *poleis* in Hecataeus [*FGrHist.* 1] frs. 160–162. We have no guarantee, however, that the term *polis* stems from Hecataeus' work.

134 Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 46. 10; Aristotle *Pol.* 1321b13.

135 Aristophanes *Ach.* 719; *IG* I^3 1087–1090.

136 For example Homer *Od.* 2. 6–257; 8. 4–45; Xenophanes fr. 3. 3. Raaflaub 1993, 54–5.

137 Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 45–6.

138 The most important passages are Herodotus 1. 153 and Aristotle *Pol.* 1321b12. But see also: Heraclides (*GGM* I p. 105) 28; Aristophanes *Eq.* 1009; *Eccl.* 819; Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 51. 3; Aristotle *Pol.* 1278a25–26 (Thebes); Demosthenes 21. 22 (perhaps a late insertion); 57. 30–31; Herodotus 3. 42; Lysias 1. 8; Plato *Com.* fr. 190; Plato *Apol.* 17C; *Resp.* 371B-D; Theophrastus *Char.* 6. 10; 22. 7; Thucydides 3. 72–74; Xenophon *Hell.* 3. 4. 17; *I. Cret* IV 72 col. 7. 10–11 (Gortyn, the first half of the 5th century B.C.); *Syll.*^{3} 354. 6 (Ephesus, *ca.* 300 B.C.); *IG* XII 9 189. 35 (Eretria, the second half of the 4th century B.C.); *I. Priene* 81. 6 (Priene, *ca.* 200 B.C.); *I. Magnesia* 98. 62 (Magnesia, *ca.* 200 B.C.).

139 *I. Cret* IV 72 col. 7. 10–11. See Martin 1951, 283–7; Davies 1992, 25.

How Common Was the Emporion in the Classsical Period?

The Hellenic civilisation was linked to the sea and a majority of the *poleis* were placed along the coasts. All these *poleis* had a harbour, in Greek λιμήν, and, after *polis*, *limen* is in fact the most common site-classification in our sources.[140] The harbour was no doubt a centre of trade with other *poleis*, but it cannot be a coincidence that even in Classical and Hellenistic texts the term used is almost always λιμήν and hardly ever ἐμπόριον. Similarly, our sources explicitly distinguish between a *limen* and an *emporion*.[141] Many *poleis* obviously had harbours and trading posts without having a proper *emporion*, *i.e.* an enclosed part of the *polis* set off for trade with foreigners, with special sanctuaries for the *emporoi* and special rules for administration of justice in commercial trials. In his *Politics* Aristotle tells us that an *emporion* is not an indispensable part of the *polis* whereas the typical *polis* had port officials (Aristotle *Pol.* 1327a30–31; 1321b12–18). In smaller *poleis* the supervision of the harbour rested with the *astynomoi*, in larger there were specific inspectors called *limenos phylakes*. It would be wrong to assume that, even in the 5th century, every harbour had an *emporion* and that every centre of international or rather inter-*polis* trade was an *emporion*.[142] In Greece itself many coastal *poleis* undoubtedly possessed an *emporion* but not one single settlement in Greece seems to have been an *emporion*. An *emporion* in the sense of a settlement seems usually to have been a dependent *polis* situated at the interface between Greeks and barbarians with a mixed population of Greeks and barbarians. Its principal function was long distance trade handled by merchants from a number of different communities. Like other dependent *poleis* it had a substantial amount of self-government but was dominated either by a larger Hellenic *polis* in the region or by a barbarian prince. Most of the *emporia* were ports but inland *emporia* as centres of long distance overland trade seem to have been much more common than previously believed.

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[140] In Ps.-Skylax 162 occurrences.

[141] Xenophon *Hell.* 5. 2. 16; Isocrates 9. 47; Ps.-Skylax 67; Heraclides 25 (Chalcis) = *GGM* I p. 105.

[142] Wilson 1997, 200, 205.

Trading Stations versus Agricultural Colonies

So far the written sources have been in focus, and archaeological evidence has been adduced to shed light on the texts. What happens if the archaeological evidence is put first and surveyed independently of the texts? Studying the actual remains of ancient colonial sites, historians distinguish between two different types of settlement, plus, of course, a whole range of mixed forms between the two extremes: on the one hand we find urban centres with a fairly large hinterland and populated by colonists whose principal occupation was agriculture. On the other hand we have some examples of nucleated settlements with a very small hinterland (*chora*) or without any hinterland at all whose population seems to have lived by trade and especially the exchange of goods between Greeks and barbarians. The first type includes settlements such as Metapontum and other colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia.[143] Examples of the second type are Histria and Berezan in the Pontic area, and some of the Phocaean colonies in the West, principally Hyele/Elea.[144] Colonies might, of course, combine the two functions as has often been suggested in connexion with Selinus.[145]

As said above, there has been a tendency to describe the agricultural colonies as *apoikiai* and the trading stations as *emporia* and to hold that the *apoikiai* were organised as *poleis* whereas the *emporia* were *not poleis*. On the other hand it has often been argued that several of the Greek colonies were founded as *emporia* which later developed into *poleis*.[146]

But what is the evidence that the *emporia* were not *poleis*? Let us distinguish between different types of trading station. In Al Mina the

[143] Carter 1993; 1996.

[144] On Histria and Berezan, see Tsetskhladze 1994a, 117–8. On Elea, see Morel 1988, 438–40 and Morel in the present volume.

[145] *Pro*: Martin 1977, 55. *Contra*: de la Genière 1977, 251–64. See also A. Domínguez's chapter on the Iberian Peninsula in present volume.

[146] Writing about the Phocaean settlements in Spain and France, Morel (1975, 867) says: 'Une solution de conciliation parfois retenue consiste à conjecturer pour tel ou tel site l'établissement d'un *emporion* au VIe siècle, suivi de la fondation ultérieure (V[e] ou IVe siècle) d'une veritable colonie, due à une nouvelle vague d' expansion, dont il faut bien dire les causes et le mécanisme nous échappent totalement.' (See also chapters by J.-P. Morel and A. Domínguez [on the Iberian Peninsula] in the present volume.) Interpreting Ps.-Skylax 68: Χερρόνησος ἐμπόριον, Avram (1996, 289) suggests a similar solution.

remains have been interpreted to show that the Greek merchants were visitors who did not settle down and form a community,[147] whereas there can be no doubt that Pithekoussai was a Greek settlement.[148] Obviously Al Mina can not have been a *polis* and was probably not even an *emporion*, but what prevents us from believing that Pithekoussai and other similar settlements were *poleis*? True, these trading stations did not possess a *chora*. But having a hinterland is not a necessary condition for being a *polis*. One example is Tarrha on Crete.[149] Conversely, Pistiros is an example of an *emporion* which had a hinterland.[150] Furthermore, recent finds indicate that Pithekoussai did in fact possess a hinterland.[151] The important question is not whether the nucleated settlement had a *chora*, but whether the settlement formed a community with a developed form of self-government practised by a ruling class of citizens (*politai*). One view has been that Pithekoussai was a precolonial *emporion*, whereas Cumae was the first colonial *polis* in the west.[152] But the Greek community on Pithekoussai may have numbered as many as 5,000—10,000 inhabitants and they may have formed a self-governing community which was perhaps even independent of other communities.[153] Admittedly, no traces have been found of public political architecture, but the only form of public architecture to be expected in an Archaic settlement are sanctuaries, whereas in most Archaic *poleis* the political institutions have left no architectural traces for us

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[147] Perreault 1993, 62–8, 79–82. See also chapter by J. Boardman in the present volume.

[148] Ridgway 1992, 45–120. See also chapters by E. Greco and B. d'Agostino in the present volume.

[149] Rackham 1990, 108–9: 'Tarrha, although a place of some note, was spectacularly lacking in a hinterland. Immediately behind the town rise cliffs upon cliffs to a height of 2400 meters, plunging into a deep and harbourless sea. Apart from meagre gravel terraces within the gorge itself, there is no possibility of cultivation.'

[150] *SEG* 43 486. 10–12.

[151] De Caro 1994; Gialanella 1994; Coldstream 1994, 51.

[152] Pithekoussai an *emporion*: Ridgway 1996a, 117; That Cumae was the first colonial *polis* is stated by Strabo in 5. 4. 4 and argued by Pugliese Carratelli 1996, 145. See also chapters by E. Greco and B. d'Agostino in the present volume.

[153] Pithekoussai is called a *polis* by Ps.-Skylax 10. That is certainly wrong for the author's own period, *i.e.* the 4th century B.C.; but it is a moot point whether it is wrong for the Archaic period. Greco (1994, 16) is tempted, with some reservations, to define Pithekoussai as a '*polis* autonoma'. For the number of inhabitants, see Osborne 1996, 114. Morris (1996, 57) suggests 4,000–5,000.

to study.[154] And remains of sanctuaries have in fact been found in Pithekoussai.[155]

There can be no doubt that the archaeological remains testify to an important distinction between agricultural colonies and trading-stations, sometimes without a hinterland. But there is no basis for combining this distinction with a distinction between *apoikiai* which were *poleis* and *emporia* which were not *poleis*. Our written sources for the *emporion* show that, essentially, the *emporion* was not a settlement, but an institution inside a settlement which from the political point of view was usually a *polis*, sometimes a *polis autonomos* (as in Athens, Aegina, Byzantium, etc.), sometimes a dependent *polis* (as in the case of Bosporus taking over Theodosia, or the *emporia* controlled by Olynthus or Thasos, etc.). Pistiros is an example of an *emporion* which was probably a Greek institution inside an otherwise mixed settlement. And that is indeed what is suggested by Herodotus' account of Naukratis combined with what we know about the place from other sources.

The only *emporia* which can be traced back into the Archaic period are Naukratis in Egypt and Emporion in Spain, and both seem to have been dependent *poleis*, Naukratis dominated by the Pharaoh, Emporion possibly by its metropolis Massalia [see Note 46].

Appendix
Borysthenes and Olbia

Βορυσθένης was the name both of the *emporion* (Herodotus 4. 24) and of the *polis* (Herodotus 4. 78). Similarly, Herodotus refers to τὸ Βορυσθεϊτέων ἐμπόριον (Herodotus 4. 17) and to ἡ Βορυσθεϊτέων πόλις (Herodotus 4. 79) = τὸ Βορυσθεϊτέων ἄστυ (Herodotus 4. 78), *cf.* Βορυσθενεῖται κατοίκηνται (Herodotus 4. 53). The city had its name from the river Βορυσθένης (Herodotus 4. 53). For a *polis* being named after the nearby river *cf.* Histria (Ps.-Skylax 68 [the river]; Aristotle *Pol.* 1305b5 [the *polis*]) and Gela (Thucydides 6. 4. 3). That Borysthenes was identical with Olbia is apparent from Herodotus 4. 18: Ὀλβιοπολίτας, and from the coin law *Syll.*³ 218. 1: [εἰς Βο]ρυσσθένη

[154] Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 23–90.

[155] Sporadic finds of architectural terracottas of the 7th to 4th centuries are testimony of sanctuaries on the *acropolis*, see Ridgway 1992, 37–9, 86–7.

εἰσπλεῖν and 15–16: τὸ ἀργύριο[ν τὸ] ᾿Ολβιοπολιτικόν combined with the reference in lines 9–10 to the stone ἐν τῶι ἐκκλησιασ[τηρίωι]. Dittenberger (*ad loc.*) may be right in assuming that the reference in line 1 is to the *emporion* rather than to the *polis*, but the *ekklesiasterion* must have been situated in the *polis*, *i.e.* in Olbia. From this evidence one would conclude that the *emporion* must have been a part of the *polis* itself. Olbia was situated on the estuary of the river Hypanis; it had a harbour which is now under water and the *emporion* may have been situated here.[156] Admittedly, the earliest objects recovered from the lower part of the town are Classical (information provided by G. Tsetskhladze), but that does not conflict with an identification of lower Olbia with the Classical *emporion*.

An alternative view is to identify the *emporion* Borysthenes with the remains found on the small island Berezan, once a peninsula, in the estuary of Borysthenes (Dnieper) some 38km west of Olbia.[157] The archaeological evidence indicates that the Milesians came to Berezan *ca.* 645 B.C., whereas Olbia was founded *ca.* 550 B.C. or a little earlier. I follow Tsetskhladze in believing that Berezan was the first Milesian settlement in the area and initially without a *chora*, and that later it lay within Olbia's *chora* and was a dependency of Olbia.[158] But the evidence we have does not support an identification of Berezan in the Archaic period with the Classical *emporion* (and *polis*) Borysthenes known from Herodotus and from the 4th century coin law.[159]

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[156] See Hind 1995–96; 1997, 109; Vinogradov and Kryžickij 1995, 33.

[157] Vinogradov 1981, 18–20; followed by Tsetskhladze 1994a, 117, with n. 19; Vinogradov and Kryžickij 1995, 129.

[158] Tsetskhladze 1994a, 117, 119; 1998a, 19–22. See also Boardman 1998; Solovev 1998.

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MYCENAEAN EXPANSION

Jacques Vanschoonwinkel*

Mycenaean remains dating from the 16th to the 11th century B.C. have been found throughout almost the entire Mediterranean.[1] The material collected from such a large geographical area and covering such a long period is so vast, and studies of it so specialised, that to write a synthesis represents a considerable challenge. In addition, the interpretation of the presence of Mycenaean objects in the Mediterranean is difficult because the Mycenaean civilisation is proto-historic. The Linear B tablets scarcely reveal information on Mycenaean foreign commerce and *a fortiori* on possible settlements of the Mycenaeans abroad. Words of the family of κτίζω in them are admittedly well represented, but they relate to agriculture, land status or to residence, while the family of οἰκέω is illustrated only by *woikode* which indicates the place of residence of an individual.[2] Therefore, this vocabulary at this stage of the Greek language does not designate colonisation as an organised and historical movement. Also, the archives of the countries where Mycenaean objects have been found—such as Ugarit or Egypt—do not give us information about what relations were maintained with the Mycenaeans. Therefore, we are reduced to the position of examining archaeological evidence only and, consequently, of exposing ourselves to the risks inherent in the interpretation of silent material remains. The other category of evidence that we have at our disposal—the legendary tradition—also requires treating with great delicacy, but when analysis of the corpus of legends takes into consideration the alterations handed down in late form, there is no reason to give up a source of information which is entirely complementary to archaeology.

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[1] The absolute chronology followed is the traditional one established by Warren and Hankey 1989, but there also exists a high chronology which places the beginning of the Mycenaean period one century earlier.

[2] Casevitz 1985, 221–3.

Archaeological Evidence

The Mediterranean

It is possible to distinguish three major phases in the development of Mycenaean international relations in the Mediterranean, and these correspond approximately to the three principal stages of the evolution of Mycenaean civilisation (Figs. 1–5).

The Prepalatial Phase

The first phase, which corresponds to Late Helladic (LH) I–II (about the 16th and 15th centuries B.C.), is the period when the cultural features of Mycenaean civilisation take shape and the palace system is forming—a period which, therefore, can be described as 'prepalatial'. At that time the Minoan civilisation of the second palace was at its zenith.

It is in this period that Mycenaean imports make their appearance in the Cycladic islands, where Mesohelladic vases had already appeared before them. LH I jars, jugs and, above all, cups were excavated on Keos, Melos, Delos and Thera. LH IIA and IIB vases were exported more abundantly, but they ended up mainly on Keos and at Phylakopi.[3] Despite the evidence not being very plentiful, certain archaeologists have concluded that there was a Mycenaean presence on Thera as early as the LH I.[4] They base their argument mainly on the miniature fresco of the 'West House' in Akrotiri, which, admittedly, presents close iconographic and stylistic similarities to numerous objects coming from the shaft graves in Mycenae. However, a detailed analysis of these artistic links shows that they have their antecedents on Crete, or that they appeared first on Thera. Therefore, these affinities speak rather of the influence of Crete and the Cyclades on the Helladic continent.[5]

To the north of the Aegean, Torone on Chalcidice has yielded numerous LH I–II fragments.[6] On the other hand, Mycenaean pottery is not at all widespread on the Dodecanese and the Anatolian

[3] Schallin 1993, 109–17. See also Vatin 1965, 228–9; Lolos 1990; Marthari 1993.
[4] Immerwahr 1977; Laffineur 1984.
[5] Vanschoonwinkel 1986; Niemeier 1990.
[6] Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993.

coast. One single fragment of an LH I–IIA cup was found at Ialysus on Rhodes[7] and a few fragments of LH I cups and perhaps amphorae were dug up at Miletus.[8] The first Mycenaean fragments found at Troy are not earlier than LH IIA, which is also attested at Miletus and, possibly, at Mylasa, whilst the oldest examples of Mycenaean pottery at Iasus and Clazomenae are assigned to LH IIB–IIIAI.[9]

Therefore, it is not surprising that on Cyprus and in the Levant, Mycenaean imports are non-existent in the 16th century and very rare in the 15th. Aegean imports reached Cyprus from the north-west, as is attested by Minoan vases found in the graves of Morphou and Mycenaean cups uncovered in those of Agia Irini.[10] One other cup of unknown provenance and a fragment from Enkomi complete the LH IIA material.[11] LH IIB is a little better represented, thanks to finds from Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni and Milia, all of them located in the south-eastern part of the island.[12] The Levant, where pottery in general comes from large cities, offers a similar situation. One grave from Ugarit and one from Alalakh have yielded respectively an alabastron and two fragments of alabastra assigned to LH II(A), and Byblos and Ras el-Bassit a few LH IIA fragments.[13] In Palestine, the LH IIA evidence is not limited to the coastal sites of Tell el-Ajjul and, possibly, Tell Abu Hawam, but spreads over several sites of the interior: Hazor, Tell Bir el-Gharbi, Meggido, Tell Taanek, Gezer, Lachish and also Amman in Transjordan.[14] On the other hand, LH IIB is non-existent, with the exception of a few fragments from Sarepta and Amman.[15] In Cyprus and the Levant, the Mycenaean imports are divided almost equally between the open and closed shapes. Also, Mycenaean pottery is frequently associated with Minoan pottery; indeed in certain cases attribution to one category or the other remains undecided. The same comments apply to the sporadic material collected in Egypt. The oldest Mycenaean

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[7] Furumark 1950, 166.

[8] Re 1986, 345–6; Özgünel 1996, 10–2; Mee 1998, 137.

[9] Mee 1978, 129, 146–7; 1998, 137; Re 1986, 346, 353–6; Benzi 1987, 29–30; Özgünel 1996, 14–26. The sword of Aegean type dated to the reign of Tudhaliya II, found at Bogazköy, must have been part of the spoils (Cline and Cline 1998).

[10] Vermeule and Wolsky 1978; Pecorella 1973; Quilici 1990, 126.

[11] Vermeule and Wolsky 1978, 298–9.

[12] Stubbings 1951, 26–9; Helck 1979, 111; Pacci 1986, 337, 339–41.

[13] Stubbings 1951, 53–4; Hankey 1967, 111–2, 117–8; 1993, 105–6.

[14] Stubbings 1951, 55–6; Hankey 1967, 123, 135–6, 144; 1993, 106–7.

[15] Hankey 1993, 107.

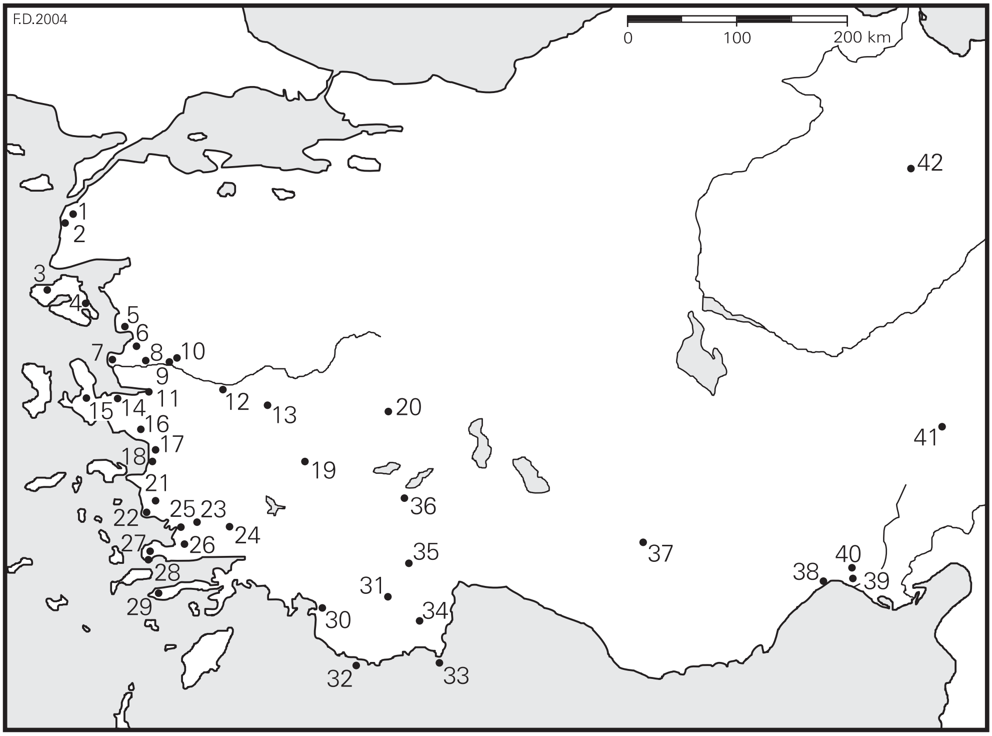

Fig. 1. Distribution of Mycenaean objects in Anatolia (after Mee 1978; Re 1986; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 166–70, 319–22; French 1993; Özgünel 1996).

REGION	LH I–II	LH IIIA–B	LH IIIC-SM
WESTERN ANATOLIA	1. **Troy**	1. **TROY**	1. **Troy**
	4. Thermi	2. Besik Tepe	5. *Pitane*
	14. Clazomenae	3. **Antissa**	8. *Larissa*
	21. Miletus	4. Thermi	12. Sardis
	23. Mylasa	6. **PANAZTEPE**	14. Clazomenae
	25. Iasus	7. Phocaea	21. **Miletus**
		9. *Çerkes Sultaniye*	24. *Stratonicaea*
		10. Egriköy	25. **Iasus**
		11. **Smyrna**	26. ***Çömlekçi***
		13. Gavurtepe	27. Assarlik
		14. **Clazomenae**	28. ***Müskebi***
		15. Erythrae	
		16. *Colophon*	
		17. ***Ephesus***	
		18. Kusadasi	
		19. Sarayköy?	
		20. Beycesultan	
		21. **MILETUS**	
		22. Didyma	
		23. Mylasa	
		25. **IASUS**	
		28. ***MÜSKEBI***	
		29. Cnidus	
LYCIA		30. Telmessus	
		31. Beylerbey	
		32. **ULU BURUN (KAS)**	
		33. Cape Gelidonya	
		34. Lymira	
		35. *Dereköy*	
		36. ***Düver***	
		37. Gödelesin	
CILICIA	39. Kazanli	38. Mersin	39. **Kazanli**
		39. Kazanli	40. ***Tarsus***
		40. Tarsus	41. Fraktin
CENTRAL ANATOLIA		42. **Masat**	

Key: Names in *italics* indicate tombs; those in **bold**, sites which have yielded at least five pottery fragments; and those in **BOLD CAPITALS**, sites which have yielded at least 50 pottery fragments.

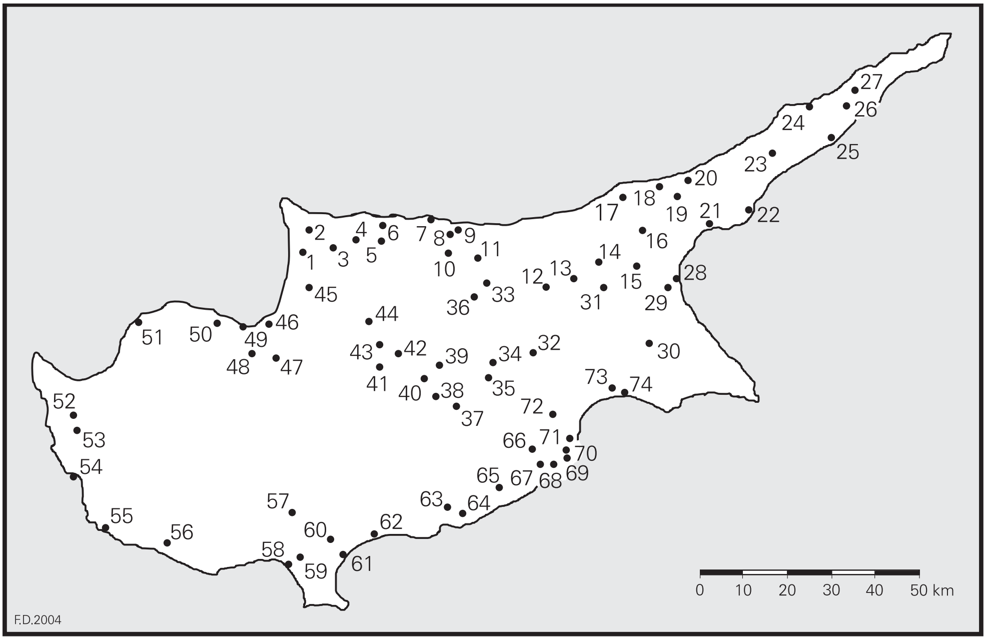

Fig. 2. Distribution of Mycenaean objects on Cyprus (after Stubbings 1951; Åström 1973; Pacci 1986).

LH I–II	LH IIIA–B	LH IIIC – PROTO-WHITE PTD.
1. *Agia Irini*	1. **Agia Irini**	4. Myrtou?
15. *Milia*	2. *Kormakiti*	6. *Lapithos*
29. **Enkomi**	3. *Dhiorios*	21. ***GASTRIA-ALAAS***
64. *Maroni*	4. **Myrtou**	28. Salamis
70. Hala Sultan Tekke	5. Larnaka tis Lapithou	29. **ENKOMI**
	6. ***Lapithos***	31. **SINDA**
	7. Kyrenia	32. **Athienou**/Golgoi
	8. *Kazaphani*	35. Dhali (Idalion)
	9. Agios Epiktitos	36. Nicosia
	10. *Dhikomo*	48. **Apliki?**
	11. *Palaekythro*	54. **Maa-Palaeokastro**
	12. ***Angastina***	56. **PALAIPAPHOS**
	13. *Marathouvouno*	58. Kourion
	14. *Psilatos*	62. Amathus
	16. *Agios Iakovos*	70. **HALA SULTAN TEKKE**
	17. Akanthou	71. **KITION**
	18. **Phlamoudhi**	
	19. Anochora	
	20. Dhavlos	
	21. *Gastria-Agios Ioannis*	

22. ***Agios Theodoros***
23. *Leonarisso*
24. **Agios Thyrsos**
25. Nitovikla
26. *Galinoporti*
27. Rizokarpaso
29. **ENKOMI**
30. Kalopsidha
31. **Sinda**
32. **Athienou**
33. ***Kaimakli***
34. **Agios Sozomenos**
35. Dhali (Idalion)
36. ***Nicosia-Ag. Paraskevi***
37. *Lythrodhonda*
38. *Alambra*
39. *Pera*
40. **Politiko (Tamassos)**
41. ***Akhera***
42. ***Meniko***
43. *Akaki*
44. Dhenia
45. **Morphou**
46. *Pendaya*
47. ***Katydhata***
48. **Apliki**
49. *Soloi*
50. Loutros
51. *Pomos*
52. *Dhrousha*
53. *Arodhes Pano*
54. **Maa-Palaeokastro**
55. Yeroskipou
56. **Palaipaphos**
57. **Alassa**
58. **KOURION**
59. Erimi
60. *Polemidhia*
61. *Limassol*
63. **Kalavassos**
64. **Maroni**
65. Kivisil
66. ***Klavdhia***
67. *Arpera*
68. *Dhromolaxia*
69. *Larnaka* (*Laxia tou Riou*)
70. **HALA SULTAN TEKKE**
71. **KITION**
72. ***Aradhipou***
73. **Pyla**
74. **Dhekelia**

Key: Names in *italics* indicate tombs; those in **bold**, sites which have yielded at least five pottery fragments; and those in **BOLD CAPITALS**, sites which have yielded at least 50 pottery fragments.

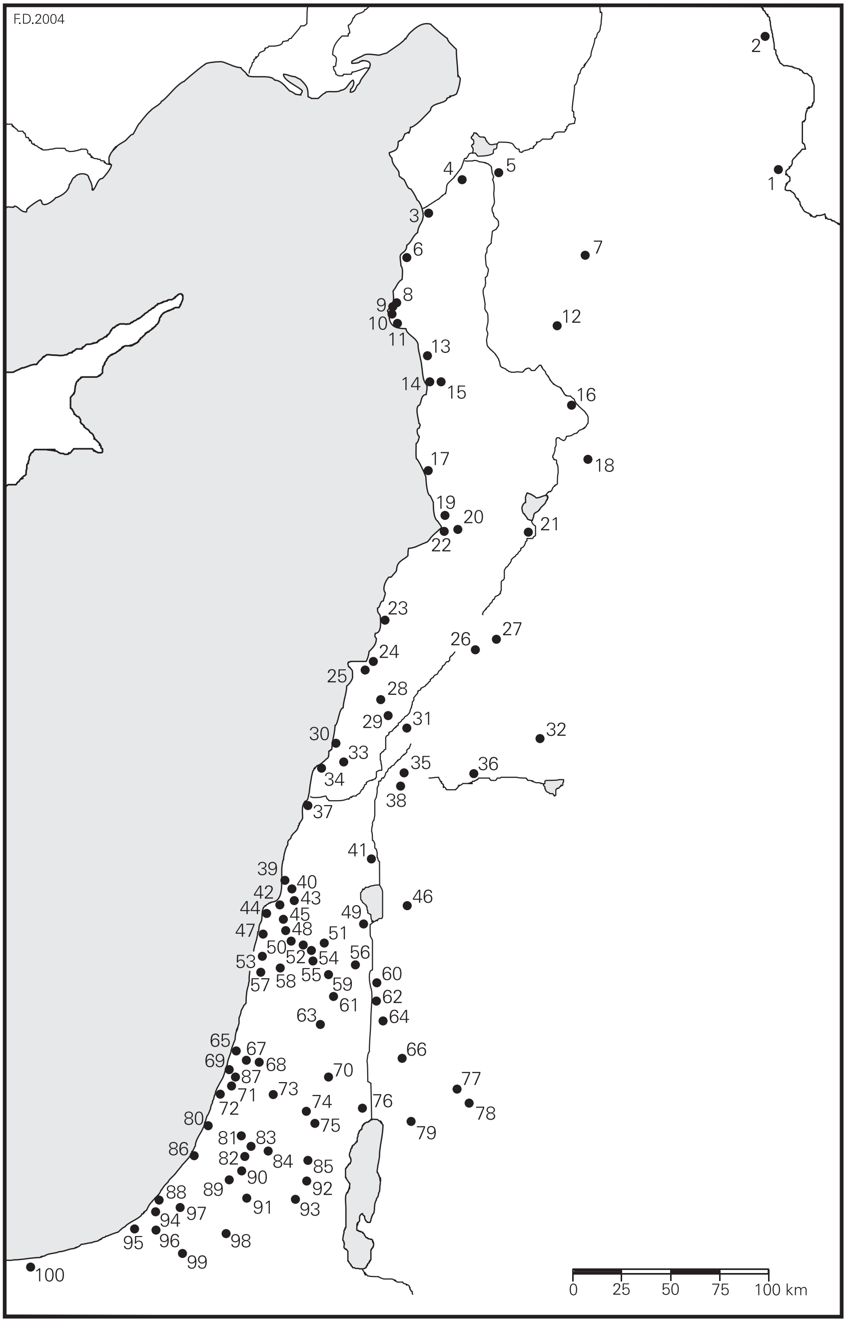

Fig. 3. Distribution of Mycenaean objects in the Levant (after Stubbings 1951, 53–6, 59–87; Hankey 1967; 1993; Leonard 1994).

REGION	LH I–II	LH IIIA–B	LH IIIC-SM
SYRIA	5. Alalakh	1. Emar	6. Ras el-Bassit
	6. Ras el-Bassit	2. **Karchemish**	10. Ras Ibn Hani
	9. *Ras Shamra*	3. Sabuni	13. Tell Sukas
	23. Byblos	4. Çatal Hüyük	23. Byblos
	34. Sarepta	5. **ALALAKH**	34. Sarepta
		6. Ras el-Bassit	37. Tyre
		7. Tell Mardikh?	
		8. **MINET EL-BEIDA**	
		9. **RAS SHAMRA**	
		10. Ras Ibn Hani	
		11. Lattakie	
		12. Khan Sheikun	
		13. **TELL SUKAS**	
		14. Arab el-Mulk	
		15. Tell Daruk	
		16. Hama	
		17. **Tell Kazel**	
		18. Qatna	
		19. Tell Kirri	
		20. Tell Hayat	
		21. Tell Nebi Mend (Qadesh)	
		22. Tell Arqa	
		23. **Byblos**	
		24. **Beirut**	
		25. Khalde	
		26. Tell Ain Sherif	
		27. Tell el-Ghassil	
		28. Garife	
		29. Khrayeb	
		30. **Sidon**	
		31. **Kamid el-Loz**	
		32. Tell es-Salihyeh	
		33. Qraye	
		34. **Sarepta**	
		35. Khirbet Selim	
		36. Deir Khabie	
		37. **Tyre**	
PALESTINE	40. *Tell Bir el-Gharbi*	38. ***Tell Dan***	39. **Akko**
	41. Hazor	39. **Akko**	43. Tell Keisan
	42. Tell Abu Hawam?	41. **HAZOR**	56. Beth Shan
	52. Megiddo	42. **TELL ABU HAWAM**	80. **Ashdod**
	55. Tell Taanek	43. Tell Keisan	81. **Tell Miqne** (Ekron)
	73. Gezer	44. Tell es-Samak	90. Lachish?
	77. Amman	45. Tell Qasis	
	90. Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir)	46. Tell el-Ashari	
	94. Tell el-Ajjul	47. Atlit	
		48. Tell Yoqneam	
		49. **Tell Yinaan**	
		50. Abu Shushe	

51. Afula
52. **Megiddo**
53. Tell Mevorakh
54. Tell Kedesh
55. **Tell Taanek**
56. **Beth Shan**
57. Tell Zeror
58. Jatt
59. Dothan
60. Tabaqat Fahil (Pella)
61. **Tell el-Farah (N)**
62. **Tell es-Saidiyeh**
63. Tell Balata (Sichem)
64. **Tell Deir Alla**
65. Tell Michal
66. Jabal al-Hawajah
67. **Aphek**
68. Izbet Sartah
69. Tell Jerishe
70. Bethel
71. Daharat el-Humraya
72. Tell Mor
73. **Gezer**
74. el-Jib (Gibeon)
75. Jerusalem
76. Jericho
77. **AMMAN**
78. Sahab
79. Madaba
80. **ASHDOD**
82. Tell es-Safiye
84. **Beth Shemesh**
85. **Khirbet Yudur**
86. Askalon
87. Tell Sippor
88. Gaza
89. Tell el-Hesi
90. **LACHISH** (Tell ed-Duweir)
91. **Tell Beit Mirsim**
92. Hebron
93. Khirbet Rabud?
94. **TELL EL-AJJUL**
95. **Deir el-Balah**
96. Tell Jemmeh
97. Qubur el-Walaida
98. **Tell Sera**
99. Tell el-Farah (S)
100. el-Arish
101. Bir el-Abd

Key: Names in *italics* indicate tombs; those in **bold**, sites which have yielded at least five pottery fragments; and those in **BOLD CAPITALS**, sites which have yielded at least 50 pottery fragments.

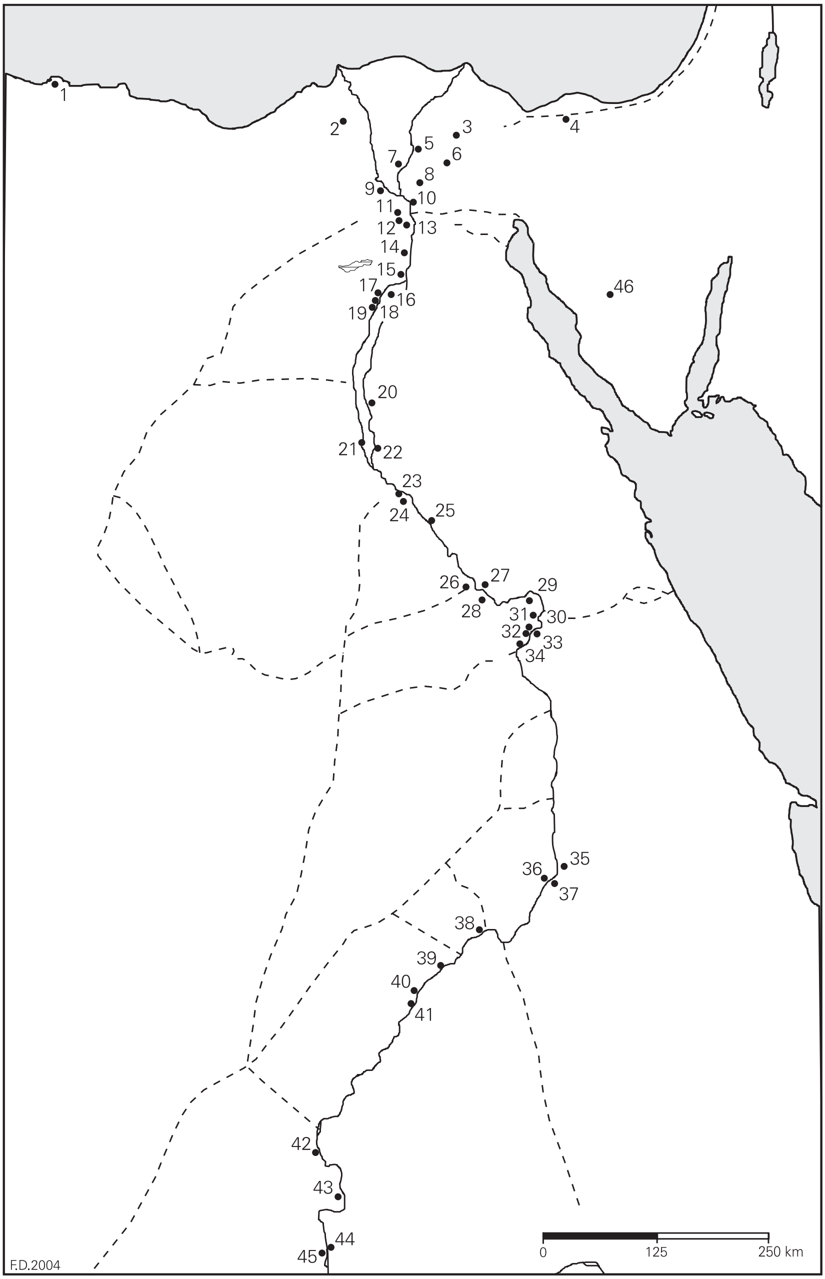

Fig. 4. Distribution of Mycenaean objects in Egypt (after Stubbings 1951, 56–8, 90–101; Helck 1979, 83–92; Vincentelli and Tiradritti 1986; Hankey 1993).

REGION	LH I–II	LH IIIA–B	LH IIIC
MEDITERRANEAN COAST AND DELTA		1. Marsa Matruh	
		2. *Tom Firin*	
		3. Tell el-Daba	
		4. C 68	
		5. Tell el-Muqdam	
		6. *Ali Mara*	
		7. *Mostai*	
		8. *Tell el-Yahudiyeh*	
		9. *Kom Abu Billo*	
LOWER EGYPT	11. *Abusir*	10. Heliopolis	
	12. *Saqqara*	12. Saqqara	
	13. Memphis (Kom Rabia)	13. Memphis	
	17. Gurob	14. *Riqqeh*	
	18. *Kahun*	15. *Meidum*	
		16. *Harageh*	
		17. **Gurob**	
		18. *Kahun*	
		19. ***Sedment***	
MIDDLE EGYPT		20. Zawyet el-Amwat	
		21. *Tuneh el-Gebel*?	
		22. **AMARNA**	
		23. Assyut	
		24. *Rifeh*	
		25. *Qau*	
UPPER EGYPT	26. *Abydos*	26. **Abydos**	
	32. *Western Thebes*	27. *Balabish*	
	34. *Armant*	28. Gadra	
		29. Dendera	
		30. *Naqada*	
		31. **DEIR EL-MEDINEH**	
		32. **Western Thebes**	
		33. Karnak	
NUBIA	38. *Aniba*	35. *Arabi Hilla*	
	44. Kerma?	36. *Daqqa*	
		37. Quban	
		39. *Arminna*	
		40. *Debeira*	
		41. *Buhen*	
		42. Soleb	
		43. Sesebi	
		45. Tabo?	
SINAI		46. Sinai	

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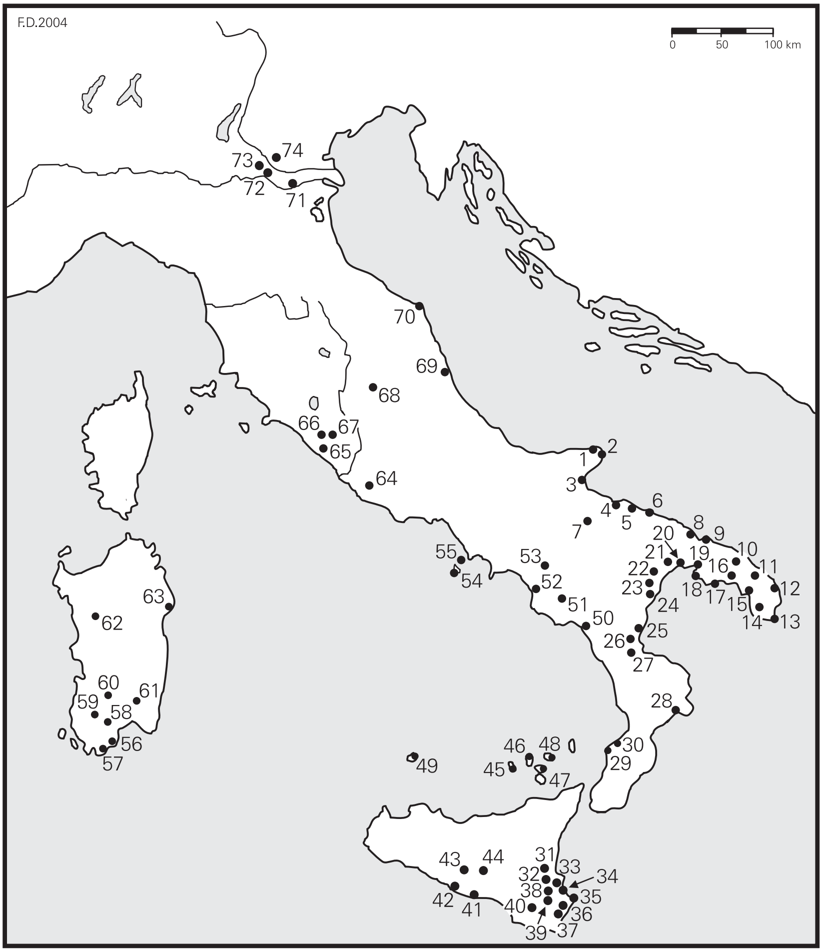

Fig. 5. Distribution of Mycenaean objects in Italy (after Taylour 1958; Tiné and Vagnetti 1967; Vagnetti 1982a; 1986; 1993; Smith 1987).

REGION	LH I–II	LH IIIA–B	LH IIIC-SM
APULIA	2. Molinella	3. Coppa Nevigata	1. *Manacorre*
	5. *Giovinazzo*	4. Trani	3. **COPPA NEVIGATA**
	9. Punta le Terrare	8. *Torre Santa Sabina*	4. Trani
	18. Porto Perone	9. Punta le Terrare	6. Bari
		10. *San Cosimo d'Oria*	11. Surbo
		12. Otranto	12. Otranto
		13. **Leuca**	13. **Leuca**
		15. **Porto Cesareo**	14. Parabita
		16. Avetrana	15. **Porto Cesareo**
		17. Torre Castelluccia	16. **Avetrana**
		18. **Porto Perone**	17. **Torre Castelluccia**

		19. **Satyrion**	18. **PORTO PERONE**
		20. **SCOGLIO DEL TONNO**	19. **SATYRION**
		21. Cozzo Marziotta	20. **Scoglio del Tonno**
BASILICATA		22. Timmari	7. **Toppo Daguzzo**
		23. San Vito?	24. **TERMITITO**
		24. **TERMITITO**	
CALABRIA	28. Capo Piccolo	25. **BROGLIO DI TREBISACCE**	25. **Broglio di Trebisacce**
		26. Francavilla Marittima?	27. Torre del Mordillo
		29. *San Domenica di Ricadi*	
		30. Zambrone	
		50. Praia	
SICILY		31. *Valsavoia*	38. *Pantalica*
		32. *Cava Cana Barbara*	
		33. *Molinello*	
		34. ***Thapsos***	
		35. *Plemmyrion*	
		36. *Matrensa*	
		37. *Cozzo del Pantano*	
		39. *Florida*	
		40. *Buscemi*	
		41. Cannatello	
		42. Agrigento	
		43. *Caldare*	
		44. *Milena*	
AEOLIAN ISLANDS	45. **FILICUDI**	45. **Filicudi**	47. **Lipari**
	46. Salina	46. **Salina**	
	47. **LIPARI**	47. **LIPARI**	
	48. Panarea	48. **Panarea**	
		49. Ustica	
CAMPANIA		52. Paestum	51. Grotta di Polla
			52. Paestum
			53. **Montedoro di Eboli**
PHLEGREAN ISLANDS	54. Ischia	54. Ischia	
	55. **VIVARA**	55. **Vivara**	
SARDINIA		56. **ANTIGORI**	56. **ANTIGORI**
		58. Decimoputzu	57. Domu s'Orku
		59. *Gonnosfanadiga*	60. Barumini
		61. Orroli	62. Pozzomaggiore?
		63. Orosei	
LATIUM		64. Casale Nuovo	64. Casale Nuovo
		65. Monte Rovello	65. Monte Rovello
		66. **Luni sul Mignone**	66. **Luni sul Mignone**
			67. San Giovenale
			68. Piediluco
MARCHE		69. Treazzano	70. Ancona (Montagnola)
VENETO			71. Frattesina
			72. Villabartolomea
			73. Fonda Paviani
			74. Montagnana

Key: Names in *italics* indicate tombs; those in **bold**, sites which have yielded at least five pottery fragments; and those in **BOLD CAPITALS**, sites which have yielded at least 50 pottery fragments.

evidence could, very unexpectedly, be one Late Minoan (LM)/LH I fragment dug up at Kerma in Nubia, some 1500km from the Mediterranean coast.[16] LH IIA is present at Abusir, Saqqara, Gurob, Abydos, western Thebes, Armant and maybe Kom Rabia, while the alabastron from Aniba in Nubia unexpectedly imitates a LM IB/LH IIA model.[17] LH IIB is attested only at Saqqara, Kahun and western Thebes.[18]

In Italy a very limited quantity of LH I–II pottery—typically one fragment per site and rarely accompanied by Minoan pottery—has been found along the Apulian Adriatic coast, at Molinella, Giovinazzo and Punta le Terrare, and on the coast of the Gulf of Taranto at Porto Perone, which has also yielded fragments of the Matt-painted class of Mesohelladic tradition.[19] One LH I–IIA fragment was also excavated at Capo Piccolo in Calabria.[20] Despite the fact that in this period the exploitation of the obsidian of Lipari was abandoned, the Aeolian archipelago remained integrated in one considerable network of commercial exchange. This would explain the presence of numerous LH I–II fragments and some of different Matt-painted classes in the villages of the *acropolis* of Lipari, Montagnola di Capo Graziano on Filicudi, Capo Milazzese on Panarea, Portella and Serro dei Cianfi on Salina.[21] The typological repertoire there is of very rich, closed shapes largely predominating over open. Similar material, but even more abundant and varied was found in the settlements of the island of Vivara in the Phlegrean archipelago (Fig. 6). To the old finds from Punta Capitello are to be added those from Punta Mezzogiorno and Punta d'Alaca.[22] The Aegean material from the first is assigned mainly to LH I, occasionally to LH IIA and the Matt-painted class, while the habitation levels of the second have yielded LH IIA–B pottery, including some elements of LH IIIA1, imported from the southern Peloponnese or Cythera.[23] Also excavated

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[16] Warren and Hankey 1989, 138.

[17] Stubbings 1951, 56–8; Helck 1979, 84–6; Warren and Hankey 1989, 139–44; Hankey 1993, 113–4.

[18] Stubbings 1951, 56; Warren and Hankey 1989, 145–6; Hankey 1993, 113–4.

[19] Smith 1987, 80–1; Vagnetti 1982a, 43–4; 1982b, 16; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1991, 291; Franco 1996.

[20] Vagnetti 1993, 145.

[21] Taylour 1958, 13–47; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1968; 1980, 791–817; 1991, 262–96; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 237–48.

[22] Taylour 1958, 8–9; Marazzi 1993; Marazzi and Tusa 1994.

[23] Jones and Vagnetti 1991, 131.

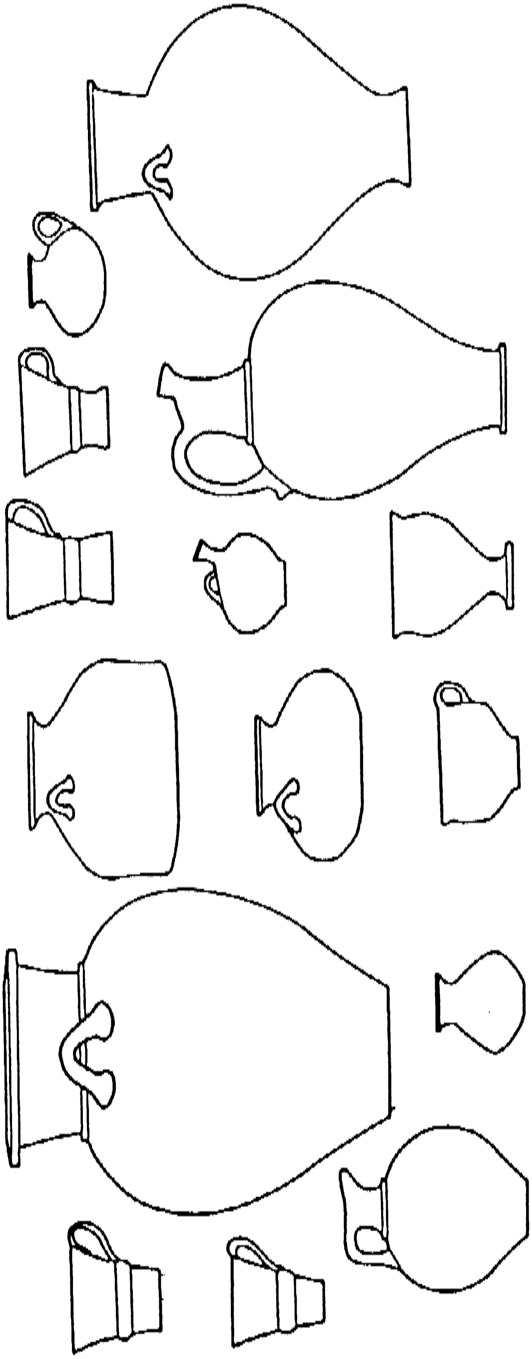

Fig. 6. Typology of Mycenaean vases from Vivara (after Marazzi 1993, fig. 2).

is some domestic pottery of Aegean type.[24] The archaeologists have uncovered traces of metellurgical activity at Punta Mezzogiorno.

Palatial Phase

Greece of LH IIIA–B (about the 14th and 13th centuries) is characterised by the palace system. At this time Mycenaean civilisation reached its apogee and combined a series of features: territorial organisation resting on a hierarchy of settlements; a social pyramid dominated by the *wanax*; a centralised palace economy of a redistributive type; and a specific way of thinking, reflected in different means of expression.[25] Its spread continued right down to LH IIIA1 in the Agean, in particular on Crete and the Dodecanese, whilst its expansion in the Mediterranean reached its maximum extent in LH IIIA2–B. The evidence is so numerous that a complete listing is thus impossible.

In the Aegean, the Cyclades henceforth formed a part of the Mycenaean world.[26] In this period the Mycenaeans established themselves on Crete, even if the date of their arrival at Knossos continues to be debated.[27] Mycenaean pottery is present in numerous places along the Aegean coast, even if the majority of finds are chance and sporadic.[28] However, several sites are exceptions to this. Troy has yielded a considerable quantity of Mycenaean pottery, part of it made locally, but despite this, the settlement does not lose its Anatolian features.[29] In the settlement and necropolis of Panaztepe, which has a number of tombs with a small oval *tholos*, Mycenaean vases, both imports and imitations, lie alongside local pottery.[30] On the other hand, Iasus, and more so Miletus with its *megaron*, vases of Mycenaean type found in pottery kilns, its necropolis of chamber tombs, etc., became major centres of Mycenaean culture at this time.[31] A necropolis

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[24] Re 1993; 1996.
[25] Kilian 1986, 283–4; 1990, 445–7.
[26] Schalin 1993.
[27] Hallager 1993; Driessen and Farnoux 1997.
[28] Re 1986, 347–51; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 166–9; French 1993; Özgünel 1996, 27–122; Mee 1998, 138–41.
[29] Mee 1978, 146–7; 1998, 143–5; Podzuweit 1982.
[30] Mellink 1987, 13; 1988, 114–5; 1989, 117; 1991, 137; Mee 1998, 140.
[31] Gödecken 1988; Benzi 1987; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 194–200; Mee 1998, 139.

of chamber tombs at Müskebi, where the grave goods include not a single local vase, and a *tholos* tomb at Colophon have provided Mycenaean vases.[32] For the interior of the country we can point out the fragments from Sardis and Gavurtepe, that from Beycesultan and the vases from the necropolis of Düver.[33] A few fragments were found in Lycia,[34] but this region is known above all by two shipwrecks. Apart from ingots, the cargo of that from Ulu Burun, dated to LH IIIA2/B, consisted of Egyptian, Levantine, Cypriot and Aegean objects.[35] The wreck from Cape Gelidonya, dated to LH IIIB or to the beginning of LH IIIC, contained mainly Cypriot and Levantine objects.[36] In this period, a smaller quantity of fragments of Mycenaean vases come from the Cilician sites of Mersin, Tarsus and Kazanli (which has yielded one LH IIA fragment).[37] The spread of LH IIIA2–B material also reached central Anatolia, as the vases from Masat, to which we shall return below, testify.

On Cyprus the movement of Mycenaean imports, which had started from LH IIB, is observed first towards the coastal sites in the south and east of the island, and after that also towards the sites of the interior. The number of sites increased considerably during LH IIIA2, culminating during LH IIIB. Almost 80 sites dispersed throughout the entire island have produced at least one Mycenaean fragment, and among them, funerary contexts outnumber settlements by two to one. The main sites with LH IIIA–B pottery, often associated with Minoan pottery, are Apliki, Kalavassos, Klavdhia, Lapithos, Larnaka, Maroni, Morphou, Myrtou, Nicosia and Palaipaphos, with Hala Sultan Tekke, Kourion, Kition and, above all, Enkomi standing out noticeably from the rest.[38] Mycenaean imports other than vases are almost absent on Cyprus, with the exception of prestige objects of one sort or another, such as the silver bowl decorated with gold and niello incrustations found at Enkomi. Archeometric analysis of LH I–IIIB vases found on the island indicates that they were produced generally in the Peloponnese, in the Argolis in particular, and to a lesser degree on Crete, thus invalidating the claims

[32] Mee 1978, *s.v.*; 1998, 138–40; Re 1986, 347–51, 353; Özgünel 1996, 153–6.
[33] Mee 1978, *s.v.*; 1998, 141; Re 1986, 347–51, 353.
[34] Mee 1978, *s.v.* Beylerbey, Dereköy and Telmessus; Re 1986, 349–50, 353.
[35] Cline 1994, 100–1.
[36] Bass 1991; Cline 1994, 101.
[37] Mee 1978, *s.v.*; Re 1986, 347–50.
[38] Stubbings 1951, 25–52; Åström 1973; Pacci 1986; Cadogan 1993; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 125–202.

made by some archaeologists for local production and, in consequence, of Mycenaean settlement on Cyprus from LH IIIA.[39] Other provenances which have sometimes been suggested are not proven.[40] Aegean origin is also confirmed for both the vases of pictorial style and those of shapes lacking true parallels in the Aegean and qualified as 'Levanto-Mycenaean', which are found almost exclusively on Cyprus and in the Near East.[41] Vases of Mycenaean type do not start to be made locally until the Late Cypriot IIC period; this applies, among others, to those of Pastoral Style.[42] In return, Cyprus exported to Greece mainly vases, in particular milk bowls and small jugs, and, starting from LH IIIA2, copper.[43]

This phase marks the maximum penetration of Mycenaean objects in the Levant, where examples have been found at more than a hundred sites, from Karchemish and Emar in the north to el-Arish in the south. They are distributed mainly in coastal regions, along caravan routes and in areas accessible by navigable rivers. LH IIIB vases predominate considerably over LH IIIA. The finds are most widespread in Syria, where Mycenaean vases are found chiefly in the coastal sites of Minet el-Beida/Ugarit, Byblos, etc., and along the Litani at places such as Kamid el-Loz and the Orontes at such as Hama, Qatna, Qadesh, etc. However, those of the Orontes have not yielded LH IIIB material. On the other hand, Palestine is characterised by a greater concentration of finds. In fact we can observe groupings in certain of its key regions, such as the valley of Jizreel, which, starting from Tell Abu Hawam on the coast, leads to the valley of the Jordan via Megiddo and Beth Shan, the region of Tell el-Farah on the road connecting Samaria to the same valley, or to Sichem in a pass at Mount Ephraim. Admittedly less abundant than at coastal sites or those closer to the sea, Mycenaean pottery is well attested in the interior and is also present in most sites to the east of the Jordan, in particular at Deir Alla, Amman and Madaba. The distribution of the finds illustrates clearly the way in which Mycenaean vases were spread: acquired in the centres of the coastal zone, where more or less direct exchange took place, after that they were

[39] For example, Nicolaou 1973.
[40] Jones 1986, 542–60, 589–609; Cadogan 1993, 94.
[41] Sherratt 1980, 195–9; Jones 1986, 544–8, 599–600, 603–5.
[42] Jones 1986, 549–53, 604–7.
[43] Cline 1994, 60.

redistributed towards the markets of the interior.[44] Having said that, it has to be added that Mycenaean vases are always found accompanied by large quantities of Cypriot vases.[45] The only exceptions are the tomb of Sarepta and the temple of Amman, where the latter are completely absent, as well as the settlement of Tell Abu Hawam. Here Cypriot pottery is almost non-existent and one building has sometimes been considered as Mycenaean in view of the strong concentration within it of LH IIIB vases,[46] ignoring its Palestinian architectural features (Fig. 7).[47] The corpus of pottery from the Levant is constituted mainly of vases coming from settlements, very often from places connected with a palace or a temple, which have yielded, for the most part, open types, *i.e.* tableware. Overall, however, these are outnumbered by the closed types found mostly in graves (Fig. 8).[48] A few sites have also yielded one Mycenaean figurine, but only Ugarit, Tell Sukas, Sarepta, Hazor and Tell Abu Hawam have yielded numerous examples.[49]

Like elsewhere, Egypt witnesses a uniform increase in sites characterised by the presence of Mycenaean vases. These are found, naturally, along the Nile, and thenceforth spread through Middle Egypt and the Delta,[50] particularly at Tell el-Daba which, despite its frescoes of Minoan inspiration dated to the end of the Hyksos period, had not hitherto yielded Aegean pottery.[51] The LH IIIA–B vases come in general from graves, where there is often merely a single example, but major finds have been made in places of habitation, including palace or official contexts as well as domestic ones.[52] One of them is Gurob, an agglomeration of the Fayum region, where phases from LH IIB to IIIB are illustrated.[53] The vases excavated in the short-lived capital of Akhenaton, Tell el-Amarna, belong almost uniquely to LH IIIA2,[54] but their number rises to several hundreds,

[44] Leonard 1987.
[45] Hankey 1970–71, 20; Catling 1980, 16–8.
[46] Harif 1974.
[47] Gregori and Palumbo 1986, 373–4; Balensi 1988, 308–9. In addition, pottery seems to have been imported from the Argolis (Hoffmann and Robinson 1993).
[48] Hankey 1993, 104.
[49] Leonard 1994, 137–41; Pilali-Papasteriou 1998, 32–42.
[50] Stubbings 1951, 90–101; Helck 1979, 86–91; Vincentelli and Tiradritti 1986, 328–30; Hankey 1993, 109–16.
[51] Bietak 1995; Morgan 1995.
[52] Hankey 1993, 111.
[53] Helck 1979, 87–8, *s.v.* Kahun; Bell 1985.
[54] Hankey 1973; 1995; Merrillees 1973; Kemp 1987.

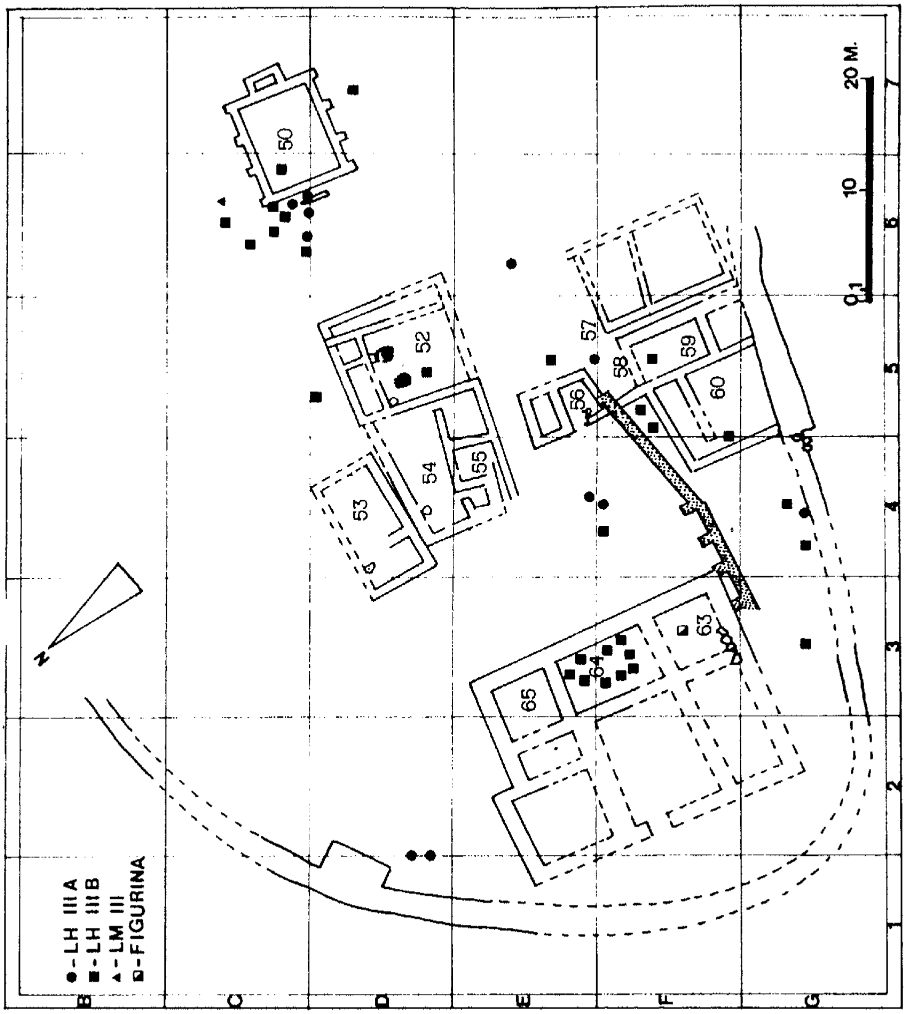

Fig. 7. Tell Abu Hawam (after Gregori and Palumbo 1986, fig. 9).

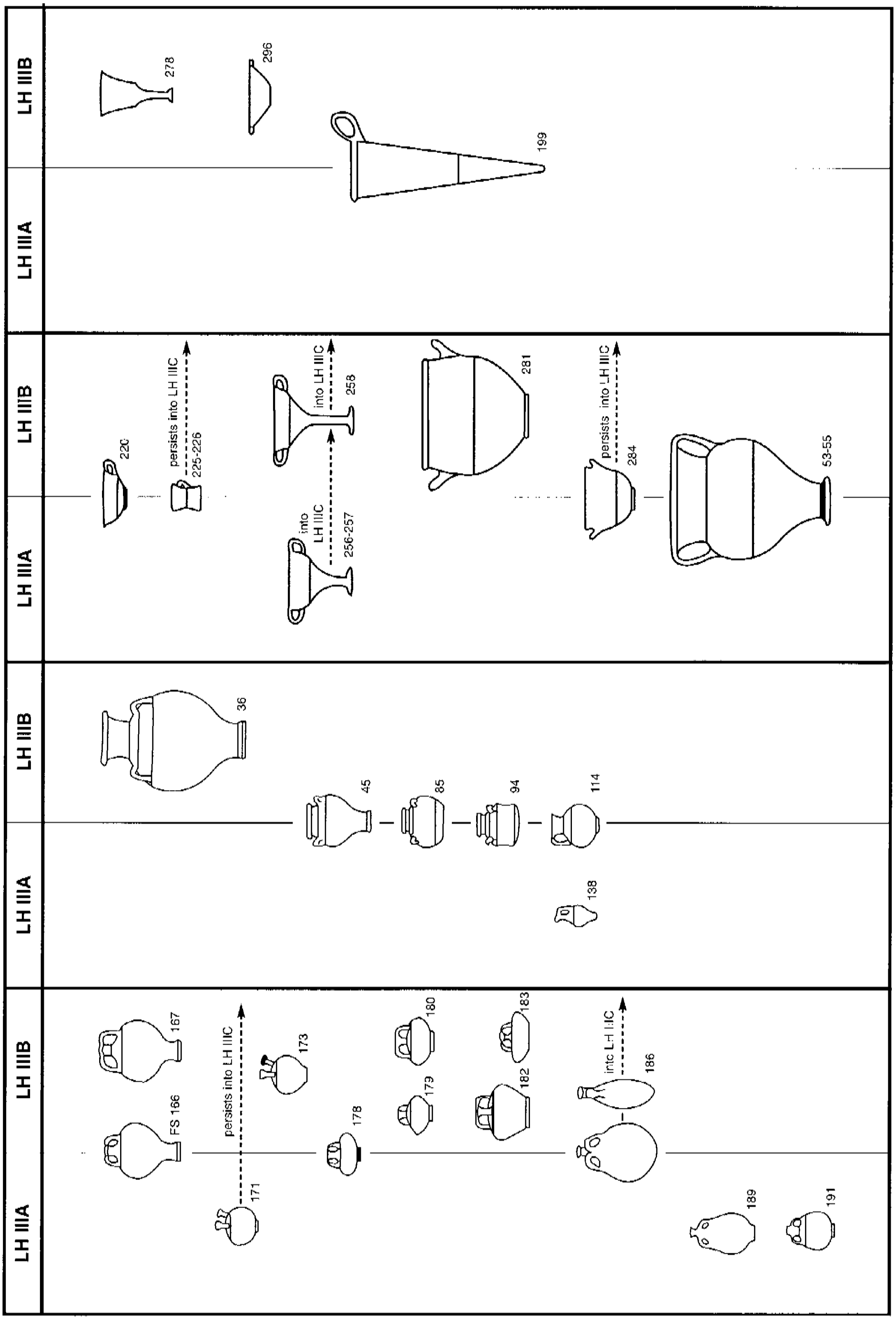

Fig. 8. Typology of Mycenaean vases found in the Levant (after Leonard 1981, fig. 1).

which constitutes one of the largest concentrations of Mycenaean pottery outside the Aegean world. The typological repertoire is made up of 21 different shapes. The only Mycenaean pottery from a temple comes from Amarna. Several sites from the Theban region, among others that of the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata, have also contributed to the enrichment of the corpus of Mycenaean pottery in Egypt.[55] A few Mycenaean vases were put in the tombs of western Thebes, but it is Deir el-Medineh, the village of the necropolis workers, which provides the most intersting evidence with its some 120 closed jar (mainly small stirrup jars).[56] With regard to Nubia, the LH IIIA2 pottery from Sesebi (a fortified town founded by Akhenaton) is quite similar to that from Amarna.[57] The rest of the Nubian sites are necropoleis which contain mainly imitations of Aegean vases.[58] One stirrup jar had been reported in the past at Dendera.[59] Finally, we should mention Marsa Matruh on the Marmaric coast, which must have been a stop for supplies for merchants on their way between Crete and the Nile Delta. Apart from traces of metallurgical activity, this small settlement has yielded an abundance of Cypriot pottery, but also Levantine objects and a few Minoan LH IIIA fragments.[60]

In Italy several sites on the Adriatic coast have produced one or a few LH IIIA or IIIB pieces.[61] However, the largest quantity of LH IIIA–B pottery has been gathered in the prehistoric stations of the Gulf of Taranto,[62] which were established on the coast or close by. Outstanding among these are Scoglio del Tonno, where several hundred Mycenaean fragments (mainly LH IIIA), two figurines and knives were excavated,[63] Termitito, which has produced numerous fragments of LH IIIB–C vases,[64] and Broglio di Trebisacce where

[55] Helck 1979, 90–1.
[56] Bell 1982.
[57] Warren and Hankey 1989, 152–3.
[58] Vincentelli and Tiradritti 1986, 330.
[59] Helck 1979, 90.
[60] White 1986, 77; 1989, 105–6; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003, 71–82.
[61] Taylour 1958, 159–64, 169; Biancofiore 1967, 59; Vagnetti 1982a, 55–9, 197–9; Lo Porto 1986, 13–4; Smith 1987, 86; Belardelli 1993, 347–52.
[62] Taylour 1958, 144–52; Lo Porto 1986, 15–6; Biancofiore 1967, 55, 59; Marazzi *et al.* 1986, 23–4; Vagnetti 1982a, 60–1, 97–8; 1986, 7.
[63] Taylour 1958, 81–104, 115; Biancofiore 1967, 46–54; Vagnetti 1982a, 62–5; Harding 1984, 131.
[64] Vagnetti 1982a, 69–96; De Siena 1986, 41–8.

the Mycenaean material, very abundant during LH IIIB, refers in general to the contemporary Minoan style (Fig. 9).[65] A considerable quantity of Mycenaean pottery has also been collected on the Aeolian islands, but vases later than LH IIIA1 are rare.[66] A few LH IIIA1 fragments constitute the final evidence from the Phlegrean archipelago.[67] LH IIIB–C pottery or Mycenaean-type beads have been found in the sites of the Tyrrhenian coast of Calabria,[68] Latium[69] and at Paestum.[70]

Sicily offers quite an unusual picture. There the Mycenaean pottery is no earlier than LH IIIA, but there is a small series of objects of supposedly Aegean origin which, despite the difficulties of dating them, have been attributed to earlier periods.[71] The Mycenaean pottery itself is not very numerous and belongs mainly to LH IIIA2, LH IIIB vases being almost non-existent. Unlike the pottery from other regions of Italy, that from Sicily comes only from tombs.[72] The majority of them are in the south-east of the island and, in general, have yielded no more than one or two vases. The vases are often accompanied by glass beads and bronze objects, swords in particular,[73] either imported or derived from Mycenaean or Cypriot models. At other sites the Aegean features are often limited to a few bronze objects or some pottery elements.[74]

Aegean influence is sometimes detected in the architecture of Thapsos, where the large rectangular buildings of the second phase of the urban development are built of independent rooms arranged around a central courtyard and are separated by broad, straight streets (Fig. 10).[75] The settlement, though, has not yielded Aegean pottery and its plan is more reminiscent of that of the urban structures

[65] Vagnetti 1982a, 103–17; Peroni, Trucco and Vagnetti 1986, 55–70; Peroni and Trucco 1994, 373–413; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 237–48.
[66] Taylour 1958, 13–47; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1968; 1980, 791–817; 1991, 262–96.
[67] Taylour 1958, 8–9; Marazzi 1993.
[68] Vagnetti 1982a, 119–23; 1982b, 36 fig. 6; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1991, 292.
[69] Vagnetti 1982a, 191–3; Vagnetti and Jones 1993.
[70] Kilian 1969.
[71] Tiné and Vagnetti 1967, 19–20; Harding 1984, 248; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1991, 292.
[72] Taylour 1958, 56–64, 70–4; Tiné and Vagnetti 1967, 19–21; Vagnetti 1982a, 127–31; La Rosa 1986, 80–4.
[73] D'Agata 1986.
[74] Tiné and Vagnetti 1967, 20, 22.
[75] Voza 1972; 1973.

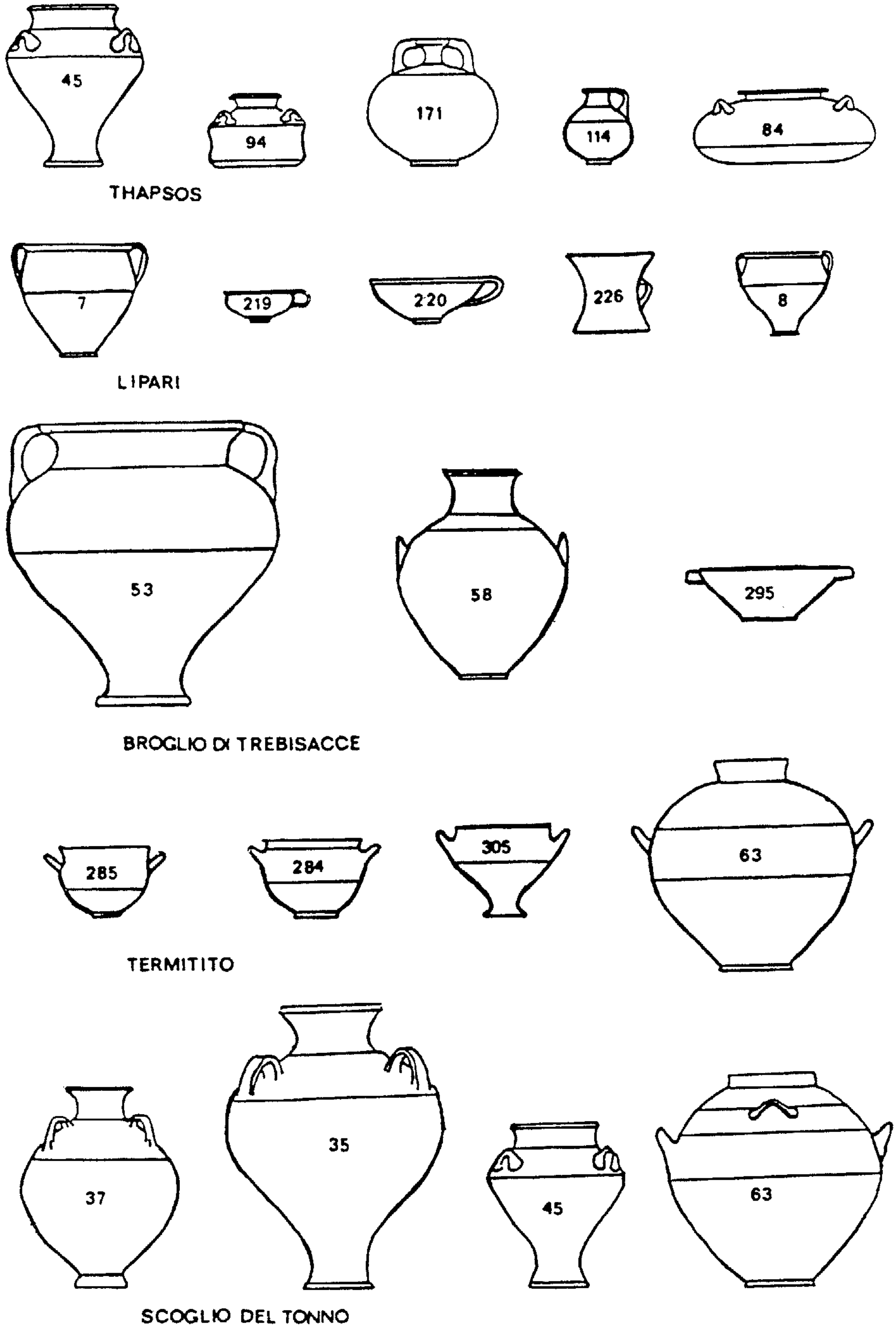

Fig. 9. Typology of Mycenaean vases found in Italy (after Smith 1987, fig. 22).

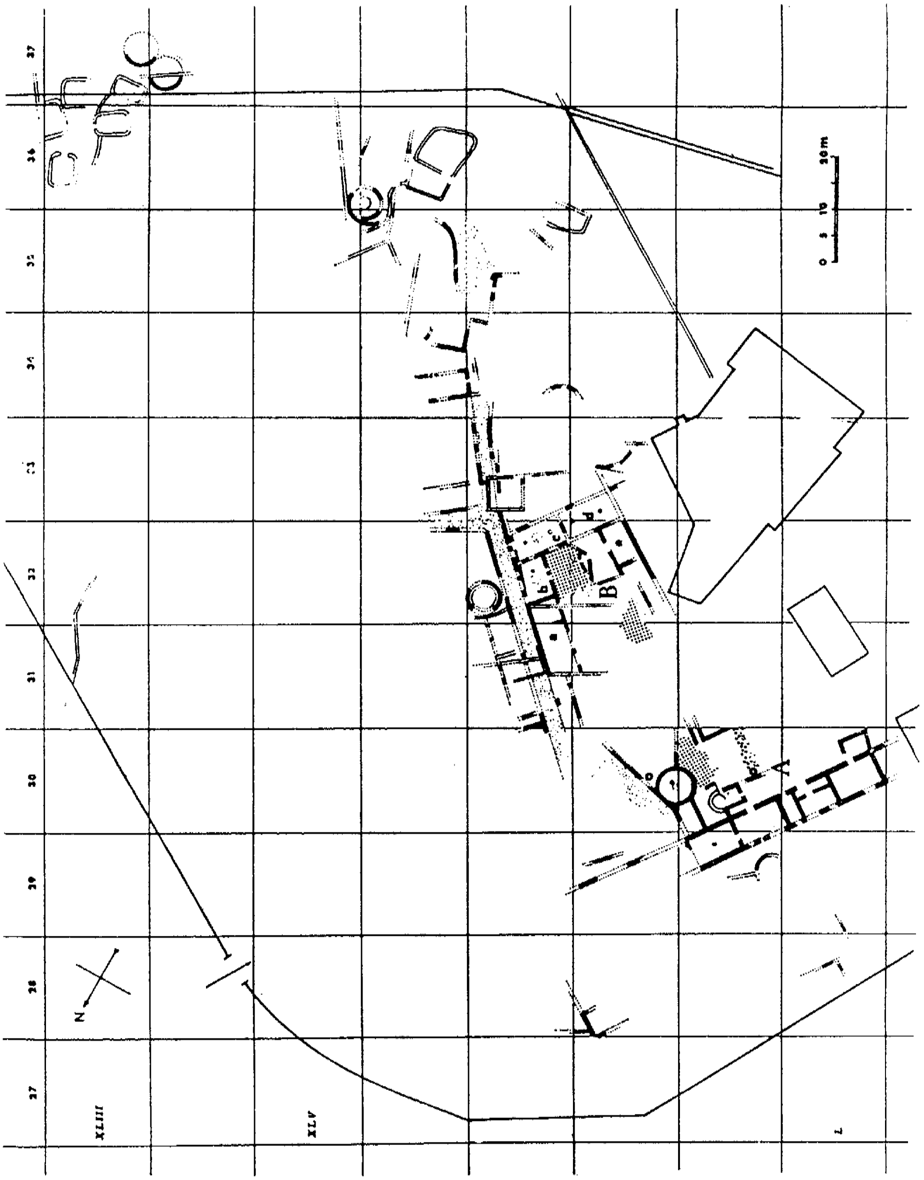

Fig. 10. Thapsos (after Voza 1973, pl. I).

of the Levant, more particularly of Cyprus.[76] The supposed *tholos* tombs appear towards the end of the 14th century and have been attested in about 30 necropoleis, situated in either the south-east or south of the island,[77] where the type stayed in use until the 6th century. These are in fact rock tombs where the funeral chamber is dug to a more or less circular plan and is provided with a vault which is very often rounded, sometimes ogival. Leading to the chamber, which is sometimes flanked by one or two lateral niches, there is an entrance corridor. In fact, we are dealing with a number of characteristics—to which we have also to add the construction technique and the dimensions—which distance them from the Mycenaean built *tholos* tomb which has been pointed to as the prototype (Figs. 11–12). For all that, the Mycenaean chamber tomb does not offer a better model. The continuity and internal evolution of the indigenous tradition of *tombe a groticella* are quite conceivable, and if Mycenaean influence does exist, it is just as small as the proportion of funeral gifts of Aegean origin or Aegean inspiration yielded by these rock tombs.

In Sardinia Mycenaean pottery appears in LH IIIA2,[78] but one ivory appliqué from Decimoputzu could be a little earlier.[79] A considerable number of fragments of LH IIIB vases, associated with Cretan and Cypriot fragments, have been excavated in Nuraghe Antigori.[80] It is also traditional to see the architectural influence of Mycenaean *tholos* tombs in the circular tower with a corbelled vault of the *nuraghi*. In fact such connexions are based only on the external similarities of these constructions and ignore fundamental differences of typology and function. In addition, the construction technique is quite distinct.[81] The connexions with the *torri* or *castelle* of Corsica and the *talaiot* of the Balearics are in reality much more pertinent.[82] Besides, it is significant that the oldest Mycenaean vases from Sardinia

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[76] Holloway 1981, 83–4; Karageorghis 1990, 26; Kilian 1990, 456.
[77] Tomasello 1986.
[78] Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1993. See also D. Ridgway's chapter in the present volume.
[79] Ferrarese Ceruti *et al.* 1987, 12–4.
[80] Vagnetti 1982a, 167–79; Ferrarese Ceruti 1986, 183–92; Ferrarese Ceruti *et al.* 1987; Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1993, 136 for the other attestations.
[81] Cavanagh and Laxton 1985; 1987; Frizell 1987.
[82] Contu 1981, 72–5.

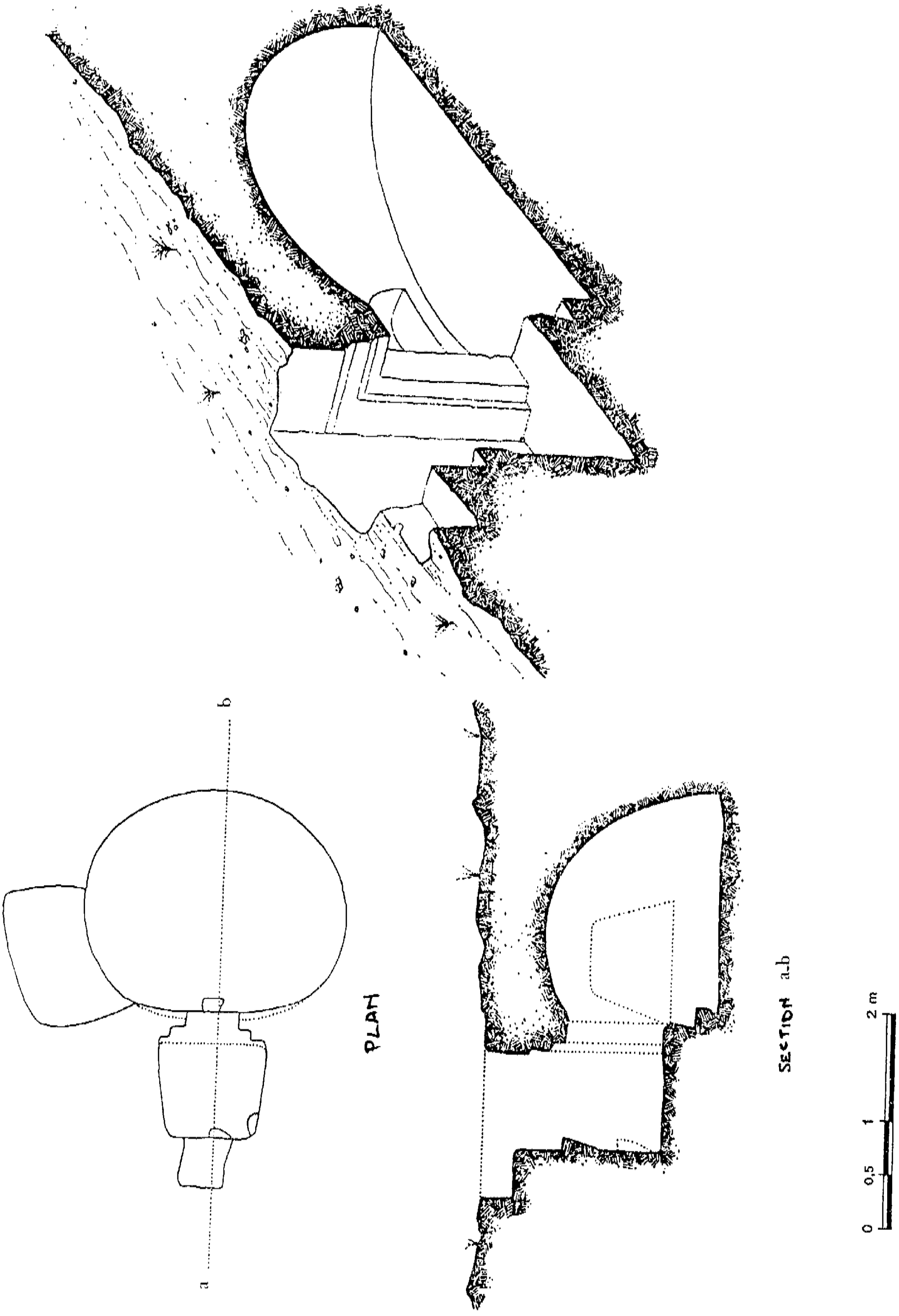

Fig. 11. *Tomba a grotticella* from Thapsos (after Pugliese Carratelli, *Sikanie* 1985, 546, pl. IV).

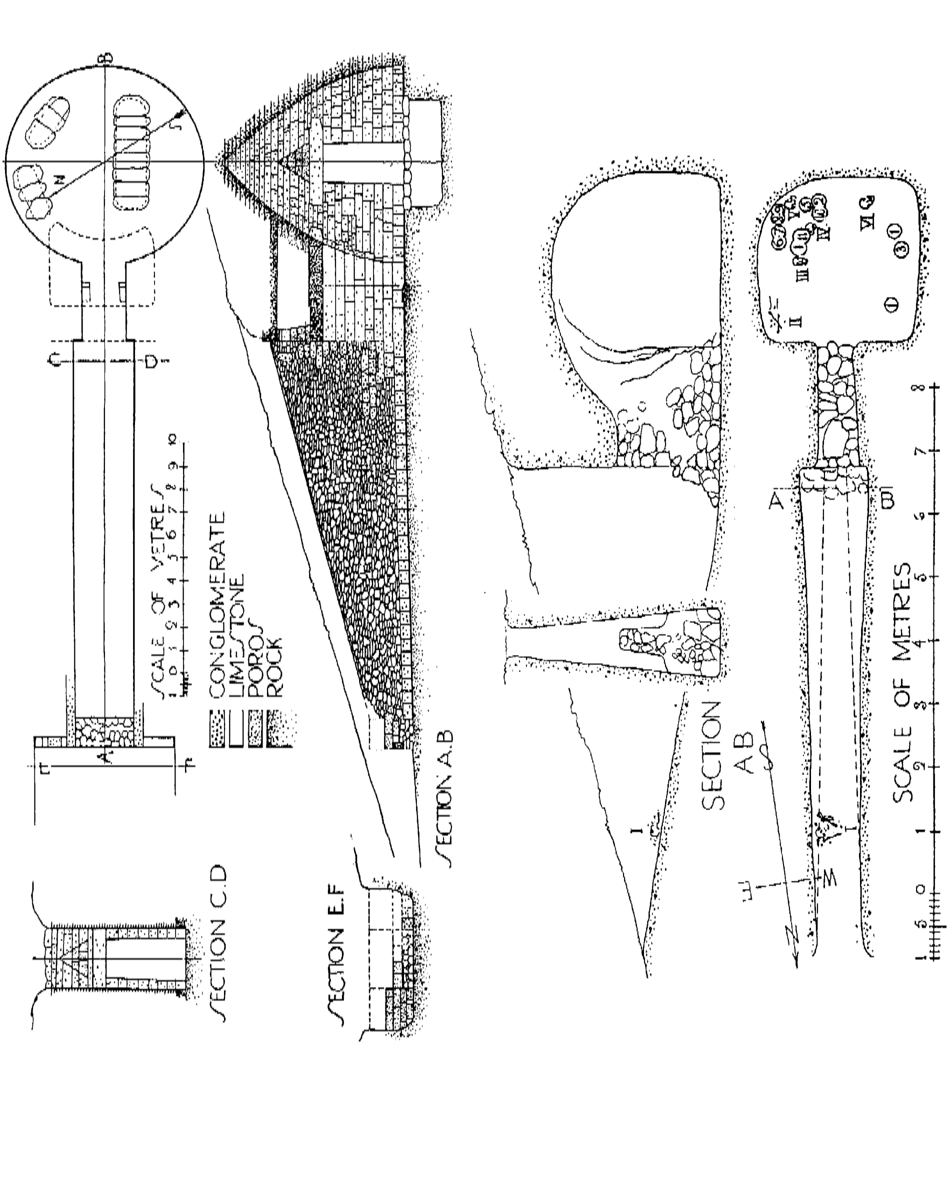

Fig. 12. Mycenaean *tholos* tomb and chamber tomb (after Wace, *BSA* 1921–23, pl. LX; *Archaeologia* 1932, fig. 36).

come from the Nuraghe Arrubiu, where the corbelled construction of the vault is already perfectly dressed.[83]

Archeometric analysis indicates that in LH IIIA Mycenaean vases were mainly imported and that the local production of vases of Mycenaean style began during LH IIIB and continued into LH IIIC. Imported Aegean vases—a strong minority at that time—come mainly from Crete and the Peloponnese, sometimes more precisely from Argolis, and rarely from Rhodes.[84] Two other classes of pottery contemporary with LH III show affinities with the Aegean: the *ceramica grigia*, grey wheel-made pottery reminiscent of Minyan ware, whose typological repertoire repeats both Aegean and local shapes;[85] and the big storage jars or *dolii* which apparently derived from Aegean pithoi.[86] Furthermore, in the course of the 13th and 12th centuries, exchange and influence seems to have flowed in both directions between Italy and the Aegean. Indeed, Italian *impasto* pottery appears in several Greek sites, in particular on Crete,[87] and several categories of bronzes from the two regions show clear stylistic and typological similarities (Fig. 13).[88]

Two sites on Malta, Tas Silg and Borg en Nadur, have provided one LH IIIB fragment apiece.[89] For the first time Mycenaean fragments have been identified in Spain among the material from the settlement of Llanete de los Moros in the valley of the Guadalquivir.[90] The krater and the mug to which they belonged were produced during LH IIIA2–B1 in the Argolis, whence they were probably transported to Spain via Sardinia.[91]

Postpalatial Phase

The destruction of the palaces at the very end of LH IIIB (at the beginning of the 12th century) led to the end of the palace system and of the type of economic and social organisation connected with

[83] Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1993.
[84] Jones 1986, 513–4; Jones and Vagnetti 1991, 131–3; Vagnetti 1993, 147.
[85] Smith 1987, 25–9; Bietti Sestieri 1988, 36; Belardelli 1993, 349; Peroni and Trucco 1994, 265–346.
[86] Smith 1987, 29–32; Peroni and Trucco 1994, 347–71.
[87] Pålsson Hallager 1985; Vagnetti 1985.
[88] Matthäus 1980; Bietti Sestieri 1988, 28; v Hase 1990, 93–7.
[89] Taylour 1958, 79; Smith 1987, 95.
[90] Mártin de la Cruz 1990.
[91] Podzuweit 1990; Mommsen *et al.* 1990.

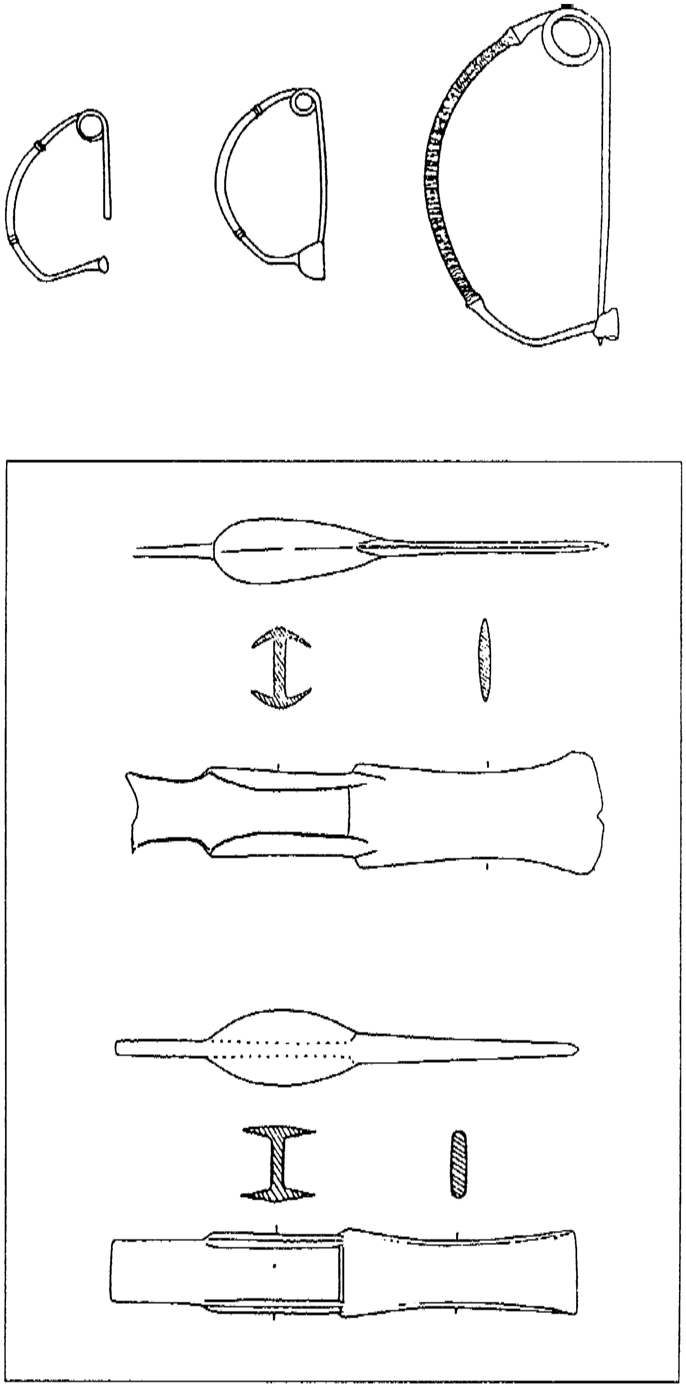

Fig. 13. Winged axes from Mycenae (from a mould) and Città di Castello; fibulae from Athens, Costa del Marano and Pantalica (after Bietti Sestieri 1988, figs. 6–7).

it. The number of occupied sites diminished very noticeably and commercial exchange with the rest of the Mediterranean was reduced, but Mycenaean civilisation itself survived and witnessed a few more decades of prosperity. However, LH IIIC and Submycenaean (about the 12th–11th centuries) correspond by and large with a period of slow decline and, in particular, to profound internal transformations.

LH IIIC fragments, often isolated, come from several sites of Aegean Anatolia, and Troy, Miletus and Iasus remained important centres, even though the evidence is rarer at Troy.[92] At this time Mycenaean pottery was widely imitated. One vase or another from the necropolis of Müskebi is assignable to LH IIIC.[93] Miletus has also provided Submycenaean material, and the necropoleis of Çömlekçi have yielded only Submycenaean ceramic goods.[94] In Cilicia, LH IIIC fragments were collected on the surface at several sites and were excavated at Kazanli and, particularly, at Tarsus, where the majority of the vases were locally produced.[95] Cilicia also produced a class of local pottery called 'Hellado-Cilician', which imitates Mycenaean prototypes.[96] Cilicia is probably where the LH IIIC vase found at Fraktin in central Anatolia originated.[97]

In Cyprus the Late Cypriot IIIA period begins with destructions and desertions. Several settlements, such as Enkomi, Kition, Sinda and Athienou, were reconstructed, but only Palaipaphos, Kition and Enkomi survive the end of the 12th century.[98] During the 11th century, the strong decrease in the number of settlements, which is further illustrated by the abandonment of Enkomi, gave way to the appearance of new centres, such as Salamis and Alaas.[99] Certain novelties in the area of architecture and in everyday life spread in the 12th century:[100] Cyclopean masonry, ashlar masonry, violin-bow fibulae, Handmade Burnished Ware (better known in the Aegean under the name of 'Barbarian Pottery'),[101] and the pottery of Aegean

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[92] Mee 1978, *s.v.*; Re 1986, 352–3; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 166–8; Özgünel 1996, 123–46.
[93] Mee 1978, *s.v.*; Re 1986, 352; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 166.
[94] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 167–8; Özgünel 1996, 147–50.
[95] Mee 1978, *s.v.*; 1998, 145; French 1975; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 318–21.
[96] Stubbings 1951, 88–9; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 319–20.
[97] Mee 1978, *s.v.*; Re 1986, 352.
[98] Karageorghis 1990; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 425–41; Karageorghis 1992.
[99] Vanschoonwinkel 1994, 111–7.
[100] Karageorghis 1990, 27–8.
[101] Pilides 1994.

style labelled White Painted Wheelmade III in Cypriot archaeological terminology. This class, which includes a whole series of categories (Late Mycenaean IIIB, Decorated Late Cypriot III, Mycenaean IIIC:Ib, etc.) and whose differentiation is not based on any real criterion of chronology or classification, becomes the Cypriot pottery *par excellence* of Late Cypriot IIIA.[102] The destructions and cultural innovations have often been attributed to the arrival of the Mycenaeans, but the reality seems much more complicated. In fact, the appearance of ashlar masonry is anterior to the destruction and could easily have resulted from a local development of the technique, if not from a loan from Ugarit or Anatolia, a region from which Cyclopean masonry was probably introduced.[103] In addition, even if LH IIIC is the main source of inspiration for White Painted Wheelmade III pottery, this became a genuine Cypriot product.[104] Late Cypriot IIIB, which corresponds to the end of the 12th century and the first half of the 11th, is characterised by a new class of pottery: the Proto-White Painted. Also produced locally, this was a result of the fusion of Cypriot traditions, Eastern elements and new Mycenaean influences.[105] The first chamber tombs of Aegean type also date from this period, but they become more common only in the second half of the 11th century (Figs. 12, 14). A similar evolution may be observed with regard to cremations, which, however, remain highly exceptional. Analysis of novel developments in burial customs leads us to the conclusion of unquestionable Mycenaean influence.[106] Several terracottas belonging to the religious sphere—figurines of goddesses with uplifted arms, of centaurs and of the *naiskoi*, as well as fibulae with a semi-circular bow—also reveal clear affinities with the Aegean.[107] Finally, the Greek name Opheltas engraved on one *obelos* from Palaipaphos dated to the second half of the 11th century, represents particularly decisive evidence.[108]

At the beginning of the 12th century, the Levant and Egypt were racked by migratory movements of those called by Egyptian documents 'Sea Peoples'. It is, however, extreme to attribute to them all

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[102] Karageorghis 1990, 27–8; Kling 1991; Sherratt 1991.
[103] Karageorghis 1990, 28; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 449–53.
[104] Kling 1989.
[105] Iacovou 1991.
[106] Vandenabeele 1987; Vanschoonwinkel 1994, 117–20.
[107] Vanschoonwinkel 1994, 121.
[108] Karageorghis 1983, 59–76, 411–5.

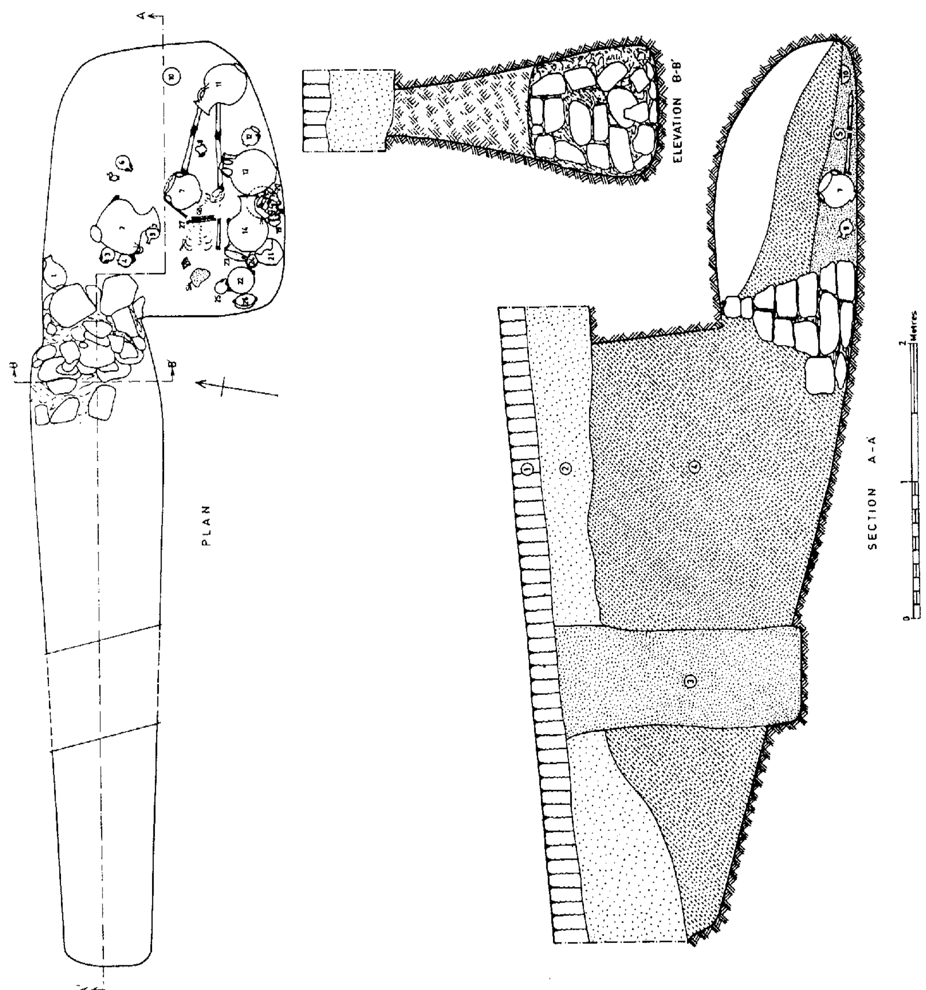

Fig. 14. Tomb of Mycenaean type from Alaas (after Karageorghis, *Alaas* 1975, pl. LI).

the destructions observed in this period in Syria and Palestine.[109] Later, LH IIIC pottery disappears completely in Egypt, except for the stirrup jars painted on the walls of the tomb of Ramses III at Thebes.[110] Only a dozen Syrian and Palestinian sites have produced a few LH IIIC vases or fragments, in several cases most certainly of local manufacture.[111] On the other hand, the Mycenaean Close Style undoubtedly influenced the pottery of the Philistines after their settlement in Palestine.[112] Far from being a slavish copy of LH IIIC Middle, Philistine pottery offers innovations such as *bichromy*—a characteristic which has also been attested on Mycenaean pottery from Ras Ibn Hani.[113] The products of Palestine and coastal Syria in fact represent local adaptations of Mycenaean models. Other elements of the material culture of the Philistines have also been attributed to Mycenaean tradition, such as the chamber tombs from Tell el-Farah and female terracotta figurines of the 'Ashdoda' and mourners types.[114] However, the tombs belong to a type which had existed in Palestine earlier and are very far from adhering to Aegean models; as for the figurines, even if they display admittedly Aegean influence, they do not correspond to the canon of Mycenaean types.[115] In fact, these different categories of objects of Aegean appearance but, nevertheless, distinct from their Mycenaean models, are neither imports nor copies; they are the results of adaptation of such models in a Palestinian environment.

In Italy the first concentration of LH IIIC pottery—or rather LH IIIB–C in view of the difficulty of differentiating these two classes from isolated fragments—is observed in the Gulf of Taranto, but it also spread along the Adriatic coast, as several sites attest, the most important of them being Coppa Nevigata.[116] The pottery spreads up to 70km inland, to Toppo Daguzzo,[117] and also to Northern Italy, where isolated fragments of LH IIIC vases, probably produced in

[109] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 466–85.
[110] Helck 1979, 91.
[111] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 491.
[112] Dothan 1982, 96–198; Brug 1985, 54–144; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 488–92; 1999, 92–3.
[113] Vanschoonwinkel 1999, 91–7.
[114] Dothan 1982, 260–2, 234–49.
[115] Brug 1985, 152–3, 185–7; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 488, 492–3; 1999, 87–91.
[116] Vagnetti 1982a, 45–51, 53–9, 211; *Atti Taranto* 22, 206–7; Lo Porto 1986, 14; Smith 1987, 77–8; Belardelli 1993, 347–52; Cazzella 1996.
[117] Vagnetti 1982a, 99–102; Cipolloni Sampò 1986, 27–35.

southern Italy, were found in four sites on the Po plain.[118] The abundant material found in the settlements of the Gulf of Taranto, mainly those in its eastern part, such as Porto Perone, Satyrion and Scoglio del Tonno—is evidence of the predominant rôle which this region had acquired in the previous period.[119] Further west—in Basilicata and Calabria—LH IIIB–C pottery, most often of local manufacture, has been excavated, mainly in the settlements of Termitito and Broglio di Trebisacce.[120] LH IIIC fragments have been found at sites in Campania[121] and Latium,[122] while several bronze objects of the Piediluco treasure, assigned to the 12th century, are of Aegean and Cypriot origin.[123] On the other hand, the material of Aegean style has almost disappeared in this period from the Aeolian Islands and Sicily, where only one jug from one necropolis at Pantalica is considered to be a LH IIIC import.[124] However, the majority of vase shapes of the culture of Pantalica imitate LH IIIB and, in particular, IIIC types, and several categories of bronze objects are similar to Aegean and Cypriot types.[125] The *anaktoron* of Pantalica, constructed in Cyclopean masonry and whose plan is often compared with that of the Mycenaean palaces,[126] has not, in fact, delivered a single Mycenaean vase and is, furthermore, a part of the tradition of the constructions at Thapsos.[127] At this time it is in Sardinia that we find the main concentration of Aegean material in the Tyrrhenian Sea. LH IIIB–C pottery comes from several sites, but only Nuraghe Antigori has yielded considerable quantities of such pottery, associated with Cretan and Cypriot vases.[128]

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[118] Vagnetti 1982a, 201–8; Braccesi 1988, 135; Jones and Vagnetti 1991, 139; Vagnetti 1993, 151, n. 33.

[119] Taylour 1958, 105–18, 139–42, 144–52; Lo Porto 1986, 15–6; Biancofiore 1967, 46–59; Ciongoli 1986, 21; Vagnetti 1982a, 60–5; Smith 1987, 80–2.

[120] Vagnetti 1982a, 74–5, 118; De Siena 1986, 45–6; Peroni, Trucco and Vagnetti 1986, 61; Peroni and Trucco 1994; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 237–48.

[121] Kilian 1969, 346–8; Vagnetti 1982a, 155–9; Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1986, 175–8.

[122] Vagnetti 1982a, 191–4; Vagnetti and Jones 1993.

[123] Smith 1987, 94; v Hase 1990, 101.

[124] Vagnetti 1968.

[125] Bietti Sestieri 1988, 44–5, figs. 33–35.

[126] Tomasello 1996.

[127] Holloway 1981, 113–4; Messina 1993 attributes it to the Byzantine period.

[128] Vagnetti 1982a, 167–79, 212; Ferrarese Ceruti 1986, 183–92; Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1986, 199–203; Ferrarese Ceruti *et al.* 1987. See also Harding 1984, 254, 272 n. 118; Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1993, 135 n. 29 for the painted fragments of pottery from Barumini and that from Pozzomagiore.

The Balkans and the Black Sea

Mycenaean pottery is present sporadically in Albania where, with the exception of one LH IIA cup excavated in the tumulus of Pazhok, the vases belong to LH IIIB–C.[129] It has been attested in great numbers in Macedonia, in particular in the settlements of Kastanas and Assiros, which used to receive Mycenaean imports from LH IIIA2/B and produced imitations starting from LH IIIB.[130] On the other hand, not a single sherd has so far been found north of the Rhodope chain in Thrace. The picture around the Black Sea is analogous. Admittedly, levels VI and VII in Troy have yielded considerable quantities of Mycenaean pottery, probably because the settlement must, since the 3rd millennium, have represented a stopover in the Dardanelles/Hellespont for Aegean ships *en route* to the Black Sea.[131] The presence of objects of Mycenaean types in the treasure found at Sakoy on the coast of the Sea of Marmara, seem to support this hypothesis. And yet not a single Mycenaean vase has been reported from the Black Sea littoral. Having said that, an indication of their import may be offered by Masat, where several LH IIIA2–B vases and fragments have been found together with Hittite and Cypriot pottery: although this settlement is in northern Anatolia, about 130km from the Black Sea, it is possible that the vases were transported there from the coast.[133]

In fact, the archaeological material revealing possible contacts between the Mycenaeans and the populations of the Balkans and the Black Sea consists mainly of metal objects—first of all bronze swords, spearheads and double axes, which are either imports or, more often, local imitations. The different types of swords of the LH I–IIIA period have served as models for certain products from Albania, Bulgaria and Transylvania. Among the nearly 40 listed swords, some pass for weapons of Aegean manufacture.[134] Traces of Aegean influence are also recognisable in the long swords and spearheads excavated in the tombs of the Trialeti culture, spread south of the Caucasus.[135]

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[129] Harding 1984, 239; Wardle 1993, 124–37.

[130] Kilian 1986, 284–7; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 141–4; Wardle 1993, 121–35.

[131] Doumas 1991; Korfmann forthcoming.

[132] Mellink 1985, 558.

[133] French, D. 1982, 21–8; 1993, 157; Mellink 1985, 558; Re 1986, 349–50, 353; Hiller 1991, 208.

[134] Harding 1984, 153–9, 239–41; Bouzek 1985, 30–5; Wardle 1993, 125–6.

[135] Bouzek 1985, 35; Hiller 1991, 212–3 and n. 45.

Several spearheads found in the north of Greece are entirely comparable with the Aegean types. Some examples, originals or local copies, come also from Albania and Bulgaria.[136] As for the double axes, both the specifically Mycenaean type and its local variants are attested, not only in the peripheral regions of the Mycenaean world, Thessaly and Epirus, but also in Albania and Bulgaria.[137] As to objects found in proximity to the Black Sea, we must mention those from the Ukraine[138] in addition to the above-cited axes from Bulgaria.

Two other categories of object give additional, even if not decisive, indications of the existence of maritime traffic between the western coast of the Black Sea and the Aegean: three bronze ingots of the oxhide type found on the Bulgarian coast and in the remote metalliferous parts of Burgas;[139] and a hundred stone marine anchors resembling those located all around the Mediterranean coast, including the Aegean, and usually attributed to the Late Bronze Age.[140]

Myth

Two groups, which are set respectively in Cyprus and Italy, stand out from the mass of legendary traditions reporting the presence of Greek heroes in different parts of the Mediterranean basin. A great part of them are *Nostoi*, which tell of the return of the Achaean heroes after the fall of Troy. At first sight, on account of its place in legendary chronology—following the Trojan War—the Greeks seemed to situate the dispersal of these heroes in their very earliest history.

Legends Concerning Cyprus

Before we turn to the foundation legends, we have to recall the episode of Kinyras who, in the *Iliad* (11. 19–28), offers a cuirass to Agamemnon when his departure for Troy was announced and who,

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136 Harding 1984, 166, 239–41; Bouzek 1985, 41, 82.

137 Harding 1984, 127–8, 239–41, figs. 32 and 34; Bouzek 1985, 43–6, fig. 16; Kiliam 1986, 287, fig. 11.

138 Harding 1984, 127, 241; Bouzek 1985, 46; Hiller 1991, 209–11.

139 Harding 1984, 49–52; Hiller 1991, 209–10.

140 Hiller 1991, 209.

in the later authors, promised his help to the Achaeans.[141] The absence of mythological content and the internal convergence of the stories allow us to detect reminiscences of a real event, probably a reflection of contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus in the Bronze Age.[142]

Almost all legendary foundations of Cyprus are attributed to Greek heroes diverted during their return from Troy. The foundation of Salamis by Teucros is related by numerous authors, among whom Aeschylus provided the first information,[143] and represents a subject highly debated among modern scholars. They agree in general in distinguishing two levels to the legend. Analysis of different pieces of legendary evidence, of the personality of Teucros and of archaeological material, enables us to determine the elements of one original historic tradition—that of the immigration of Teucrians from Anatolia to Cyprus. However, this tradition applies not to the establishment of the historic Salamis but, probably, to the reconstruction at the beginning of the 12th century of the neighbouring city of Enkomi, which probably already bore the name Salamis. On top of this authentic nucleus came to be transplanted elements of a political mythology which served Athenian aspirations for Cyprus after the Persian Wars. Taking advantage of the onomastic similarities, Athens in fact linked the Cypriot Salamis and the Teucrians to the famous island of Salamis and to Teucros, the son of Telamon.[144]

Of all the late authors who relate the foundation of Paphos by Agapenor,[145] Pausanias (8. 5. 2–3) is the one who gives the most detailed account. Agapenor, the king of Tegea and the leader of the Arcadian contingent, was diverted towards Cyprus by a storm during his return from the Trojan War. There he founded Paphos and erected a temple of Aphrodite on the site of Palaipaphos. His daughter Laodice sent a *peplos* to Tegea as a present to Athena Alea. Later, Pausanias (8. 53. 7) mentions the existence in Tegea of a temple of the Paphian Aphrodite founded by Laodice. It has been shown in

[141] The same way Eustathius *ad Il.* 11. 20 (11–13; 15–24); Alcidamas *Od.* 20–21; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 103; Apollodorus *Epit.* 3. 9. 1; Photius *Bibl.* 176.

[142] Baurain 1980.

[143] Chavane and Yon 1978, 31–91, nos. 48–162.

[144] Gjerstad 1944, 114–20; Pouilloux 1975, 112–5; Yon 1980, 71–80; Chavane 1980, 81–4; Prinz 1979, 56–78; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 295–301.

[145] Strabo 14. 6. 3; Apollodorus *Epit.* 6. 15; Lycophron *Alex.* 479–485.

a convincing way that this legend was not aetiological.[146] Having said that, it is in competition with the legend of the foundation of Paphos by Kinyras.[147] However, the two legends are not in conflict if we see in Kinyras a representative of the local population (or of the population which had been installed before the arrival of the Greeks on Cyprus).[148] Besides, in the most ancient sources, the figure of Kinyras lacks precise localisation.[149]

According to Strabo (14. 6. 3), Akamas founded Soloi accompanied by Phalerus.[150] On the other hand, Plutarch (*Solon* 26) claims that Soloi was a foundation of Demophon and that it was formerly called Aipeia. After that it was moved to the plain on the advice of Solon, and was named Soloi in his honour.[151] The absence of Akamas and Demophon from the Homeric poems, their ascent to the Athenian throne,[152] the specialisation in political mythology of the figure of Akamas, and the presence in Cyprus of a promontory called Akamas represent a considerable number of arguments in favour of a myth forged by Athens to which all dissimilar versions of this legend hark back.[153] In addition, the intervention of Solon had to give an historical aspect to the Athenian propaganda. Yet the prism of Essarhaddon already mentioned the name of Soloi and that of its king in 673/2.[154] Therefore, even if Solon's visit to Philocypros was possible by itself,[155] it is clear that the city of Soloi bore that name before the 6th century. There is no doubt that the similarity of the names has favoured the creation of this legend, as is well illustrated by the contradictory opinions of Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Σόλοι), according to whom Soloi of Cilicia drew its name from that of the Athenian legislator, and of Eustathius (*ad Il.* 4. 826 [1332]), who made the name of Solon derive from the toponym.

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[146] Gjerstad 1944, 110–2; Fortin 1980, 35–9; 1984, 134–8; Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 51.
[147] Tacitus *His.* 2. 3.
[148] Gjerstad 1944, 112; Baurain 1980, 306–8; Fortin 1980, 36; Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 51.
[149] Baurain 1980, 288–92.
[150] The same way Lycophron *Alex.* 494–498.
[151] The same way Apollodorus *Epit.* 6. 16.
[152] Euripides *Herac.* 34–37.
[153] Gjerstad 1944, 109, 120–1; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 306–7.
[154] Borger 1956, 60.
[155] Solon F 19 West; Herodotus 5. 13.

According to Strabo (14. 6. 3), Lapithos is a Laconian foundation of Praxander. Lycophron (*Alexandra* 586–91) specifies that Praxander was the leader of the Laconians from Therapnae.[156] The authenticity of these reports is tenable owing to the discretion of Praxander. The hero, quite minor and absent from the mythological systems, could only belong to a local tradition, repeated by Philostephanus of Cyrene (*FHG* III 31 F 10). In addition, there exist a number of indications which support Laconian colonisation on Cyprus.[157]

Herodotus (5. 113) and Strabo (14. 6. 3) claim that Kourion is a colony founded by the Argives without adding any chronological precision. Although its eponymous hero was Koureus, son of Kinyras,[158] a number of modern scholars recognise the authenticity of this probably local legend.[159] They support their opinion using the cult at Kourion of the hero Perseutas, whose name is an elongated version of that of the Argive hero Perseus, the existence of a Cypriot settlement Epidaurum and that of Asine, which echoes Asine in Argolis. However, the latter toponym could relate to the Laconian Asine since Laconian elements are also attested on Cyprus.

The legend of the foundation of Idalion does not mention any colonisation. It is an oracle, which advised king Chalcenor to build his city at the place where he would seen the sun rise.[160] Historians do not credit it at all, owing to the anecdotal character of the foundation and the name of the king, which makes an obvious allusion to the copper mines in close proximity.

Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Γολγοί) is the only one who indicates that Golgoi was founded by Golgus, the leader of a group of Sicyonian colonists. One *scholium* of Theocritus (15. 100–101) claims that Golgoi takes its name from Golgus, the son of Adonis and Aphrodite, but does not provide any information on the foundation. There is no doubt that the genealogy of the eponym Golgus is to be explained through the cult of Aphrodite in Golgoi. As for the tradition reported by Stephanus of Byzantium, there is no reason to see in it a fabrication of mythological propaganda, because Sicyon had no political interests in Cyprus, and Golgus is an eponym without any connexion

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[156] The same way Philostephanos *ad Alex* 586; Tzetzes *ad loc.*
[157] Gjerstad 1944, 108, 112.
[158] Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Κούριον.
[159] Gjerstad 1944, 113–4; Demetriou 1989, 91.
[160] Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Ἰδάλιον.

with Sicyon. However, the important cult of Aphrodite in Sicyon and in Golgoi may have encouraged the linkage of these two cities in this legend.[161]

Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240 F 27) attributes the foundation of Chytroi to Chytrus, son of Alexandrus and grandson of Akamas.[162] It seems to me hardly probable that this legend would have been the creation of Athenian political mythology, as some scholars represent.[163] Indeed, the modest hinterland town of Chytroi must never have presented a major worry for Athenian policy in Cyprus. It would be better to consider the existence of a local tradition in which the only manipulation lies probably in the genealogy of the humble eponymous hero, thanks to which the city was offered a less obscure ancestor.

In other legends the name of a Greek hero is not connected to any defined foundation. Thus Lycophron (*Alexandra* 586) tells us simply about the arrival on Cyprus of Kepheus ahead of an Achaean contingent from Olenos, Bura and Dyme, an arrival which is also reported by Philostephanus of Cyrene (*ad Alex.* 586) and Tzetzes (*ad Alex.* 586). The absence of a founded city in this legend has not prevented the archaeologists from suggesting Cyreneia.[164] Admittedly, several indications are favourable to this hypothesis: the existence of a city of the same name in Achaea and the provenance of the colonists, not from Cyreneia of Achaea, but from Olenos, Dyme and Bura—three cities of no importance in Classical Greece—which rules out the aetiological origin of the legend.[165] However, if the legend of the arrival of the Achaean people on Cyprus seems authentic, the absence of a toponym associated with it probably indicates simply that no foundation was connected with the arrival of these Greeks, who could have installed themselves in the existing cities.

Tzetzes (*ad Alex.* 911) has probably preserved for us the memory of another arrival of Greeks when he recounts that, after the fall of Troy, Pheidippos settled with the people of Cos first on Andros and after that on Cyprus. In his turn, Apollodorus (*Epitome* 6. 15) mentions only Andros. This tradition, without aetiological motivation,

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[161] Gjerstad 1944, 121; Demetriou 1989, 90–1; Bakalakis 1988, 149–51.

[162] The same way Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Χύτροι; Alexandrus (Polyhistor) of Miletus *FGrHist* 273 F 31.

[163] Gjerstad 1944, 120–1.

[164] Gjerstad 1944, 113; Demetriou 1989, 90.

[165] Gjerstad 1944, 113.

could be reminiscent of the participation of the inhabitants of the Dodecanese and Rhodes in certain migrations towards Cyprus.[166] These islands are, after all, on a plausible maritime route to Cyprus.

Legends Concerning Italy

The protagonists of these legends are either figures from before the Trojan War or heroes who participated in it. According to Herodotus (7. 169–171), Minos, who left in search of Daedalus, perished violently in Sicania. That is why a little later the Cretans undertook a punitive expedition and besieged Camicus. Forced to abandon the siege, on their journey home they were shipwrecked on the coast of Iapygia, where they founded the city of Hyria. They then took up the name of Messapian Iapyges and colonised other cities. Aristoteles (*Pol.* 2. 10. 4; F 485 Rose) is the only author of the 4th century to make an allusion to Minos' death at Camicus and the arrival of the Cretans at Iapygia.[167] One has to wait for Diodorus (4. 79) to learn that Minos was buried in Sicily in a tomb-sanctuary and that his companions settled at Minoa.[168] He adds that, at the time of Theron, the king's remains were sent back to Crete. Based on these legends, many modern scholars accept that Cretans settled in Sicily in the Bronze Age.[169] Others view them as pure fiction rooted in the Rhodo-Cretan colonisation of Gela and Agrigentum.[170] In fact, the Sicilian legend about Minos brings onto the scene the thalassocrates, a rôle which the Cretan king acquired only in the 5th century when it was used by Athenian imperialism, which linked it with Daedalus and Theseus.[171] Until then, the traditional figure of Minos had been that of the lawgiver ruling in the kingdom of the dead, which was situated by the Minoans in the sea, a little westward—which is the case with Sicily.[172] For all that, in Herodotus, who places Minos in the mythical sphere, the activities of the latter are still clearly distinguished from the later Cretan expedition. In addition, the first authors

[166] Gjerstad 1944, 121–2.
[167] Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 57; Philistus *FGrHist* 556 F 1.
[168] After Heraclides Lembos *FHG* II 220 F 29, the city of Minoa founded by Minus was before that called Macara.
[169] Pugliese Carratelli 1956; Bérard 1957, 417–26; Marazzi 1976, 81–101; Ampolo 1990.
[170] Holloway 1981, 101.
[171] Prinz 1979, 139–49; Baurain 1991.
[172] See Nilsson 1950, 619–33; Sergent 1986; Baurain 1991, 265 n. 73.

never mention any settlement whatsoever of Minos in Sicily. It appears late, in Diodorus and Heraclides Lembos, and reflects the use of myth for propaganda purposes.[173]

According to many authors, the Argonauts, prevented from passing through the Bosporus after the capture of the Golden Fleece, returned rowing up the Istros and via an alleged branch of this river ended up in the Adriatic Sea.[174] Diodorus (4. 56) had already questioned this itinerary in antiquity, and came to the conclusion, supported by Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F 85), amongst others, that the Argonauts regained the Ocean by means of rivers and by carrying their ship, and entered the Mediterranean through the 'pillars of Heracles'. Passing through the Tyrrhenian Sea, Jason founded, among others, the sanctuary of Hera Argeia at the mouth of the Silaris.[175] All these traditions are late and take into consideration quite markedly the developments of Greek geographical knowledge.[176] The itineraries of the Argonauts on their way back are, admittedly, quite varied, but those which make them pass through Italy are no earlier than the end of the 4th century. All the earlier ones have them pass through the Bosporus or end up in the eastern Mediterranean.[177] In the same way, the attribution to Jason of the foundation of the temple of Hera Argeia did not appear until Roman times. In fact, the cult of Hera of Argos was more probably introduced by the Troezenians, who originated from the neighbouring region of Argolis and who colonised Poseidonia in the 7th century.[178] Moreover, the iconography of the initial Heraeon shows very clear affinities both Troezenian and Argive.[179]

The cycle of Heracles attributes to him several adventures in Italy and Sicily during his return from Erythia—an island situated beyond the Ocean in the extreme west, where he took the oxen of Geryon. Different sanctuaries and exploits have been attributed to him, particularly in Etruria, on the banks of the Tiber at the future site of

[173] Fontana 1978.
[174] Timagetus *FHG* IV 519 F 1; Apollonius of Rhodes 4. 302; Apollodorus *Bibl.* 1. 9. 24.
[175] Strabo 1. 2. 10; 6. 1. 1; Pliny *NH* 3. 9. 17.
[176] Vian 1987, 252–9.
[177] Hesiod F 241 Merkelbach-West; Pindar *Pyth.* 4. 5–7, 252–252; Antimachus F 65 Wyss; Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F 18a–bg; Sophocles F 547 Radt; Herodorus *FGrHist* 31 F 10.
[178] Prinz 1979, 153.
[179] Van Keuren 1989, esp. 147–66.

Rome, in Campania, where Heraclium is represented as his foundation, in the territory of Croton and in Sicily,[180] where the figure of Heracles is tied to the north-west and south-east of the island. Analysis of the legendary evidence shows that the myth of Heracles—that of a civilising hero whose roots are buried deep in the Mycenaean period—was, in reality, reactivated by history. Indeed, if Hesiod (*Theogony* 287–294) situated the Geryon episode beyond the Ocean without further precision, the geography of the beyond progressed to coincide with that of conquered space. From the 6th century, Stesichorus (F 7 Page) localised the island of Erythia at Gades in the Iberian Peninsula, and this, favoured by the existence there of a significant cult of Melqart, was to establish itself, even though Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F 26) condemned it and preferred to place the island off the shores of Epirus. The return from Erythia undoubtedly gained weight after the actual colonisation, in which, moreover, Heracles appeared as an archegetes.[181] As one goes along, the episodes multiply, with the Greeks assimilating with Heracles the local figures of heroes or deities they met, the syncretism being particularly easy with the Tyrian Melcart of western Sicily[182] and the Etruscan Hercle or the Latin Hercules[183] on the peninsula. Unfortunately, it is not possible to estimate the extent of the rôle played by Stesichorus in this with his *Geryoneis*, now lost. In their actual form, with their inevitable aetiologies and the effects of propaganda,[184] the adventures of Heracles in Italy, and even more so in Sicily, are in any case always represented as exploits or visits of short length, without any sequel.[185]

The *Odyssey*, which ends with the return home of Odysseus, does not provide any precise locations. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to identify stopovers in the neighbourhood of the Italian coast based on poetic descriptions, and, as a consequence, there have been aspirations to see in the Homeric poems the description of Mycenaean navigation in Western waters.[186] Having said that, the poem (11.

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[180] Diodorus 4. 19–24; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *RA* 1. 34–44; Apollodorus *Bibl.* 2. 5. 10; Bérard 1957, 402–17.

[181] Jourdain-Annequin 1989, 227–300.

[182] Bonnet 1988, 203–41, 264–78, 399–415; Jourdain-Annequin 1989, 119–69.

[183] Bayet 1926.

[184] For the episode of Eryx associated with the Lacedaemonian expedition of Dorieus, the visit to Agyrion, etc., see Martin 1979; Giangiulio 1983.

[185] Sjöqvist 1962.

[186] Bérard 1957, 303–22.

119–137) also mentions a prophecy of Tiresias that, after the murder of the suitors, Odysseus would go to people ignorant of the sea and of navigation, then would return home and meet a sweet death coming from the sea. This simple and imprecise information has given way to the elaboration of a different fate for him.[187] In the 6th century, the *Telegony* (Allen V, 109) made the hero stop, in accordance with the prophecy, in Elis and Thesprotia, but, in the 5th century, Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 84) associates Odysseus with Aeneas in the foundation of Rome,[188] and thus explicitly locates Odysseus in Italy. Once the link with Italy was established, attempts to locate Odysseus' adventures there multiplied, generally among the indigenous peoples who often settled on the periphery of Greek communities.[189] And without doubt the Greek presence in Magna Graecia since the 8th century has favoured such connexions. Furthermore, a series of errors of identification, acknowledged by the supporters of the Italian localisation, and the fantastic character of the seas described,[190] lead us to observe that, if Odysseus preserved any memories of Aegean navigations in Italy, these are, to say the least, very vague. Actually, none of the localisations of this *nostos*, nor of the following ones, corresponds to places which have yielded Mycenaean material.

Several other *Nostoi* took Greek heroes to Italy. The *Odyssey* (3. 180–182) tells us about the happy return of Diomedes to Argos and nothing more. From the 7th century, Mimnermus (F 22 West) would report that, as Diomedes' wife had hatched a plot to kill her husband, on his return he fled with his companions to Italy where king Daunus assassinated him. Nevertheless, the attribution of the fragment to Mimnermus is not at all certain; as it happens, Ibycus (F 13 Page) in the middle of the 6th century, and Pindar (*Nem.* 10.7) do not seem to be acquainted with this version.[191] However, the legend about Diomedes in Apulia was subject to development and his name

187 Prinz 1979, 153–6.

188 See also Aristotle F 507 Rose.

189 For example, Thucydides (reference in Prinz 1957, 157 and n. 51). Bérard 1957, 312–4; Malkin 1998, 156–209.

190 Bérard 1957, 310–2. See, for example, the significant confusion in the identification of the Homeric Thrinacia with Sicily, which was called Trinacria in the Classical period.

191 Prinz 1979, 159–61. Only one *scholium* of Pindar (*ad loc.*) recalls a cult on Diomedia, one of the Tremiti Islands.

was linked to several foundations, in particular that of Argyrippa.[192] Often the introduction of the figure of Diomedes in Apulia has been attributed to Mycenaean visits to the Adriatic coast or to the arrival of Greek colonists.[193] Recent analyses see in it rather a reflection of the migration of people from the Balkans to the Italian peninsula and explain the Greek elements by successive additions which date from the period of the legend's integration into the Greek mythical cycle.[194]

Diomedes' weapons were given as an offering to the temple of Athena at Luceria, which also kept the Palladium.[195] But the sanctuary of Athena at Siris also kept a Palladium, and consequently Siris is supposed to have been founded by the Trojans after the fall of Troy.[196] We should remember that even in antiquity, Strabo (6. 1. 14) joked about the number of attestations of the Palladium in Italy, specimens of which were still known at Rome and Lavinium when he wrote. In fact, it is possible that at Siris and elsewhere, a primitive statue or cult object in an indigenous sanctuary may have favoured the creation of a legend among the Greek colonists.[197] Having said that, at the outset the myth about Diomedes, which appeared in the Greek protocolonial and colonial periods, probably had a mediatory function between Greeks and non-Greeks, after which he was, according to recent sources, credited with the foundation of a series of local cities.[198]

The tradition recorded by the *Iliad* (2. 717) and the *Odyssey* (3. 190), and also attested in Sophocles (*Phil.* 1421–1430), required that after the fall of Troy, Philoctetes make a successful return to Thessaly. However, one late tradition made him come to the seas about Italy and placed his activities in the region of Croton and Sybaris, where his memory is linked to his alleged tomb and to the bow and arrows which were supposedly his offerings.[199] However, the initial centres

[192] Bérard 1957, 368–74; Van Compernolle 1988, 111–3; Braccesi 1988, 137–8; Malkin 1998, 242–52.

[193] Van Compernolle 1988, 113–4 gives a picture of the state of this question.

[194] Terrosi Zanco 1965; Van Compernolle 1988, 115–22. See Malkin 1998, 234–52 for the different interpretations and their criticism.

[195] Strabo 6. 1. 14; 3. 9; Ps.-Aristoteles *De mir. Ausc.* 109. For the epithet of Achaea or Ilias of Athena, see Van Compernolle 1988, 220.

[196] Bérard 1957, 350–2; Malkin 1998, 226–31.

[197] Holloway 1981, 100.

[198] Malkin 1998, 234–57.

[199] Lycophron *Alex.* 911–929; Apollodorus *FGrHist* 244 F 167; Strabo 6. 1. 3; Ps.-Aristoteles *De mir. Ausc.* 107.

of the legend are not the two Achaean colonies but modest local places: Crimisa, Chone, Petelia or Macalla. All in all, the legend had developed in an indigenous environment from local cults. Thanks to relics akin to the bow and arrows which Philoctetes had inherited from Heracles, the cults were easily incorporated into the cycle of Greek myths, and the small non-Greek centres acquired great antiquity, greater than that of the Greek colonies.[200]

Something similar happened with Epeius, the constructor of the Trojan Horse, whom the legend presents as the founder of Lagaria next to Metapontum. A sanctuary at Lagaria and another at Metapontum used to keep his carpenter's tools.[201]

The legends which attribute the foundations of Metapontum[202] and Pisa[203] to Nestor and his companions are particularly confused and only appear in the Roman period.[204] Moreover, they are completely inconsistent with the epic elements.[205] In the case of Pisa, the onomastic similarity with Pisa in Elis could have given birth to the legend which describes Nestor's companions explicitly as Pisates, while the same are simply called Pylians in the case of the foundation of Metapontum, which has acquired a greater antiquity than its neighbour, Tarentum.[206]

The Other Legends

Accompanied by some Argives in his pursuit of Io, Triptolemus was to settle in the Orontes plain in Syria and to name his city Ione or Iopolis.[207] This legend appears late and its aetiological character is undoubted. Moreover, Strabo reports that the descendants of the Argives of Triptolemus were integrated among the inhabitants of the new city of Antioch, created by Seleucos I Nicator, which this way obtained a link to the heroic Greek past.[208] In the *Odyssey*, Menelaos

[200] Lacroix 1965; Holloway 1981, 99–100; Malkin 1998, 214–26.
[201] Lycophron *Alex.* 930, 946–950; Ps.-Aristotle *De mir. Ausc.* 108; Strabo 6. 1. 14; Justinus 20. 2. 1. Bérard 1957; 334–8; Malkin 1998, 213–4.
[202] Strabo 6. 1. 15; Solinus 2. 10.
[203] Strabo 5. 2. 5; Virgil *Aeneid* 10. 179; Servius *ad loc.*; Pliny *NH* 3. 8. 1; Solinus 2. 7.
[204] Bérard 1957, 325–34.
[205] *Odyssey* 3 in general; Agias *Nostoi* Allen V 108; Prinz 1979, 158–9.
[206] Malkin 1998, 211–3.
[207] Strabo 14. 5. 12; 16. 2. 5; Libanius, Foerster I 451; Joannes Malalas 5. 11. 2, 84–85.
[208] Riis 1970, 138–40; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 312–3.

and Odysseus make allusions to their stay in Phoenicia and in Egypt during their return from Troy, but it seems that these Homeric testimonies were the reflection of the poet's contemporary situation.[209]

The legend about the travels of Mopsus appeared as a development of the tradition which placed the death of Calchas at Colophon.[210] Indeed, the ancient authors express different, often contradictory opinions on the fate of the companions of the deceased soothsayer. From the 7th century, we have Callinus (F 8 West) saying that Mopsus himself led them to Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria and Phoenicia; others, that Mopsus had been accompanied by Amphilochus and that together they founded Mallus and killed each other in Cilicia.[211] The foundation of Mopsouhestia and Mopsoucrene was also attributed to him.[212] On the other hand, according to Herodotus (3. 91. 1; 7. 91), who does not mention Mopsus, the Pamphylians are the descendants of the companions of Calchas and of Amphilochus, who came from the Troad. Amphilochus founded, in addition, Posideion on the boundaries of Cilicia and Syria.

In fact, the diverse traditions concerning Mopsus contradict each other, and some of them also contradict the epic evidence.[213] All this testifies strongly that no tradition was properly established, although, thanks to inscriptions from Karatepe in Cilicia, which contain the anthroponym Mopsus and apparently the name of the Danaans, a number of historians have accepted the arrival of Greeks in this region at the end of the Bronze Age.[214] A study of the geographical distribution of the anthroponym Mopsus[215] shows that it is connected to several regions, not only in Greece and Anatolia but also in Syria and Phoenicia, in addition to Clarus-Colophon. The derivative toponyms also offer a varied distribution. The anthroponym, the most ancient mention of which appears on a tablet from Knossos,[216] is moreover attested in different periods. Also, it is implausible to distinguish only one person in the figure of Mopsus. As for the

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[209] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 313–4.

[210] Agias *Nostoi* Allen V 208; Hesiod F 278 Merkelbach-West; Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 142; Strabo 14. 1. 27; 5. 16; Apollodorus *Epit.* 6. 2–4; Tzetzes *ad Alex.* 427, 980, 1047.

[211] Euphorion F 98 Powell; Lycophron *Alex.* 444; Strabo 14. 5. 16.

[212] *Scholia* of Dionysius the Periegete 850; Eusebius *Chr.-Can.* p. 60 Helm^2.

[213] Vanschoonwinkel 1990, 185–7.

[214] Houwink ten Cate 1961, 44–50; Barnett 1975.

[215] See Vanschoonwinkel 1990, 187–95.

[216] KN De 1381.B.

inscriptions from Karatepe, it has been clearly demonstrated that the Luwian ethnic *adanawani* and the Phoenician *dnnym* designate the Luwian inhabitants of Adana, a city and country well known in Hittite, Egyptian and other texts.[217] Furthermore, the anthroponym Mopsus has equivalents in Hittite cuneiform.[218] Thus, it emerges that, in accordance with a practice common in antiquity, the legends about the arrival of Mopsus in Pamphylia and in Cilicia disclose the fabrication provoked by the homonymy attested in Greece and in Anatolia. In some cases the attribution to Mopsus of the foundation of cities was purely aetiological, in others it provided a glorious origin for a city by connecting it to such a hero.

The nucleus of legend of the Argonauts predates the *Odyssey* (12. 70–71) and the *Theogony* (992–1002), both of which make allusions to it. In the earliest testimonies Jason's destination was Aea, the unknown country, the kingdom of the Aeëtes, situated in the East near the edge of the Ocean where the rays of Helios rest on a golden bed. Mimnermus (F 11; 11a West) still keeps to this mythical conception in the 7th century.[219] However, a little earlier, Eumelus (F 3 Kinkel) already knew the domain of Aeëtes as Κολχίδα γαῖαν, which is the Greek form of the local name of the *Ko(u)lcha* kingdom found in Urartian inscriptions.[220] It is thus probable that the identification of the legendary Aea with Colchis, to which the authors of the Classical period returned,[221] was a consequence of better knowledge of distant lands, connected with the exploratory voyages of the Greeks and the Milesian colonisation of the Black Sea.[222]

The Reality

The study of Mycenaean expansion lies mainly in the interpretation of and the confrontation between the archaeological and literary evidence. The value placed on these sources has varied enormously. Thus, the attitude of scholars towards information provided in the

[217] Laroche 1958; Vanschoonwinkel 1990, 195–7.
[218] Vanschoonwinkel 1990, 197.
[219] Lesky 1948; Vian 1987, 249–50; Tsetskhladze 1994, 114.
[220] Lordkipanidzé and Mikeladzé 1990, 168–72; Lordkipanidzé 1996.
[221] For example, Herodotus 1. 2; 7. 193, 197.
[222] Vian 1987, 250–1; Tsetskhladze 1994, 114–5 (*pace* Lordkipanidzé 1996).

legends ranges from total credulity[223] to outright rejection.[224] The latter position is extreme because it leads inevitably to historical reconstructions which lack any foundation. However, it deserves credit for attracting attention to the late formulation of the legendary tradition. Indeed, the texts at our disposal, including the most ancient, which rarely step beyond the 5th century, are all much later than the events they relate, and those events are almost always placed in relation to the legendary chronological reference point *par excellence*, the Trojan War. It is undoubtedly the case that certain facts had been forgotten or were transformed during oral transmission. Nor did the written tradition itself escape from fictions and modifications, many of them the result of the propaganda and artificial reconstructions of Hellenistic scholars.[225] Furthermore, we must not lose sight of the undeniable mythopoietic function of the Trojan War, which is at the heart of several legendary extensions. Consequently, a blind trust in legends is not a defensible position either. A rigorous critical reading of the legends, which is the only valid academic approach, reveals one local tradition or another, often connected with minor heroes and missing from the mythological scheme, but, next to pure inventions, it highlights above all the extent to which the historical reminiscences in it had often been deeply buried or considerably altered.

The archaeological investigation of protohistoric societies is based essentially, sometimes exclusively, on pottery. The present study is no exception to this practice, which has some drawbacks. The picture of the distribution of Mycenaean objects, with few exceptions pottery, provides a misleading picture insofar as all listed sites are placed on an equal footing. The majority of them have yielded only a single fragment, the better cases a few, whilst some sites have been excavated much more extensively than others (an extended excavation self-evidently producing much more material than a sondage). Having said that, the proportion of Mycenaean pottery in comparison with local is always very small. It is quite exceptional when it reaches nearly 50%, as is the case with White Painted Wheelmade III in

[223] For example, Bérard 1957; Fortin 1980; 1984.
[224] For example, Pearson 1975; Baurain 1989.
[225] Pearson 1975 shows well the elaboration of the Italian legends based on etymological forgeries, mythical fabrications, etc.

level III at Enkomi and Kition.[226] An even greater misfortune is that the value of pottery data is minimal when it comes to identifying or demonstrating the presence of a particular population in a specific area at a given moment. Indeed, as there is no logical ethnic link between a type of vase and its owner or even maker, such a vessel cannot give information about the racial, linguistic, cultural or geographical identity of its user.[227] The local production of vases of Mycenaean style outside Greece, as is attested from the end of the 13th century, is not really any more revealing: it may simply be a reflection of the success of the original merchandise or an answer to some difficulties of supply. The weakness of the argument is clearly demonstrated by the example of Troy, which, as we know from both legend and history, was not Greek, despite the abundance of Mycenaean vases.

Owing to the limitations of the model offered by pottery, it is necessary to widen the categories of evidence to be taken into consideration when evaluating the presence of Mycenaeans outside Greece. Thus, it has been proposed that the possible existence of such typically Mycenaean pieces of evidence as *tholoi*, figurines and seals should be taken into account.[228] As well as attested specific technologies,[229] the last two categories of object seem to provide relevant indications, but it is not the case with the *tholoi*. Burial customs are admittedly revealing, for they could not result from commercial exchanges or visits by travellers, and are a feature which people are reluctant to change. Having said that, the most common type of grave among the Mycenaeans is the chamber tomb and not the *tholos*, the construction of which reflects not only local preferences but also the assertion of an élite—in view of the required technical means and human resources. How to imagine in these circumstances—except the eventuality of a settlement colony—that merchants or immigrants could have a *tholos* or even a palace of Mycenaean type built, to provide the proof required by some scholars? It is equally futile to expect an immediate and complete transplantation of one culture, above all within a population which itself had a high level of civilisation.

[226] Sherratt 1991, 192; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 183–98.
[227] Sherratt 1992, 316–26; Lambrou-Phillipson 1993, 365–6.
[228] Pilali-Papasteriou 1998; Darcque forthcoming.
[229] Lambrou-Phillipson 1993, 366–7.

If the archaeological evidence unquestionably highlights an extraordinary spread of Mycenaean objects, it is also essential to specify the nature of this expansion. Indeed, outside Greek territory the presence of Aegean objects is most often the result of exchange, commercial or otherwise, which, nevertheless, does not prove direct contact with the Mycenaeans, while the presence of local imitations illustrates in general terms the influence exerted by Mycenaean civilisation, which sometimes engendered cultural connexions. However, here we are dealing with aspects of civilisation and the historical implications which support them escape us completely.

The physical presence of Mycenaeans is not in itself impossible. If it were reduced to a few isolated individuals—apart from such exceptional circumstances as the settlement of a craftsman—it would most probably pass unnoticed. On the other hand, a more or less numerous group would *a priori* be much easier to spot and would quickly be qualified as a colony. But what should we understand by the term colony when discussing the Greeks of the Bronze Age? The word can encompass several different notions and numerous definitions have been proposed with respect to Aegean prehistory.[230] Thus, there have been distinguished governed colonies (or protectorates) characterised by political domination, settlement colonies founded by migrants in unoccupied territory and community colonies established by a group of foreigners settling amidst a local population. The first type resembles territorial annexation; the indigenous population has an authority—usually a foreign government, sometimes a local leader—administrations and often a garrison imposed upon it. It is an historical event which does not necessarily leave any archaeological traces. Settlement colonies in general preserve most cultural aspects of the metropolis for several generations; at the beginning they leave mainly imported objects, but these then give way to those produced on the spot. To tell the truth, archaeologists have not found such a predominance of Helladic material anywhere outside Mycenaean territory.

In the third type of colony, often created with trade in mind, the social group establishing the trading post distinguishes itself from the local population in proportion to the strength of its own cultural

[230] Branigan 1981, 25–7; 1984; Lambrou-Phillipson 1993.

traditions. It goes without saying that the cultural identity of a colony is better maintained in a self-contained community, whilst it disappears bit by bit following the integration of the community into local society. One of the best examples of a trading post in antiquity is that of the *kârum* of Kanesh in Anatolia.[231] The cuneiform tablets tell us about the planting at the beginning of the 2nd millennium at Kültepe of a colony of Assyrian merchants working for the Assyrian king. They show that the colonists adopted Anatolian customs and that exchanges involved both raw materials and manufactures. Such information lets us assume the almost complete lack of characteristics which would enable us to identify the colonists; and, indeed, neither the architecture nor the material betrays the presence of Assyrians at Kanesh. It follows that the only proof at our disposal of the existence of an Assyrian colony there is that offered by the texts.

The above example shows that scholars, already confronted by the difficulties of identifying a foreign presence based on archaeological evidence, run the additional risk of ignoring some colonies for want of texts. Fortunately, certain finds avoid the difficulties of interpretation. Obviously, Mycenaean Greece first became interested in the central Mediterranean. Thus, the Aegean material is concentrated in the Aeolian archipelago and on the island of Vivara, and appears in Apulian and Calabrian sites located on promontories surrounded by coves which offered ideal anchorage for ships on their way to the islands (Fig. 15). Thus, the first Mycenaean navigators favoured those sites which could serve as ports of call and islands which played the rôle of commercial terminals, without presenting the danger of the hinterland. This aspect must also have influenced the Euboeans in the 8th century in their choice of Ischia. At the time of the expansion to the East, Mycenaean remains appear most frequently once again along maritime routes and in the cities and ports of call which mark them out, such as Marsa Matruh, Tell el-Ajjul, Ashdod, Tell Abu Hawam, Byblos, Tell Sukas, Minet el-Beida/Ugarit, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Kommos (Fig. 16).[232] These served also as ports of entry from which pottery was dispersed into the hinterland, sometimes even as far as Karchemish, Emar or

[231] Garelli 1963; Orlin 1970; Larsen 1976.

[232] Vagnetti 1990, 378–82; Gilmour 1992; Balensi 1988; Åström 1986; Watrous 1985; Cline 1994, 91–2.

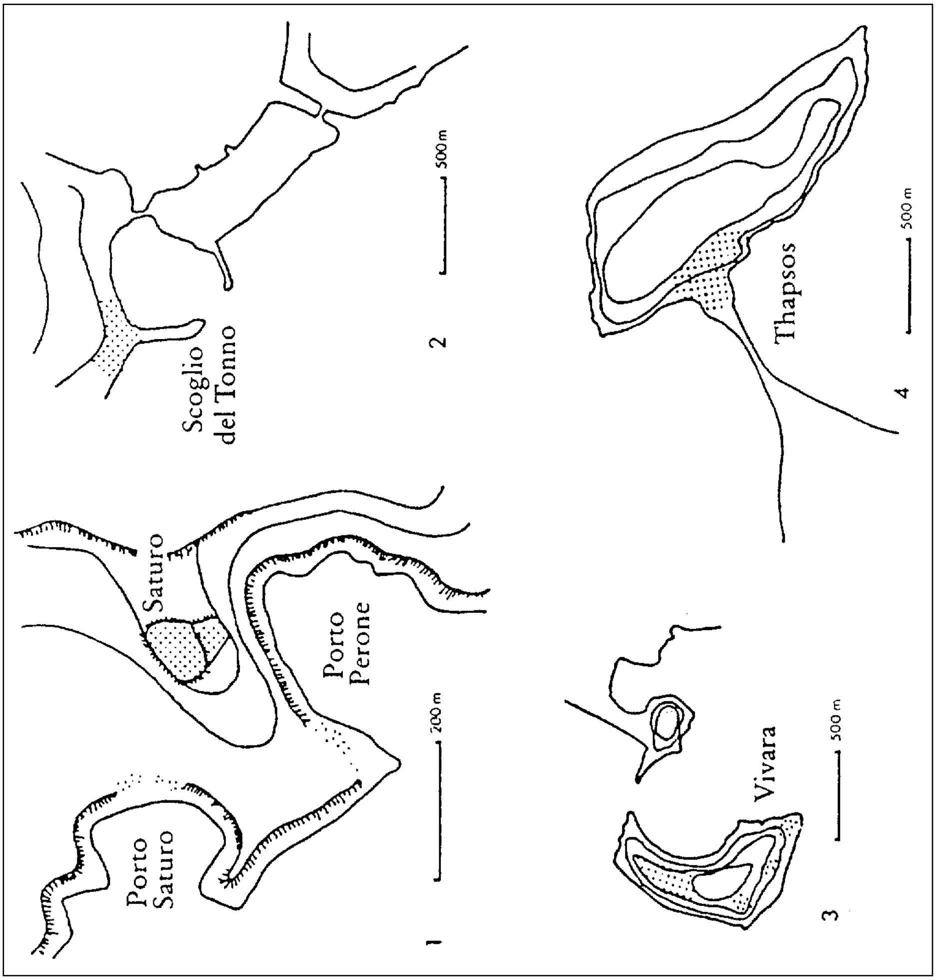

Fig. 15. Topography of Italian settlements (after v Hase 1990, fig. 25).

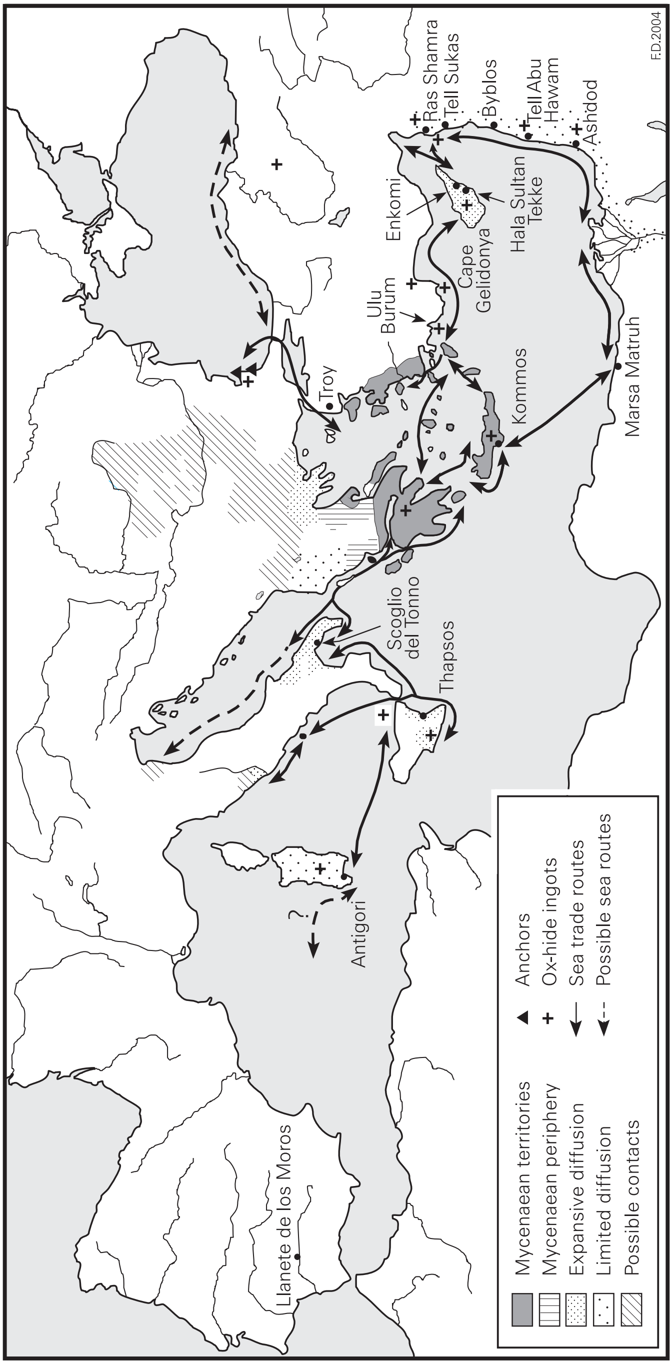

Fig. 16. Mycenaean expansion (after Kilian 1990, fig. 3).

Transjordan.[233] This phenomenon is to be observed in Italy only in LH IIIC, except for Sicily where it is earlier.

According to numerous archaeologists, the goal of Mycenaean navigators in the Mediterranean was the acquisition of metals.[234] It has, moreover, been explained that the Mycenaeans had turned first to the central Mediterranean because the commercial routes to the Levant and Egypt were, at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, under the control of the Minoans.[235] The few Mycenaean vases of the period collected in these regions are actually often accompanied by Cretan vases. It is also true that Lipari and, in particular, Vivara have yielded traces of metallurgical activities (we must be very careful not to exaggerate the potential of the evidence), and that beyond Vivara were located Toscana and its mines. Sardinia, Cyprus, the Carpathians and the Sierra Morena also have sources of copper, and all of them are precisely regions which have yielded Mycenaean objects, or represent a probable destination of the routes along which these same pieces of evidence were collected.[236] And copper oxhide ingots—which were produced not just on Cyprus—have been found from Sardinia to the Levant (Figs. 16–17).[237] However, the overseas sources of metal do not explain by themselves the whole of Mycenaean exchanges. Indeed, we cannot neglect the exploitation of the metalliferous deposits of Laurion, in particular those of copper attested in the Late Bronze Age,[238] nor the need for food and other materials of primary importance, such as wine, grain, oil, spices, ivory, amber, precious stones and metals, etc.[239] Thus, the transporting of amber from the Baltic took place, at least partly, via the maritime route of the Adriatic, which would explain the Mycenaean exports found in Albania,[240] but, unfortunately, most of these materials pass unnoticed owing to their perishable or manufacturable character. The shipwrecks of Ulu Burun and Cape Gelidonya give a good glimpse of

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[233] Leonard 1987; Gilmour 1992, 113–4.

[234] See Harding 1984, 43–65; Smith 1987, 164; Kopcke 1990, 39–78; Knapp 1990.

[235] Dickinson 1986. For Minoan trade, see Kopcke 1990, 26–38.

[236] Harding 1984, 44–57, figs. 6–7; Bouzek 1985, 19–21, fig. 2; v Hase 1990, 89, fig. 5; Gale 1991a.

[237] Gale 1991b.

[238] Gale 1991b, 231; Stos-Gale and Macdonald 1991, esp. 265–7 for copper. But see Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003, 117–50.

[239] Hankey 1970–71, 14–9; Harding 1984, 57–60; Knapp 1991; Negbi and Negbi 1993, 321–4; Cline 1994, 93–9; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003, 117–40.

[240] Harding 1984, 58–60, 68–87; Bouzek 1985, 54–8; Kopcke 1990, 44–5.

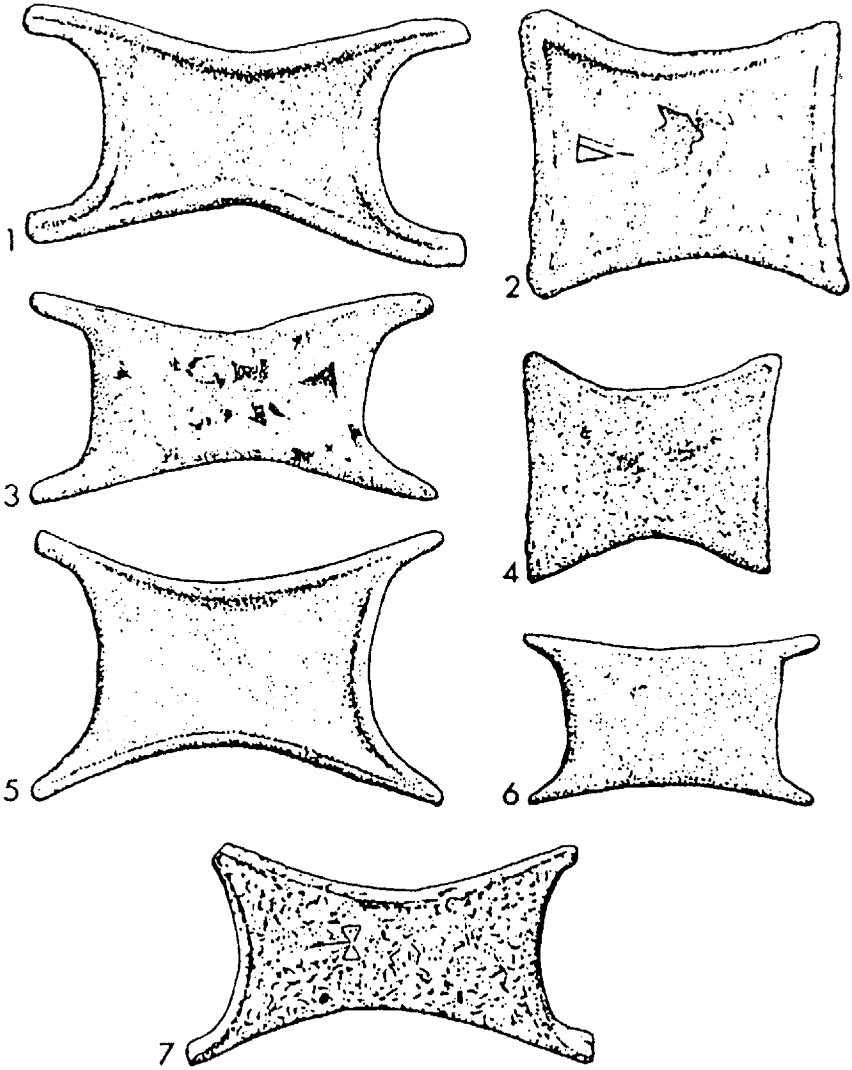

Fig. 17. Oxhide ingots: 1. Mycenae; 2. Hagia Triada; 3, 5. Cape Gelidonya; 4. Antalya; 6. Enkomi; 7. Serra Ilixi (after v Hase 1990, fig. 17).

the exchanged merchandise.[241] The cargo of the first ship comprised ingots of copper, tin and bronze,[242] Mycenaean vases, one pithos filled with pomegranates, amphorae stuffed with olives, Canaanite jars containing traces of resins[243] and numerous other products attributed to no less than seven different cultures. The international assemblage of goods loaded explains how Mycenaean pottery, always accompanied and surpassed by Cypriot pottery in the Levant and Egypt, must have arrived with it, but it does not imply in any way that Cypriot merchants had taken responsibility for the distribution of Mycenaean products.[244] For its part, Mycenaean Greece provided vases, also fabrics, oil[245] and maybe food supplies.[246] Several types of vase were exported, such as table vessels of open shapes—often the first to be copied locally—vases of the so-called Levanto-Helladic shapes, intended especially for the Levantine market, and certain prestige objects, such as kraters of the Pictorial Style.[247] On the other hand, vases of closed shapes served mainly as containers, in particular for perfume oils of different types.[248]

The conditions in which this maritime traffic used to function are still not very well known: we do not know whether commercial exchanges at the apogee of Mycenaean expansion were organised or more or less controlled by the palace or if they were in the hands of private entrepreneurs. The almost complete absence of information on foreign trade in Mycenaean tablets, where even the word 'merchant' is lacking, has contributed the formulation of diverse hypotheses. Thus, it has been suggested that the exchanges depended on authority from the palace, that commercial activity was carried out by the *lawoi* completely independent of the *wanax*, that the real agents of commerce were the bronze-smiths, etc.[249]

None of these hypotheses is really convincing because the reality must have been far more complicated. On the one hand, the sending of delegations, as is suggested by the representations of the *Keftiu*

[241] Bass 1991; Cline 1994, 100–5.

[242] Analysis of the copper ingots indicates a Cypriot origin (Gale 1991b, 227–31).

[243] Knapp 1991, 28–9; Negbi and Negbi 1993, 321–5.

[244] Cadogan 1973; Merrillees 1973. See Hankey 1970–71, 20–1; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 275–80.

[245] Killen 1985, 262–5, 272–3.

[246] Knapp 1991, 41–4.

[247] See Jones 1986, 570–1, 599–603; Cadogan 1993, 93–4.

[248] Leonard 1981; Negbi and Negbi 1993, 319–21.

[249] Chadwick 1976, 156–8; Pugliese Carratelli 1982, 45–6; Lepore 1986, 319–20; Gillis 1995; Haskell 1999.

in Theban tombs,[250] resulted if not from the initiative of the palace, at least with its intervention. From the same perspective, it is evident that the passage through the Aegean by an embassy of Amenhotep III, supposed by some historians, reveals contacts at royal level.[251] Such relations between sovereigns brought about the exchange of prestige objects and in this way had a fundamental economic function. Indeed, Eastern texts show clearly that two commercial models were current in these societies—the exchange of gifts and redistribution under the supervision of the palace.[252] On the other hand, the archives of Ugarit indicate the existence of a class of merchants and, in addition, provide ample information of a legal, financial and political character about Hittite merchants and commerce.[253] However, despite the abundance of Mycenaean pottery delivered by the city, there is no mention of Mycenaean merchants. Are we to conclude simply that they were absent in Ugarit, or to deduce that, while the presence of Hitttite merchants, who were accredited by the king, obeyed the diplomatic and political conventions, that of the Mycenaeans, who were mainly private entrepreneurs, came with no official status? Having said that, the initiative for Mycenaean commercial exchange, which in the beginning was probably private or an activity within the competence of the local élites, must later have come from the palace as well. Through its centralising and distributive rôle, the palace had knowledge of both economic surpluses and needs; moreover, it represented the only plausible destination for the huge cargoes of metal—such as that of the shipwreck at Ulu Burun.[254] However, for want of official merchants, the practical organisation of the exchanges was probably entrusted to private merchants or amateurs,[255] whose cargoes could adopt the system of navigation called 'tramping'.[256] In fact, the models of exchange must probably have varied according to the consignees.

From the discussion above it clearly emerges that the presence of Mycenaean remains in the Mediterranean is neither an expression

[250] Helck 1979, 68–75.
[251] Hankey 1981; Cline 1987; 1990–91, 22–7.
[252] Liverani 1986, 408–10; 1990, 205–83; Haider 1988; 1989; Snodgrass 1991; Knapp 1991, 47–50; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Cline 1994, 85–6.
[253] Liverani 1986, 409–11; Knapp 1991, 48–9.
[254] Snodgrass 1991, 18.
[255] See Knapp 1991, 48–50; Cline 1994, 85, 93.
[256] Hankey 1970–71, 20–1.

of an Aegean colonisation,[257] nor proof of the existence of a Mycenaean commercial empire.[258] Always limited and confined to pottery (with some very rare exceptions), it appeared as the result of exchanges within an international trading network. Moreover, with the exception of Cyprus, no Greek legend has registered the settlement of heroes in either the Levant or Egypt. On the whole, the situation in Italy is not very different, despite the Mycenaeans visiting Italian waters earlier than their voyages to the East. And apart from the Gulf of Taranto, which they visited continually, their interests were transferred successively to the islands of the Tyrrhenian Basin, Sicily and Sardinia. Certain legends concerning Italy may be a reflection of this, but if they echo the events of the Bronze Age, they have preserved only a vague memory of the travels of Mycenaean mariners in the elaborate form in which they have come down to us. They are more reminiscent of contacts established by small groups alongside local communities than of the settlements of populations. Furthermore, even though extensively modified, these mythological stories preserve the memory of the impact which Mycenaean civilisation had on the socio-economic development of local societies following these contacts. Finally, Mycenaean visits to the western coast of the Black Sea are possible. From this perspective, the myth of the Golden Fleece could possibly be an echo of voyages of reconnaissance and exploration, but it is illusory to look to it for reminiscences of a prehistoric connexion with Colchis.

Nevertheless, there was no obstacle to Mycenaeans—merchants on a commercial mission or otherwise—living here and there, possibly constituting small groups but without forming true communities or trading posts, so that we are unable to find any traces of them. However, certain archaeologists have postulated the existence of a commercial post or *emporion* in some centres: Ras Shamra and Tell Abu Hawam in the eastern Mediterranean,[259] Scoglio del Tonno, Thapsos and Antigori in the central Mediterranean.[260] None of the arguments which has been put forward—generally the abundance of

[257] Wace and Blegen 1939.
[258] Immerwahr 1960.
[259] Stubbings 1951, 107; But see Van Wijngaarden 2002, 71–3.
[260] Taylour 1958, 128; Immerwahr 1960, 8–9; Voza 1972; 1973; Bietti Sestieri 1988, 28, 37, 40; Kilian 1990, 455, 465; Jones and Vagnetti 1991, 141 (*cf.* Vagnetti 1993, 152). But see Van Wijngaarden 2002, 235–6.

pottery, sometimes figurines or architectural characteristics—is decisive: the weakness of that based on pottery has already been demonstrated. Every analysis of reported architectural features always concludes with their association with local traditions. Moreover, in the case of Thapsos, the connexions go back rather to Cyprus. As for female figurines, their small number—nine at Tell Sukas, eight at Tell Abu Hawam, four at Sarepta and Hazor, only two at Scoglio del Tonno; exceptionally, nineteen at Ugarit/Minet el-Beida—is not particularly compatible with a permanent presence and so they do not constitute a decisive argument, all the more so as the local peoples could themselves have made sense of these schematic statuettes.[261] Nevertheless, it is probable that the strength of Mycenaean influence on the prehistoric communities of Italy led to a certain acculturation, as one copy of a Mycenaean figurine at Scoglio del Tonno leads us to believe.[262] An hypothesis about travelling craftsmen has also been put forward.[263]

A permanent Mycenaean presence on some scale has been ascertained only in Aegean Anatolia and Cyprus. The majority of the sites of western Anatolia have not yielded significant evidence, but the predominant, sometimes exclusive, presence of Mycenaean pottery—imported and local—and other characteristics such as tombs, point in favour of Mycenaean settlement in some of them, generally those located in the southern part of the Aegean coast. In LH III, Iasus, and even more so Miletus, pass incontestably for, if not Mycenaean, at least strongly Mycenaeanised centres, and the necropolis of Müskebi, the *tholos* of Colophon and maybe, to a lesser degree, the necropolis of Panaztepe lead us to believe in the existence of other similar settlements. The Hittite archives telling of relations with *Ahhijawa̱* provide an additional argument in support of this interpretation, if we accept the identification of the people of *Ahhijawa̱* with the Achaeans/Mycenaeans.[264] We learn, indeed, that the Hittite kings entered into contact with them from the end of the 15th century—the time when Mycenaean remains begin to predominate at Miletus and Iasus. In addition, even if the term *Ahhijawa̱* was undoubtedly applied at one time to the Mycenaean world, for the Hittites

[261] Pilali-Papasteriou 1998; Darcque forthcoming.
[262] Kilian 1990, 455–8.
[263] Bietti Sestieri 1988, 28; Jones and Vagnetti 1991, 141.
[264] Bryce 1989; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 399–404.

it designated initially the coastal regions of the Aegean. This context suggests that we should see more than just onomastic resemblance between Miletus and *Millawata/Millawanda*, a city situated in the sphere of influence of *Ahhijawa*.[265] New Greek populations were to settle in this same territory from the end of LH IIIC. This migratory movement is known in the legendary tradition under the not very appropriate name of Ionian migration.

No pertinent indication exists in favour of Mycenaean settlement on Cyprus before the end of the 13th century. Later, the situation changes, but it is still not possible to speak of the mass migration dear to the model of the 'Achaean colonisation' of Cyprus.[266] On the contrary, Greek penetration was a lengthy and complex process, spread over two centuries. Bit by bit, Cypriot society and culture carried an Aegean impress. However, several innovations of LC IIIA, which were formerly linked to the arrival of the Mycenaeans, are not only somewhat uncharacteristic of them but, it turns out, appeared before the destructions of the beginning of the 12th century; in fact, they seem to have accompanied the important phase of urbanisation which touched the island from the 13th century.[267] Having said that, the populations which we can qualify as Mycenaeans from certain material remains, the foundation legends and the fact that they appear to have been Hellenophones at the end of the 11th century B.C., indisputably arrived in Cyprus in the 12th and, above all, 11th centuries. The legends place the heroic foundations after the fall of Troy. The archaeological evidence from the 12th century is small, but it does exist: abundant local Mycenaean pottery, Handmade Burnished Ware and pins. Tombs of Mycenaean type, as well as other categories of objects, mainly cult-related, show that Greeks continued to arrive during the 11th century and that their presence became even more marked in its second half. Their settlement alongside the local population, which had a very vigorous culture but one open nevertheless to outside influences, resulted in harmonious coexistence. Following the example of the Proto-White Painted pottery, we witness not the absorption of one culture by the other, but their progressive fusion, even if, according to the evidence of the tombs, it might seem that the wealth of the island passed into the hands of

[265] Bryce 1989, 396; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 403.
[266] Model criticised by Maier 1986.
[267] See Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 448–56; Karageorghis 1992, 80–1.

the Mycenaean immigrants.[268] Therefore, there is nothing surprising in the fact, as the legends inform us, that they were engaged in the creation of new urban centres. At the end of the 11th century, the Hellenisation of the island was accomplished.[269]

In conclusion, Mycenaean expansion is a manifestation of the relations which the Helladic centres had established with the Eastern kingdoms, as well as with prehistoric Italian stations, and whose nature varied depending on the time and the recipients (Fig. 16). The essentially commercial dynamic did not in itself lead to the creation of colonies but it does not, for all that, exclude a Mycenaean presence in the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, there is very often nothing to indicate this presence; consequently, it cannot really have been dense or structured. Even though Mycenaean expansion led to the beginning of acculturation in southern Italy and to the Hellenisation of Cyprus, it did not prefigure Archaic colonisation. However, the Greek colonists were unquestionably to take the same maritime routes as their forebears. The blurred memory of Mycenaean navigation and of their vast network of ports of call and exchange found itself brought up to date by it, and myth helped the rethinking of the past without, at the beginning, really granting it a place in the continuation.*

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[268] Coldstream 1989, 325–35.

[269] Iacovou 1989; Vanschoonwinkel 1994.

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GREEK MIGRATIONS TO AEGEAN ANATOLIA IN THE EARLY DARK AGE*

Jacques Vanschoonwinkel

The Greek tradition has preserved the memory of Greeks settling along the Aegean coast of Anatolia under the names of the Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian migrations. These movements of population took place during the legendary generations after the Trojan War and ended up in Lesbos and the Asiatic Aeolis, Ionia and southern Caria—territories that are characterised by the use of the Aeolic, Ionic and Doric dialects. After a short exposé of the written evidence, this chapter is dedicated to its critical analysis and to the study of the earliest indications relating to the first arrival of Greek settlers in Asia Minor (Fig. 1). The transition from the 10th to the 9th century B.C., which is generally considered to be the end of the Protogeometric period in Attica, constitutes the chronological end of the chapter, but these migrations in fact constitute a phenomenon of long duration that continued during the first centuries of the 1st millennium B.C.

Legendary Traditions Relating to the Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian Migrations

The legendary corpus concerning Ionian migration is very vast,[1] but only three authors—Herodotus, Strabo and Pausanias—dedicate a detailed narrative to it. According to Herodotus (1. 145–147; see also 7. 94–95), the Ionians came from Achaea where they used to occupy twelve cities, from which they were driven out by the Achaeans. However, the true Ionians are the descendants only of the colonists from Athens who celebrate the *Apatouria*, since in Ionia there are people different from the Ionians. The Ionians of Asia elected as

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* Translated by Nevena Georgieva.

[1] For a complete presentation of the ancient texts, see Sakellariou 1958, 21–37; Huxley 1966, 26–9; Emlyn-Jones 1980, 10–1.

Fig. 1. Map of Aegean Asia Minor.

kings Lycians (descendants of Glaucus) and Caucones of Pylus (descendants of Codrus). Herodotus (9. 97) specifies that Miletus was founded by Neleus, the son of Codrus.

Strabo (8. 1. 2; 8. 3. 9; 8. 5. 5; 8. 7. 1–4; see also 7. 7. 2) takes up the thesis of the localisation of Ionians in Achaea before their departure for Asia Minor, but claims that they were of Athenian origin. Following the overpopulation of Attica, then called Ionia, the Athenians sent away a colony to Aegialeia (Achaea), which subsequently acquired the name Ionia, and its inhabitants that of Ionians. At the time of the return of the Heraclidae, these Ionians, chased from Aegialeia by the Achaeans, returned to Athens whence they set out for Anatolia under the leadership of the Codridae. The twelve cities founded in Ionia echoed the twelve cities abandoned in Aegialeia.[2] He adds that the Ionian colony, made up of Ionians and non-Ionians, was led by Androclus, son of Codrus, king of Athens, and founder of Ephesus. Many Pylians who had accompanied Melanthus, the father of Codrus, to Athens were sent to the colony with the Ionians.[3] After that Strabo lists the Ionian cities with their respective founders, among whom five, or possibly six, are Codridae.

Pausanias (7. 1; see also 5. 1. 1; 7. 6. 1; 7. 18. 5; and 7. 19. 1) claims that the real birthplace of the Ionians is Achaea, which used to be called Aegialus but whose inhabitants changed their name to that of Ionians after the reign of Ion. The Athenians took in the Ionians when they were expelled from Aegialus by the Achaeans. The Periegetes upholds the line that the colonisation was a single enterprise, led by Neleus and other Codridae. The single aspect of the enterprise is, however, a little blurred when he talks about the foundation of each city.[4] In addition, even if the majority of the colonists were Ionians, there were also populations of different ethnic origins.[5] In several passages, Pausanias, like Strabo, claims that the people who colonised Ionia had not all come together.

Allusions to Ionian migration are found in numerous other texts, but they are very often short or fragmentary. We can divide them into two groups. The first represents the migration to Ionia as one single enterprise of one single metropolis, the great majority referring

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[2] Strabo 8. 7. 1.
[3] Strabo 14. 1. 3.
[4] Pausanias 7. 2. 2–4; 7. 2. 10.
[5] Pausanias 7. 2. 1–2.

to Athens.[6] The leader of the colonisation is in some case the Codrid Androclus,[7] in others the Codrid Neleus.[8] Other authors accept the Athenian origin of the Ionians of Anatolia, without mentioning the name of their leader.[9] Thucydides, more subtly, explains that the colonisation of Ionia was a result of the overpopulation of Attica by elements who had taken refuge there following wars and internal conflicts.[10] A few rare testimonies in this first group represent Achaea as the metropolis of all the Ionians.[11] Certain authors attempt to combine the above two interpretations,[12] as was done by Strabo and Pausanias. On the other hand, others ignore the passage of the Ionians of Aegialeia through Athens before their departure for Ionia, even though they do associate them with the Athenians in the colony.[13]

The second group is made up of passages mentioning varied origins for the different Ionian cities. Several metropoleis other than Athens and Achaea are often put forward for the same city. According to these, Priene was founded by Thebans,[14] and Samos was colonised by Ancaeus, who had come from Same and was accompanied by migrants from Kephallonia, Arcadia, Epidaurus, Phlious, Athens, Chalcis and Thessaly.[15] A number of authors claim that Ephesus was established by a population of Athenian, Aetolian and Samian origin.[16] As for Colophon, in addition to the arrival of Pylian colonists

[6] See *Souda*, *s.v.* Πανύασις.

[7] Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 154 and 155. See Strabo 14. 1. 3.

[8] Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 48 and 125; Aristoteles F 76 Rose; Lycophron *Alexandra* 1378–1387; *Marmor Parium FGrHist* 329, 27; Aelian *Varia Historia* 8.5; Zenobius *Proverbs* 4. 3; Ammianus Marcellinus 28. 1. 4. Conon *FGrHist* 26 F 1, 47 specifies that Neleus and the Codridae are concerned, while Plutarch *De Glor. Athen.* 7. 349e associates Androclus with Neleus.

[9] Isocrates *Panegyrikos* 122; Platon *Euthydemos* 302c; Pliny *NH* 5. 113; Philostrates *Images* 2. 8. 5; epigram of Asclepiades *Anth. Pal.* 9. 63.

[10] Thucydides 1. 2. 6; see also 1. 12. 4; 2. 15. 4; 5. 82. 3; 7. 57. 4; and Aelius Aristides *Panathenaika*, 1 p. 160, 176–7 Dindorf.

[11] Heraclides Ponticus, cited by Strabo 8. 7. 2; Diodorus 15. 4.

[12] Castor *FGrHist* 250 F 4, and Eusebius *Chronicle-Canon*, year 932 after Abraham (Latin translation of St Jerome).

[13] Clitophon *FHG* IV 368 F 5; Conon *FGrHist* 26 F 1, 2; Georgius Syncellus 339 Bonn.

[14] Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 101; Phanodicus *FGrHist* 397 F 4b; Diogenes Laertius 1. 82.

[15] Iamblichus *The Life of Pythagoras*, 2, 13. For criticism of this tradition, see Sakellariou 1958, 93–100.

[16] Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 155; taken up by Strabo 14. 1. 3; Nicandrus *FGrHist* 271–2 F 5; Malakus *FGrHist* 552 F 1; Aelius Aristides 22. 26 Keil; Philostrates 2; Apollonius of Tyane 8. 7 Kayser; Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Βέννα; *Souda, s.v.* Ἀρίσταρχος.

under the authority of Andraemon,[17] it had also acquired Theban colonists.[18] Orchomenian and Athenian provenance has been advanced for the population of Teos.[19] Finally, the colonists of Phocaea originated from Phocis.[20]

The evidence relating to the Aeolian and Dorian migrations is much more scant.[21] According to Strabo (13. 1. 3–4), who provides the most detailed narrative about Aeolian colonisation, it began four generations before that of the Ionians, but developed more slowly. Orestes was its first leader, although he died in Arcadia. His son, Penthilus, got as far as Thrace 60 years after the Trojan War. Archelaus, his son, had the expedition cross over to Cyzicene, while Gras, son of Archelaus, reached the Granicus and disembarked on Lesbos, which he occupied. After having stayed a long time in the region of Mount Phricius in Locris, two other descendants of Agamemnon—Cleues and Malaus—crossed the sea to found Phryconian Cyme.[22] Strabo (9. 2. 3; 9. 2. 5) also specified that, after their arrival in the region, which has since then born their name, the Boeotians co-operated with the companions of Penthilus.

Pausanias (3. 2. 1; see also 7. 5. 1 and 7. 6. 2) describes more briefly a similar situation: the Lacedaemonians took part in a maritime expedition with a view to colonising Aeolis under the leadership of Gras; however, his grandfather, Penthilus, had already occupied the island of Lesbos. Some more or less analogous short versions can also be found in other authors.[23]

A series of texts mention only the name of the leader of the Aeolian expedition (Orestes,[24] Penthilus,[25] Echelaus[26] or Gras[27]), and

[17] Mimnermus F 10 West; Strabo 14. 1. 3.
[18] Pausanias 7. 3. 1.
[19] Anacreon *PLG* F 117; Strabo 14. 1. 3; Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 102; *CIG* Nos. 3078 and 3083.
[20] Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 324 F 51.
[21] For a complete presentation of the ancient texts, see Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 406–9.
[22] For the tradition relating to Cyme, see Hosek 1974, 180–5.
[23] Demon *FGrHist* 327 F 17; Tzetzes *ad Alex.* 1374; Menecles of Barka *FGrHist* 270 F 10, and maybe Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 32.
[24] Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 32; Pindar *Nemeans* 11. 44; Lycophron *Alexandra* 1374–1377; *Scholia* Dem. of Denys the Periegetes 820.
[25] Velleius Paterculus 1. 2. 3–4; 1. 4; Aristoteles *Politika* 5. 8 (10); Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Πενθίλη.
[26] Myrsilus of Methymna *FHG* IV 459 F 12.
[27] Anticleides *FGrHist* 140 F 4.

sometimes its destination. Some indications also appear in Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 155), who acknowledged the priority of the Aeolian migration to the Ionian, Herodotus (1. 149–151), who contents himself with a geographical outline of Aeolis, Thucydides (3. 2; 7. 57; 13. 100), who makes an allusion to the blood relationship between the Aeolians and the Boeotians, and Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 163). The Aeolian colonisation of Tenedos was achieved by the Laconian Pisandreus.[28]

The Dorian migration, according to tradition, started shortly after the return of the Heraclidae to the Peloponnese during the colonisation of Thera by Theras, the Lacedaemonian regent, accompanied by Laconians and Lemnians; it was continued by the occupation of Melos by the Laconians and of Crete by the Argives, led by Althaemenes, Laconians and Aeginetans.[29] After that it was directed to the Dodecanese and to the south Aegean coast of Anatolia. The Argives settled on Rhodes, where Lindus, Camirus and Ialysus pass for Dorian foundations.[30] Lacedaemonians and Argives established themselves at Syme, and Cnidians and Rhodians took part in the colonisation.[31] On the Anatolian coast, a Laconian colony was founded at Cnidus[32] and the Melians occupied Cryassus.[33] Troezenians established themselves at Halicarnassus and at Myndus under the leadership of the descendants of Anthas.[34] Dorians, who had come from Epidaurus, settled on Cos,[35] and some at Calymna and Nisyrus.[36] Other Dorians, originating from Argos and led by Ioclus, occupied Carpathus and yet others, who had started from Megara, went to Astypalaea.[37] Finally, Iasus was founded by Dorians from Argos.[38]

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28 Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 132; Pindar *Nemeans* 11. 43–47.

29 See Malkin 1993; 1994, 67–82; Vanschoonwinkel forthcoming.

30 Pindar *Olympiaka* 7. 72–74; Herodotus 1. 144; 2. 178; Thucydides 7. 57; Platon *Laws* 4. 707e–708a; Strabo 14. 2. 6; Conon *FGrHist* 26 F 1; Plutarch *Mul. Virt.* 247c–d; *Quaest. Graec.* 296; Polyaenus 7. 49; 8. 71. One other Althaimenes—a Cretan—son of Catreus, went into exile in Camirus on Rhodes (Diodorus 5. 59; Apollodorus *Bibliotheka* 3. 2. 1).

31 Diodorus 5. 53.

32 Herodotus 1. 174; Strabo 14. 2. 6.

33 Plutarch *Mul. Virt.* 246c–247a; Polyaenus 8. 64.

34 Herodotus 7. 99; Strabo 14. 2. 6; Pausanias 2. 30. 9; Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Ἁλικαρνασσός.

35 Herodotus 7. 99.

36 Herodotus 7. 99; Diodorus 5. 54.

37 Diodorus 5. 54; Ps.-Skymnos 551; Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Ἀστύπαλαια.

38 Polybius 16. 2. 2.

Analysis of the Literary and Archaeological Evidence
Ionian Migration

With regard to Ionian migration, the texts mention mainly two metropoleis, Achaea and Athens, represented sometimes as the single metropolis of the colonisation, and sometimes, respectively, as the place of origin and place of detour of the colonists.

However, the earliest testimony concerning the origin of the Ionian colonists, from Mimnermus of Colophon in the second half of the 7th century B.C., defends a Pylian provenance. According to him, Colophon was founded by colonists who had come from Neleus' Pylus; he adds that its *oikist* was Andraemon of Pylus.[39] According to one bold theory,[40] the poet had attributed a common origin—Pylus—to all Ionian cities, and the same ancestor—Codrus—to their *oikists*, in accordance with the conception developed by one of the cities, which was aiming for a predominant rôle in the Panionium. The meaning of the fragment seems, in reality, much simpler: Mimnermus, originating from Colophon, echoed without any doubt the local tradition which had preserved specific and clear memories about the origin of the colony.[41] Having said that, this tradition of the 7th century B.C. entirely ignores the passage of the colonists through Attica.

The idea that Ionians originated from Aegialeia (Achaea) was probably born in Ionia. It is impossible to determine precisely when this vision appeared, but it undoubtedly did so before the 5th century B.C. since we find it integrated into the Attic tradition narrated by Herodotus. Its conception must be linked to the wish of the Ionians to give themselves a common origin at the moment when they were becoming conscious of their national unity.[42] There is, however, little probability of explaining the supposed Achaean origin by identification of the Ionians with the Achaeans in the Homeric meaning of the term,[43] because in this case the Ionians would have represented themselves rather as coming from a famous place in the

[39] Mimnermus F9 and F10 West.
[40] Prinz 1979, 323–32.
[41] Sakellariou 1958, 146–7, 170; Boruchovic 1988, 119–20; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 374–5.
[42] v Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906a, 47–9; 1906b, 69–70; Sakellariou 1958, 35; 1990, 137.
[43] Munro 1934, 117.

Mycenaean world. On the contrary, the departure of the Ionians from Achaea constitutes an episode, which appears to be the logical consequence of the aetiological legend that explains the name of the region to the north-west of the Peloponnese by the arrival of the Achaeans under the leadership of Tisamenus.[44] The reasons for the link between Ionia and Achaea may readily be explained by the fact that the cities of the Ionian League were twelve in number like those of Achaea.[45] Moreoever, the League had as its centre the sanctuary of the Heliconian Poseidon, whose cult spread in all the Ionian cities and whose epithet was connected to Helice in Achaea, where Poseidon was equally venerated.[46] Strabo (8. 7. 2), citing Heraclides Ponticus, and Diodorus (15. 49) accepted the last link, but Aristarchus (*Etymologicon Magnum* 547. 15–21) had already corrected this ancient philological error: the epithet deriving from Helice would have been Ἑλικήϊος, while Ἑλικώνιος derives from the name Helicon.

When we approach the thesis representing Athens as metropolis of the Ionians of Asia Minor—an opinion first defended by Panyassis and Pherecydes in the first half of the 5th century B.C.—there is one piece of evidence from which we cannot escape: Athenian tradition has absorbed both the Pylian provenance and the Achaean tradition. It is this which precludes acceptance of the Athenian version as original, because although the Messenian and Achaean traditions are independent of it, the reverse is not true.

Two figures play an essential rôle in the myth supporting Athenian primacy in the colonisation of Ionia: Codrus, the king of Athens, and Neleus, his son. The Codridae, and first of all Neleus, are in fact represented as the *oikists* of several Ionian cities. And yet, the figure of Codrus does not seem to have been very popular in Athens. His first attestations are not earlier than the 5th century B.C.[47] Moreover, the supposed descendants of Codrus bear the name of Medontidae, after his son Medon.[48] As a result, a large number of historians have concluded that Codrus, a figure without great consistency, did not belong to an indigenous historical tradition but to

[44] Prinz 1979, 345–7.
[45] See Herodotus 1. 146; Timotheus *Persians* 247–249.
[46] Lenschau 1944, 206; Sakellariou 1958, 35–6; Prinz 1979, 343–5; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 375–6.
[47] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 378.
[48] Toepffer 1973, 231–3, 240–2.

a late artificial construction which inserted him in the king list of Athens.[49]

As for Neleus, his figure and myth are closely connected to Miletus, but they are also strongly integrated in the Ionian patrimony in general.[50] We have, though, to distinguish Neleus, son of Codrus, the king of Athens, from Neleus, son of Poseidon and king of Pylus. Yet Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 155) attributes a Pylian origin to Neleus the founder of Miletus—a provenance which is identical to that of Andraemon of Pylus, the *oikist* of Colophon.[51] And to tell the truth, Herodotus (1. 147) categorises some of the Ionian kings as Pylians. In addition, the Mycenaean tablets from Pylus contain some anthroponyms which are close to the names of certain Neleidae, but it is rash to deduce from them the historicity of the passage about the Neleidae of Athens and about their leadership of the colonisation of Ionia, as some historians have.[52] As Neleus, who originated from Pylus, is in addition considered in Ionia to be the son of Poseidon,[53] it would be difficult for him to belong to the Athenian tradition. On the other hand, the Athenians used to honour Neleus, an ancient chthonic deity associated with Basile,[54] and, aided by the homonymity, they came to believe that this Neleus was a descendant of Neleus, the king of Pylus in Homer. In order to explain his presence in Athens, they imagined the migration to Athens of the Neleidae and elaborated a genealogy integrating the two: Neleus I, Periclymenus,[55] Penthilus, Borus, Andropompus, Melanthus, Codrus and Neleus II.[56] The genealogical reconstruction was largely facilitated by the artificial character of Codrus, the father of the second Neleus. At the same

[49] v Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906b, 63–4; Toepffer 1973, 226–44; Nilsson 1951, 61–2; Brommer 1957, 161; Cassola 1957, 84–8, 126–7; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 378–9. *Contra* Ciaceri 1915, 259–60; Sakellariou 1958, 32 n. 7.

[50] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 380–1.

[51] Mimnermus F 10 West.

[52] Mühlestein 1965; Georgoutzos 1980/81; Sergent 1982. See Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 380–2.

[53] van der Kolf 1935, 2277–8; Toepffer 1973, 236; Ciaceri 1915, 241–4.

[54] v Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906b, 67–8; Toepffer 1973, 237–8; Ciaceri 1915, esp. 237–44; van der Kolf 1935, 2279; Cassola 1957, 92; Sakellariou 1958, 50–1; Wycherley 1960, 60–6.

[55] This genealogy does not relate to Neleus through the most famous Neleid, Nestor, but through his brother Periclymenus, cited in the *Odyssey* 11. 251, and of whom it is known that he was killed by Heracles (Hesiod F 33a–b Merkelbach-West).

[56] Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 125. See Cassola 1957, 91; Prinz 1979, 325–30, 348–9.

time it made official the sojourn of the Pylians at Athens before the migration.

Certain modern scholars still give some credence to the Athenian version of Ionian colonisation,[57] but the majority have come to the conclusion that the way this version is represented is an invention of local political propaganda aimed at backing up Athenian claims to Ionia founded on a blood relationship.[58] The Athenian version was naturally favoured by the fact that Attica was the only continental region inhabited by Ionians in historic times, as well as by links of dialect and a certain commonality of feast and institutions between Athens and Ionia, such as the *Apatouria*, the *Anthesteria*, tribes, etc.[59]

The Athenian version is well attested at the end of the 5th century B.C., but certain indications allow us to move the date of its appearance back towards the end of the 6th century B.C.[60] On the other hand, it is an improper interpretation to affirm its existence as early as the beginning of the 6th century based on the famous passage of Solon: πρεσβυτάτην ἐσορῶν γαῖαν Ἰαονίας. This superlative, which qualifies Athens without the smallest allusion to migration, does not imply in itself that Athens was the metropolis of the Ionian cities. Consequently, the myths must have been remodelled at the end of the 6th century B.C. In the 5th century the Athenian version was firmly established following the victory over the Persians and thanks to the establishment of the Delian League in 477 B.C.[62] However, the Athenian fiction faced many difficulties in imposing itself on other traditions, such as that of the Achaean origin of the Ionian colonists and the local traditions of the different Ionian cities. Subsequently, it underwent various accommodations, such as the passage to Athens of the Ionians of Aegialeia and of the Neleidae.

Having said that, we must not deny entirely Athenian participation in the colonisation of Ionia. On the other hand, we must ques-

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[57] Bérard 1960, 49–50; Cook 1975, 782–90 (refuted by Sakellariou 1978, 144–64); Boruchovic 1988, 121 n. 161. In his turn, Huxley 1966, 26–31 overestimates Athenian participation.

[58] Toepffer 1973, 239; v Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1906b, 70–1; Munro 1934, 116; Nilsson 1951, 59–64; 1953, 747–8; Cassola 1957, 87–8, 94; Sakellariou 1958, 30–5; 1978, 157–63; 1990, 137; Prinz 1979, 347–55; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 377–85.

[59] Sakellariou 1958, 32; Huxley 1966, 30–5.

[60] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 383–5.

[61] Solon F 4a West. For example, Prinz 1979, 354–5.

[62] Ciaceri 1915, 247–43; Nilsson 1951, 63–4; 1953, 747–8; Cassola 1957, 88–9; Sakellariou 1958, 30; Toepffer 1973, 238–9; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 383–5.

tion how well-founded are the exclusive claims of Athens (a version which is often highly exaggerated and uses unjustified generalisation). In the same way, we must not reject categorically the testimony about the influx of population. For example, the arrival of the Pylians in Athens after the destruction of their palace is plausible. Archaeology clearly indicates such a phenomenon, but it is to be observed on the east coast of Attica.[63] Also, the more nuanced opinion of Thucydides (1. 2. 6), according to whom the colonists were sent to Ionia in consequence of the insuffícent resources of Attica to meet the need of the growing population of refugees, seems to be a more faithful reflection of reality.[64]

The study of cults, institutions, proper names, etc. has really made apparent the great variety of geographical origins of the colonists of the Ionian cities.[65] The majority of them were of Boeotian origin or from the north-east of the Peloponnese. Boeotia appears to have been the metropolis of elements who were established in Miletus, Priene, Melie, Samos, Ephesus, Colophon, Teos, Erythrae, Chios and Phocaea, while Samos, Pygela, Ephesus, Colophon, Teos, Clazomenae, and probably Priene, Melie and Chios, had received colonists from Argolis and the region of Corinth, and from Cleonai and Phlious. The participation of Attica, Euboea, Thessaly and Arcadia in the process was of less considerable weight. Even less numerous were those who started from Messenea, Achaea and, probably, Elis, Aetolia and Megaris. As for ethnic origin, ancient authors admit the participation of both Ionians and non-Ionians in the colonisation.[66] Among the latter, Herodotus lists the Abantes, the Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, the Dryopes, the Phocians, the Molossians, the Pelasgians who had come from Arcadia, the Dorians from Epidaurus, etc.; and Pausanias the Athenians, the Thebans, the Orchomenians,

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[63] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 118–20, 176.

[64] Thomas and Conant 1999, 72–84 describe the situation in Athens at the time of the migration towards Ionian according to a very Athenocentric view.

[65] Sakellariou 1958, 21–243; 1990, 138–49; Cassola 1957, 95–103; Huxley 1966, 30–4; Cook 1975, 783–5; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 386–90. For the cults of Chios, Erythrae, Clazomenae and Phocaea, see in particular Graf 1985. We could also refer to Bilabel 1920, although this work mainly treats the colonies founded by Ionian cities.

[66] Herodotus 1. 145–147; 7. 94; Strabo 14. 1. 3; 8. 7; Pausanias 7. 1–4. See also Thucydides 1. 2. 6; Vitruvius 4. 4; and Aelius Aristides *Panathenaika* 1 pp. 160, 176–7 Dindorf.

the Phocians and the Abantes. According to modern research,[67] it is permissible to believe that the Ionian colonists settled in the cities where the feast of the *Apatouria* and/or Ionian tribal organisations have been attested, *i.e.* Miletus, Myous, Priene, Samos, Ephesus, Lebedus, Teos, Chios, Erythrae, Clazomenae and Phocaea. The Ionian character of Colophon, where neither of these institutions has been attested, has been confirmed by the dialect and the figure of Neleus. In the same way, an Ionian presence is very probable at Magnesia on the Meander, Aeolian indications—dialect and others—have been attested at Miletus, Samos, Chios, Phocaea and Melie. Among the western Greeks, the Molossians appear at Miletus, Priene, Teos, Chios and Phocaea, the Athamanes at Teos, and the Magnetes at Magnesia. It is also possible to assume a Western Greek presence at Erythrae.

The first chronological indication of Ionian migration is provided by Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 155), who places it after the Aeolian migration, and Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 125), who provides the genealogy of Neleus. The later testimonies reveal the following sequence of events: fall of Troy, return of the Heraclidae and Ionian migration.[68] The interval between the last two events is always estimated at 60 years, while that between the fall of Troy and the migration is taken as 140 years by most authors. In fact, this last figure results from the addition of two generations of 30 years each to two of 40 years, the sum of the last two being equal to the 80 years between the fall of Troy and the return of the Heraclidae.

These 80 years are calculated on a basis of 40 years per generation, attributed initially to Hecataeus or to another Ionian logograph.[69] But, following the Athenian creation of the emigration to Athens of Melanthus, who was chased away by the Heraclidae, and the attribution of the leadership of the migration to Neleus his grandson, a new period of two generations is introduced into the historical sequence. This time the period covers 60 years, using a count of 30 years per generation—a more recent calculation which appears for the first time in Thucydides and which seems to be of Attic origin.[70] Thus, it is probable that Athenian historiography has taken

[67] Sakellariou 1958, 247–302; Roebuck 1961; Huxley 1966, 30–5; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 390–1.
[68] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 392–5.
[69] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 37, 354.
[70] Sakellariou 1958, 309–10, 323–4.

dates accepted by Ionian logographs for already dated events, but has imposed its own chronological criteria for events which it had to record, such as Ionian migration.

Precise dates suggested by ancient authors for the Ionian migration are limited to 1076, 1044 and 1036 B.C. The approximate agreement of the sources on the middle of the 11th century has led certain scholars to accept this chronology.[71] However, these dates simply reproduce the ratio of 0:80:140 years from the fall of Troy, whilst the disparate dates provided by Greek tradition for this event are arbitrary because of the disagreement of the authors on the length of a generation and the artificiality of a chronological system based on the counting of generations.[72]

Archaeological evidence throws a much more nuanced light on events. Of course, its interpretation calls up the same methodological observations as in my previous chapter in the present volume, because the territories under consideration do not belong to the Greek cultural sphere at the outset. Numerous sites in Ionia, a number of which were part of the future Ionian League, have yielded Mycenaean material: Kömüradasi, Miletus, Didyma, Kusadasi, Ephesus, Colophon, Erythrae, Samos and Chios.[73] However, the range of evidence varies considerably from one site to another. In general, the finds are limited to a few vases, often without real context and seldom dating from the end of the Mycenaean period. Only Miletus could pass more safely for a Mycenaean settlement, whose existence continued down to Late Helladic (LH) IIIC and came to an end following a destruction at a date late into LH IIIC.[74] Having said that, in his catalogue of the Trojans, Homer locates the Carians at Miletus—otherwise not mentioned in the *Iliad*, which is unaware of the Mycenaean presence in Ionia—at the time of the Trojan War.[75] However, this assertion collides with the archaeological evidence

[71] For example, Lenschau 1916, 1875; 1944, 222; Roebuck 1959, 27; Boruchovic 1988, 114–5. Later dates such as the 9th century B.C. have also been suggested (Jongkees 1948).

[72] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 33–9.

[73] See Mee 1978, *s.v.*; 1998, 138–40; Özgünel 1996; and in addition Mitchell 1990, 107; Schattner 1992; Walter 1976, 13–4; Lemos 2002, 148.

[74] Mee 1978, 133–7; Voitgländer 1986; Gödecken 1988; Özgünel 1996, 130–41; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 194–200, 205.

[75] *Iliad* 2. 867–869; an opinion taken up in antiquity by Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 155; Herodotus 1. 146; Pausanias 7. 2. 5–6; and today accepted notably by Huxley 1966, 16–8; Cook 1975, 786–8; Sakellariou 1978, 148–52.

which reveals not the slightest specific Carian traces and hardly any Hittite influence.[76] If we are to accept the identification of *Ahhijawa̱* in the Hittite archives with the Achaeans (or Mycenaeans), the *Letter of Millawata* could provide an explanation for the inclusion of Miletus in the territory controlled by the Carians: this text indicates indeed that in the second half of the 13th century B.C., *Millawata*, which is almost certainly Miletus, came out of the sphere of political influence of the king of *Ahhijawa̱*, and that a pro-Hittite régime was established there.[77] The change probably did not lead to desertion by the Mycenaean inhabitants, even if a slight Hittite influence is later to be detected.[78] It is probable that during LH IIIC Chian Emporio was also a Mycenaean settlement. At this time it was destroyed and abandoned for good.[79] LH IIIC pottery is also attested at Clazomenae and probably at Ephesus.[80]

Submycenaean pottery is almost non-existent in Ionia. Its presence is attested only at Ephesus and Miletus. At the latter, the fragments—not numerous and of a more recent phase—have appeared without stratification and accompanied by Protogeometric fragments, on top of the last Mycenaean level. In these conditions it is impossible to assert that the occupation there continued without interruption.[81] A few fragments which could pass for Submycenaean have been excavated without stratigraphy at the Heraeon on Samos.[82]

The situation is completely different with regard to Protogeometric pottery. It is not only abundant but comes from numerous sites. As the late Protogeometric pottery indicates, a small necropolis was built in the 10th century Bronze Age ruins at Kömüradasi.[83] I have mentioned the Protogeometric fragments found without stratification with Submycenaean examples on top of the last Mycenaean level at Miletus, but the first architectural remains do not extend beyond the Geometric period.[84] Three Protogeometric vases found at Kalabaketepe constitute the most ancient finds from Melie; fragments of this class

[76] Parzinger 1989, 429 and n. 60.
[77] Singer 1983, esp. pp 214–6; Bryce 1985.
[78] Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 199–205.
[79] Hood 1981, 147–50, 152–64.
[80] Mee 1978, 125; Mission 1982; Bammer 1986–87; 1990, 142.
[81] Desborough 1972, 83; Schiering 1979, 103; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 205–6.
[82] Walter 1968, 13.
[83] Voigtländer 1986, 617–24; 1988, 603–5, 608; Mitchell 1990, 107.
[84] Weickert *et al.* 1959/60, 52–4; Desborough 1972, 83, 179–80; Schiering 1979, 103; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 205–6.

have also been found there in some disturbed contexts containing Geometric material.[85] Next to Kusadasi a level characterised by Protogeometric pottery has been discovered in one small site on a peninsula identified as Pygela.[86] The excavations at Ephesus have enabled constructions and storehouses containing mainly Early Geometric and Protogeometric pottery to be located.[87] The sondages at Klaros have revealed a level containing Protogeometric and Geometric pottery.[88] At Teos, the earliest evidence of habitation rests on the rock and consists of an abundant quantity of Protogeometric pottery.[89] Protogeometric fragments have also been excavated at Mordogan—a site on a peninsula which, it has been suggested, might have been Boutheia—Clazomenae and Phocaea.[90] However, the monochrome pottery found at Phocaea shows that in the beginning this settlement probably belonged to the Aeolian sphere. At the Heraeon of Samos the oldest pottery later than LH IIIB belongs to the Early Protogeometric, but the first sanctuary dates instead to the end of the 10th century B.C.[91] The Samian sanctuary at Pythagoreion has also yielded numerous Protogeometric fragments, and the best preserved vase (to which numerous parallels including the closest have been provided by the Kerameikos in Athens) can be attributed to the Late Protogeometric.[92]

Thus, we notice that the Greek presence in Ionia is far earlier than the traditional date of Ionian colonisation and is attested as early as the Late Bronze Age. However, we have at our disposal a set of consistent indicators of Mycenaean settlements only in Miletus, Ephesus, Chios, Samos and, perhaps, Colophon. Following the clear reduction of LH IIIC and Submycenaean pieces, there is very wide diffusion of Protogeometric pottery. This latter appears in settlements as well as in tombs, but it is often accompanied by Geometric pottery and clear archaeological contexts are rare. Some sites—Miletus, Ephesus and Clazomenae—have provided both Late Mycenaean and Protogeometric material, without necessarily providing evidence for

[85] Desborough 1952, 221, 323 (Tsangli); Kleiner *et al.* 1967, 83, 161–6.
[86] Cook 1960, 40.
[87] Mellink 1992, 142; Bammer 1990, 142.
[88] Mitchell 1990, 99–100.
[89] Cook and Blackman 1965, 45; 1971, 41.
[90] Cook 1960, 40–1; Mission 1982.
[91] Walter 1968, 11–3, 85, 91–4; 1976, 32–5.
[92] Tsakos 1968.

continuation of occupation. On the other hand, new settlements were established during the Protogeometric period at Kömüradasi, Melie, Pygela, Klaros, Teos and Phocaea. As the Aegean coast of Anatolia seems to have received population originating from Greece since the Mycenaean period, the appearance of Protogeometric pottery in the abovementioned settlements could indicate the arrival of new populations which are echoed in the literary tradition. But this movement did not start before the Submycenaean and touched only a few sites, namely Miletus and Ephesus. It became more intensive during the Protogeometric period and continued beyond it.

Aeolian Migration

The oldest allusion to Aeolis goes back to Hesiod (*Works and Days* 636) and the next appear only in the 5th century in Herodotus and Thucydides. We have to wait until then to find the first mentions of Aeolian migration in Pindar and Pherecydes. However, modern historians agree in general that the tradition was probably established by Hellanicus, himself originating from Mytilene, who is supposed to have treated the subject in his lost *Lesbiaka* and *Aiolika*.[93] The testimonies about the Aeolian migration become a little more numerous in the 4th century B.C., to which belongs the first story, a little more developed—that of Demon.

Some authors mention a single provenance for the Aeolians,[94] but in general the ancient tradition indicates explicitly the participation of Thessalians, Locrians and Boeotians in the migratory movement. This now commonly shared opinion[95] is supported by the dialect relations existing between speakers of island and mainland Aeolis, and Boeotian and Thessalian.[96] It seems that Pausanias and Velleius Paterculus, who talks about the Orestidae, also mention a Peloponnesian origin for the Aeolians. Furthermore, the question has been asked whether this applied only to the leaders of the expedition or if it

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[93] Jacoby 1912, 133; Pearson 1975, 194–7; Cook, 1975, 777.

[94] *Scholia* Dem. of Denys the Periegetes 820 (Thessalians); Thucydides 3. 2; 7. 57; 8. 100 (Boeotians); Strabo 13. 1. 3–4; 13. 2. 2–3 (Locrians at Cyme and Larissa).

[95] Tümpel 1893, 1035; Huxley 1966, 36, 38; Cassola 1957, 79–80; Bérard 1959, 7–9; Cook 1975, 777–8; Boruchovic 1988, 124–5.

[96] Schmitt 1977, 66–82, 120–1; Garcia-Ramon 1975.

extended to some of the participants. The considerable number of references to the Peloponnese shows that the connexions between Aeolis and this region are far from being occasional,[97] which suggests that the contribution of the Peloponnesians was probably not small at all.

According to the traditions cited above and the explicit assertions of certain authors,[98] there is no doubt that the Aeolian cities of Asia Minor were founded and inhabited by Greeks of all origins, with the apparent exception of people from Attica and Dorians. On the other hand, chronological indications provided by the ancient authors about the Aeolian migration are sparse and often contradictory.

The first indications at our disposal are the generations mentioned for the leaders of the expeditions, but unforunately we have to note the imprecision of the sources: the migration is placed during the four generations following that of the Trojan War.[99] Some of them accept that the expedition took place a little after the fall of Troy, since Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, is sometimes represented as the leader of the colonisation; however, he is never credited with the foundation of the cities of continental Aeolis. Others place it at the time of Penthilus, Echelaus (or Archelaus) or Gras, who in general disembark on Lesbos. According to a few authors, the latter two heroes had arrived respectively in Cyzicene and continental Aeolis. It is probable that each author with his mention of a generation contains some truth, for such a migratory movement could have extended over several generations. Moreover, this idea is explicit in Demon (*FGrHist* 327 F 17) and Strabo (13. 1. 3).[100]

A few texts give a more precise date.[101] Strabo (9. 2. 3) explains that the Aeolian expedition was already being prepared in Aulis at the time of the arrival of the Boeotians in Boeotia. Yet we know that this last event took place some 60 years after the fall of Troy.[102] According to Strabo (13. 1. 3), the Aeolian colonisation is four generations earlier than the Ionian. Ps.-Herodotus (*The Life of Homer* 38) lists a series of time limits between the foundation of some Aeolian

[97] Cassola 1957, 76–9; Sakellariou 1958, 227–31, 234; Bérard 1959, 6–7; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 441–5.
[98] Pindar *Nemeans* 11. 43–47 and *scholia*; Menecles of Barka *FGrHist* 270 F 10.
[99] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 416–7.
[100] See also Pausanias 3. 2. 1; Tzetzes *ad Alex.* 1374.
[101] Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 417–20.
[102] Thucydides 1. 12. 3.

cities: the foundation of those on Lesbos took place 130 years after the Trojan War; Cyme of Aeolis was created 20 years after that, and Smyrna was founded 18 years later still by the Cymeans. Eusebius of Caesarea (*Chronicle-Canon* 69 Helm²) offers dates for the foundations of Cyme and Myrina: 1046 and 1036 B.C. respectively. Let us remember that, after having colonised Smyrna, the Aeolians were driven away from it by the Ionians of Colophon.[103] As is to be expected, the attempts at absolute dating comply with the information provided by the generations.

The different generations probably reflect the survival of local traditions which have preserved the memory of migration, which started a little after the fall of Troy and took place in several stages. Thanks to its geographical position, the island of Lesbos was, undoubtedly, one of the first destinations, in spite of Strabo's opinion that the migration passed through Thrace and Cyzicene. A number of indications seem to support the existence of a Lesbian tradition which has registered the Aeolians stopping on the island at the beginning of the migratory movement. This would be the legendary arrival of Penthilus. What followed was the occupation of the Anatolian coast, but spreading over several generations—those of Echelaus and Gras in the tradition. The modesty of the numerous Aeolian cities has ensured that local traditions escaped systematisation for propaganda purposes, in contrast with the Athenian version of Ionian migration. It is possible to detect only one single sketchy version, as always the work of later authors, which is linked to an attempt to integrate episodes of the Aeolian migration into a larger chronological scheme, expressed in absolute dates and containing such events as the fall of Troy, the return of the Heraclidae and the Ionian migration. However, even in this case, the early start to Aeolian migration and its long duration are always evident.

Having said that, archaeology provides an image which is quite distant from that achieved as a result of the analysis of the tradition. A very small quantity of Mycenaean pottery—always intrusive—has been found in Lesbos, Smyrna, Çerkes, Panaztepe, Elaia and Pitane,[104] but not a single site has yielded LH IIIC or Submycenaean pottery, except for one LH IIIC fragment at Larissa and

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[103] Mimnermos F 10 West; Herodotus 1. 150; Pausanias 7. 5. 1.

[104] Buchholz 1975, 123–7, 135–7; Mee 1978, 125, 127, 142–4; Mitchell 1990, 95.

one LH IIIC vase at Pitane.[105] The absence of late Mycenaean pottery contradicts the high date which the tradition attributes to the beginning of the migration. The first attestations of Greek pottery are actually no earlier than the Protogeometric. A few fragments have been found on Lesbos next to abundant local monochrome pottery, inside and underneath the first apsidal building at Antissa, whose construction goes back to the Geometric period. One fragment of an Attic Protogeometric skyphos is said to come from the surrounding area of Mytilene.[106] In Smyrna a stratum characterised only by monochrome pottery precedes that which has yielded Protogeometric. In this last have been distinguished three habitation levels where Protogeometric pottery—of local manufacture but sometimes showing Attic influence—appears progressively next to the local monochrome pottery. The two oldest have yielded very little local Protogeometric, but in the third, which belongs to a small oval house of mud brick, Late Protogeometric pottery becomes almost as common as local pottery.[107] Finally, Protogeometric fragments have also been found in Cyme, while one Protogeomteric amphora was found in the Archaic necropolis of Pitane.[108]

Thus, we notice that the first indications which could possibly support the arrival of the newcomers are neither numerous nor pertinent, and are never earlier than the Protogeometric. The only significant pieces of evidence—those of Antissa and Smyrna—show in addition that Greek pottery had been introduced gradually alongside local pottery and that it became significant only in the second half of the 10th century B.C. The Aeolian migration may appear in the tradition as a movement of populations which stretched over a long period of time, but in actual fact our knowledge seems to indicate that its beginnings were very slow and late, since only a few Aeolian settlements were affected in the 10th century B.C., and it is probable that there was often some fusion between the immigrants and the local peoples.

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[105] Mee 1978, 132, 143.
[106] Desborough 1952, 81, 217, 323.
[107] Desborough 1972, 183–4; Akurgal 1983, 15–22; Lemos 2002, 148.
[108] Mitchell 1985, 80; *Fasti Archaeologici* 17 (1962) 159 no. 2226.

Dorian Migration

The Lacedaemonian settlements at Melos, Thera and Crete reported by the tradition probably reflect Spartan colonisation realised only in the 8th century B.C.[109] What does it mean for the settlements in the Aegean South-East which, at first sight, appear to be the outcome of a migratory movement crossing the Aegean? First of all, unlike the preceding ones, Dorian colonisation is not represented as a single, large enterprise. It is only in the late authors, such as Strabo and Conon, that we can detect an attempt at systematisation which makes the colonisation of Crete and that of Rhodes stages in the same expedition, led by Althaemenes and taking place at the same time as the Ionian colonisation of the Codridae. In addition, except for Cnidus founded by the Laconians, the other Dorian colonies are never attributed to the Lacedaemonians. Their colonists are in general Argives, sometimes Troezenians, Epidaurians or Megarians.

With regard to Rhodes and Cos, the legends of Dorian foundations compete with those mentioning the Heraclidae: Tlepolemus, a son of Heracles coming from Argos, founded Rhodes a little before the Trojan War, while Pheidippus and Antiphus, grandsons of Heracles, are probably the founders of Cos.[110] But the fact that these heroes are Heraclidae does not necessarily mean a connexion with the Dorians, because Heracles was originally a Mycenaean hero. Their presence on Rhodes and Cos at the time of the Trojan War could, therefore, reflect the arrival on these islands at the beginning of LH IIIC of new populations originating mainly from the Peloponnese—an arrival which has been indicated by the archaeological evidence.[111]

However, the Mycenaean sites on Rhodes and Cos were abandoned at the end of LH IIIC. The first tombs of Ialysus and Camirus later than the Mycenaean period do not predate the Late Protogeometric, *i.e.* the second half of the 10th century B.C., while, with the exception of a few Mycenaean fragments, the most ancient archaeological remains from Lindus also belong to this time.[112] At Serraglio

[109] Brillante 1983; Malkin 1993; 1994, 67–114. For the Melian colonisation of Cryassus, see Malkin 1994, 76, 81.

[110] *Iliad* 2. 653–667, 676–679. See Prinz 1979, 78–97.

[111] Cavanagh and Mee 1978; Benzi 1982; 1992, 227–405, 412–9; Macdonald 1986; Vanschoonwinkel forthcoming.

[112] Desborough 1952, 225–32; 1972, 177–8; Papapostolou 1968, 81–4; Vanschoonwinkel forthcoming; Lemos 2002, 182.

on Cos, from the Late Protogeometric onward, a necropolis occupies the place of the Mycenaean settlement.[113] The Protogeometric vases found on Cos and Rhodes show a close stylistic similarity and testify to a number of external influences, first of all Athenian and Argive; the pins with globular head and the inhumations in cists point towards Argolis.[114]

The archaeological evidence reveals clearly a hiatus between the Mycenaean period and the first attestations of later date. It is legitimate to assume, therefore, the coming of immigrants and, as several characteristics of the Protogeometric remains suggest an incontestable link with Argolis, are we not to see in them indications of the legendary arrival of Argives on Rhodes and of Epidaurians on Cos—an arrival which we would then have to place at the end of the 10th century B.C.?

On the mainland the Mycenaean necropolis of Müskebi was abandoned in LH IIIC.[115] As for Cnidus and Halicarnassus, we know only that the first site has furnished Mycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric fragments,[116] and that the second has provided nothing from this period. However, Submycenaean and Protogeometric vases were found in the necropolis of Assarlik which remained in use until the Geometric period, and Late Protogeometric vases appeared in a tomb at Dirmil—two sites on the peninsula of Halicarnassus. However, the practice of cremation and the types of tomb used could not have been introduced by the Peloponnesians, whilst the best parallels for the pottery from Dirmil come from Miletus.[117] The excavations of Iasus have not been able to determine when Mycenaean habitation came to an end, but the establishment on top of its ruins of a necropolis where the burials gifts comprise indigenous pottery and Protogeometric and Early Geometric vases, suggests the settling of new populations next to a local community.[118] We must also note

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[113] Desborough 1952, 222–4; 1972, 172–6; Morricone 1972/73, 155–84, 394–6; Vanschoonwinkel forthcoming; Lemos 2002, 180–2.

[114] Snodgrass 1971, 75–6, 95, 163, 242; Desborough 1952, 224, 232; 1982, 173–4, 176–8; Vanschoonwinkel forthcoming; Lemos 2002, 108, 208–11.

[115] Boysal 1969, 3–29; Mee 1978, 137–42.

[116] Mee 1978, 133; Cook and Blackman 1971, 53; Mitchell and McNicoll 1979, 83. The localisation of Cnidus at Tekir before the 4th century seems today certain (Cook and Blackman 1971, 53; Demand 1989; Mitchell 1990, 109).

[117] Boysal 1967, 43–5; Desborough 1972, 180–3; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 166–7; Lemos 2002, 182–3.

[118] Levi 1969–70, 464–81; Berti 1993, 232–6.

the presence of Submycenaean vases in the indigenous necropoleis of Çömlekçi which were abandoned at the very beginning of the Protogeometric.

To conclude, there is, overall, an undeniable agreement of the traditional evidence and archaeological data indicating the establishment of Greeks on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor during the Dark Age (see Table). However, certain claims made in the literary tradition have to be questioned rigorously. It is admittedly quite possible to detect in it elements of the historical reality of the migrations, but we can hardly give credit to those pieces of information which represent them as enterprises undertaken at one specific moment by a single metropolis. This applies in particular to the Athenian and Achaean versions of the Ionian migration, which are a result of manipulations often made for propagandist purposes. In reality, what are commonly called the Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian migrations are a set of migratory movements composed of populations of different geographical origins from almost all regions of mainland Greece. Today we talk more precisely about Greek migrations to Aeolis, Ionia and Doris. Moreover, even if it is true that the Thessalians, Boeotians and Locrians seem to have participated in larger numbers in the so-called Aeolian migration, the distinction between that and the Ionian is not always very strict, except for their destination.[120]

This varied migratory movement was directed to Asia Minor, a region which was not unknown to the Greeks, the Mycenaeans having established themselves there in several places during the Bronze Age. However, none of the sites offers clear evidence for continuity of occupation from the Mycenaean period to the Dark Age. For this reason, it is justifiable to detect the arrival of the first groups of immigrants above all in the appearance of Protogeometric, more rarely Submycenaean, pottery on sites some of which had been previously occupied by Mycenaeans and others hitherto unoccupied. However, it is appropriate to remember how scant is the Submycenaean and Protogeometric archaeological material. It consists almost exclusively of pottery, which is also not very abundant, while this period has provided virtually no architectural remains. It is the

[119] Forsdyke 1925, 211–3; Mellink 1970, 165–6; Boysal 1967, 39–43; 1969, 29–31; Özgünel 1996, 147–50.

[120] Cassola 1957, 82–3; Sakellariou 1958, 4–5.

Legends in Written Sources and Archaeological Evidence

ca. 1090 *ca.* 1075 *ca.* 1025

SITES	LEGENDS	LH IIIA–B	LH IIIC	SM	PG
Rhodes: Ialysus	Argives	▲ ●	▲ ●		●
Camirus	Argives	●	●		x ●
Lindus	Argives	▲			▲
Cos	Epidaurians	▲ ●	▲ ●		●
Cnidus	Lacedaemonians	▲	?		▲
Assarlik				●	●
Müskebi		●	●		
Dirmil					●
Halicarnassus	Anthes				
Çömlekçi				●	
Iasus	Argives	▲	▲	?	●
Mylasa		x			
Stratonicaea			●?	●?	
Kömüradasi		▲			●
Didyma		x			
Miletus	Neleus	▲ ●	▲ ●	▲	▲
Heracleae					
Myous	Kydrelus or Kyaretus				
Priene	Aipytus				
Magnesia					
Melie					▲ ●
Kusadasi/Pygela		▲			▲
Ephesus	Androclus	▲ ●	▲	▲	▲
Klaros					▲
Colophon	Andraemon or Damasichton and Promethus	●?	●?		
Lebedus	Andropompus or Andraemon				
Teos	Athamas, then Nauklus or Damasus and Nauklus				▲
Erythrae	Knopus or Kleopus	x			
Mordogan (Boutheia?)					x
Clazomenae	Paralus or Parphorus	▲	▲		▲
Phocaea	Philogenes (and Damon)				▲
Samos: Heraeon	(Tembrion), Procles	▲ ●		x	▲
Pythagoreion	(Tembrion), Procles				x
Chios: Emporio	Egertius; Oinopion and Amphiklus	x ●	▲		

Table (*cont.*)

ca. 1090 *ca.* 1075 *ca.* 1025

SITES	LEGENDS	LH IIIA–B	LH IIIC	SM	PG
Lesbos: Mytilene	not associated with a city:				x?
Antissa	Orestes, Penthilus, Echelaus	▲			▲
Pyrrha	(or Archelaus), or Gras				
Eresus					
Arisba					
Tenedos	Peisander and Orestes				
Hecatonnesoi					
Smyrna		▲		mono.	▲
Temnos					
Myrina					
Gryneion					
Aegae					
Larissa on Hermos			x		
Çerkes		●			
Neon Teichos					
Cyme	Cleues and Malaus				▲
Panaztepe		▲ ●			
Pitane		▲	●		●
Aegiroessa/Elaia		x			
Cilla					
Notion					

Key: ▲ – settlement; ● – burial; x – material.

legendary texts which allow us to see in these archaeological traces the arrival of Greek population, but the traces indicate that those who settled in the different sites of Anatolia were not numerous. Contrary to the impression given by the traditional dates of the migrations or the foundations of cities, the migratory process was neither momentary nor of short duration. The lowest dates could at best reflect the beginning of the migratory movement, because the available archaeological evidence is in fact very rarely earlier than the 10th century B.C. With the exception of a few sites, such as Miletus or Ephesus, where some Submycenaean pottery has been found, the majority have yielded only Protogeometric pottery, in most cases Late Protogeometric. It emerges from this that the Greek migrations to Asia Minor were spread over time, with a very modest beginning at the end of the 11th century B.C. and a more considerable devel-

opment during the 10th century, which continued later. Unfortunately, the mythical/legendary and archaeological testimony, which is all that there is at the disposal of the historian for this period, does not permit us to examine the socio-political organisation of these small communities (which sometimes settled beside indigenous populations, as at Smyrna) in the 10th century B.C.[121]

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[121] Thomas and Conant 1999, 80–3 give the beginnings of an answer.

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THE PHOENICIANS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. BETWEEN EXPANSION AND COLONISATION: A NON-GREEK MODEL OF OVERSEAS SETTLEMENT AND PRESENCE

Hans Georg Niemeyer

To insert a chapter on Phoenician expansion into a history of Greek colonisation may, perhaps, require a few words of explanation. In the author's mind, the reason for it is twofold: first there is the chronological sequence of the two movements, the Phoenician expansion beginning at least two centuries earlier; secondly, as he himself has indicated several times,[1] there is an intrinsic difference between Phoenician expansion and Greek colonisation, which is due partly to the different conditions and purposes prevailing, partly to the respective historical settings.

Before entering upon the subject matter, a particular impediment faced by Phoenician studies in general should be mentioned: it is the entirely insufficient and distorted presentation of most aspects of Phoenician civilisation in the written tradition of antiquity. The reasons for this are what M. Sznycer once rightly called the two rocks (*écueils*) on which tradition about the Phoenicians had 'shattered':[2] neither the historiographers of classical, *i.e.* Graeco-Roman antiquity nor the authors of the Old Testament—still our two main sources—ever had a specific interest in reporting on Phoenician matters correctly and in detail. On the contrary, the Phoenicians were always just 'the others', often enough the enemy. And springing from that attitude even modern historiography has not done too much to make good the deficiencies in our general knowledge of Phoenician history. It is, therefore, all the more important to look at the archaeological evidence, but, at the same time, any statements on Phoenician matters

[1] Niemeyer 1984, esp. 29, 48–62; 1988; 1990a; 1995a.

[2] In his contribution to the 'IIe Congrès international d'étude des cultures de la Mediterranée occidentale' at Algiers in 1976. Unfortunately, the proceedings of the Congress have never been published. I refer to a typescript distributed to participants.

run the risk of having to be modified on account of new archaeological discoveries or by updated analysis of the evidence to hand and its interpretation.

The Late Bronze Age: Antecedents and Tradition

During the Late Bronze Age in the Syrian half of the fertile crescent the existence of a mosaic of greater or lesser city-states can be assumed.[3] Placed between the empires of Hatti, Mitanni, Assur and Egypt, this group of political units comprised the western- and northern-Semitic situated along the Levantine coast. Both structurally and ethnically these may well be regarded as immediate predecessors of the Phoenician city-states of the Iron Age, even if they are generally called Canaanite, making use of the name given by the contemporary ancient Near Eastern, Egyptian and Hebrew civilisations.[4]

As is accepted almost unanimously, a crisis commonly (even if, perhaps, not quite correctly) described as the 'Sea Peoples' catastrophe' marks the end of the Bronze Age *koine* in the eastern Mediterranean, the downfall of a prospering world in the Aegean as well as in Anatolia and on the Levantine coast. Even Egypt was finally affected.[5] The following period of decline, impoverishment and—as far as the Aegean is concerned—illiteracy has long been called the 'Dark Age' and has been seen mainly as resulting from that general upheaval.[6] However, in the archaeology of the Near East this 'Dark Age' currently seems to be undergoing a re-evaluation. Overall the disruption is considered to have been less clear-cut and its length shorter, as has recently been stated.[7] This seems to be particularly true for Cyprus and the Phoenician cities on the Levantine coast (Fig. 1). They, apparently, did not suffer too much

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[3] Kuhrt 1995 I, 303.

[4] See Lipinski 1992, *s.v.* Canaan (G. Bunnens).

[5] Kuhrt 1995 II, 385–400 (a general overview). The best access to the vast amount of literature is through: Lehmann 1985; Thomas 1987; Ward and Joukowski 1992; Noort 1994; Helck 1995. A new assessment of the event and its repercussions is due to a University Museum Symposium at Philadelphia in 1999, see Oren 2000.

[6] Still valid: Snodgrass 1971. See, more recently, the contributions to the Zwettl-Symposium 1980 (in Deger-Jalkotzy 1983).

[7] Mazzoni 1997, 307–8. For Anatolia, see Bartl 1997.

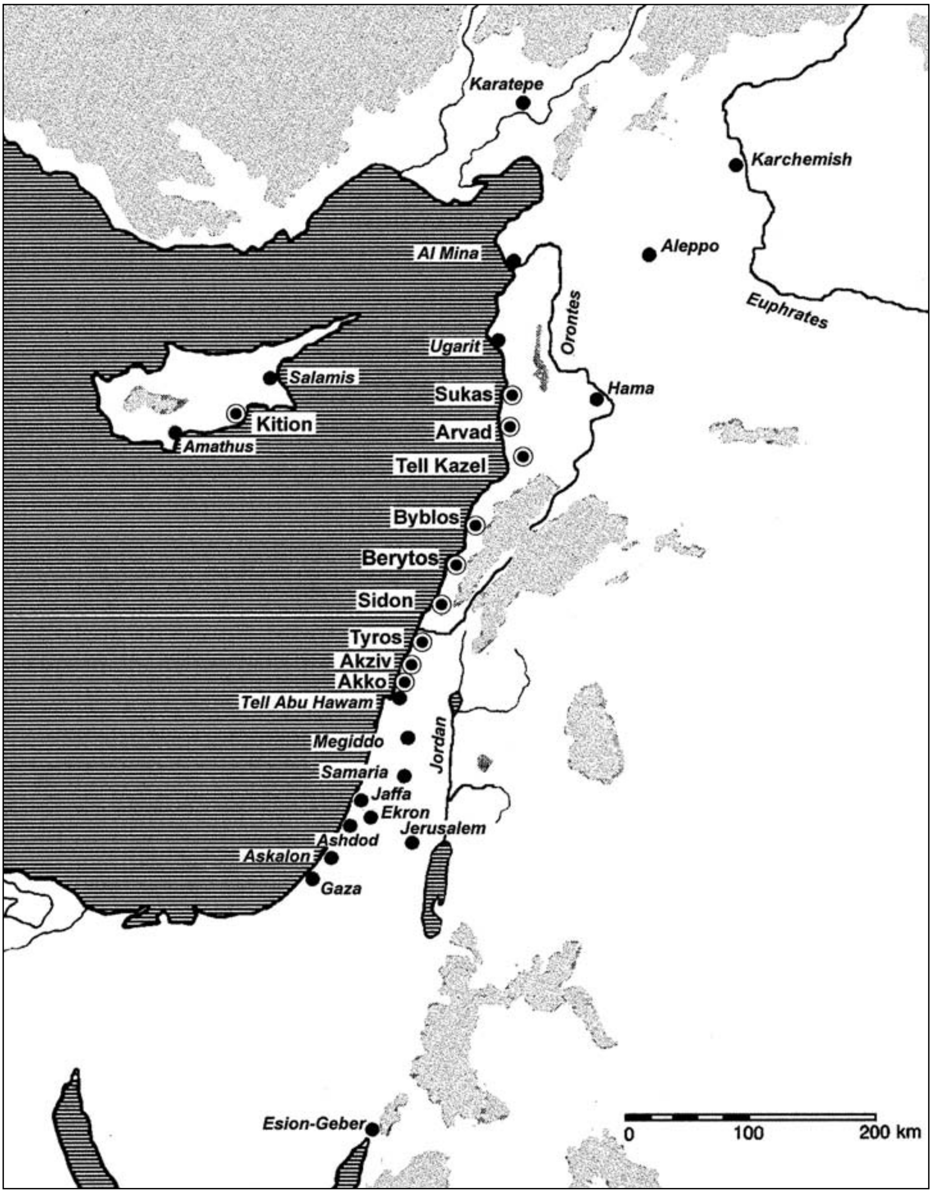

Fig. 1. The Mediterranean Levant. Phoenician city-states (⊙) and other important towns or archaeological sites of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (after Niemeyer 1999).

from the revolutionary or disastrous events, even if this is not stated explicitly in written records or particularly well documented by archaeological evidence. But there exists sufficient secondary evidence, of which the well-known report of Wen-Amun is but one.[8] In recent research one is consequently of the opinion that for reasons of historical probability the Phoenician core region between Arwad and Akko may largely have been spared from any severe destruction.[9]

The literary records, however, are not entirely consistent. Justinus (18. 3. 5), for instance, relates a 'founding' of Tyre by the neighbouring (and, later, always competing) Sidon in the year 1184 B.C., although in fact the city of Tyre was very much older. Considering the recent excavation results in the centre of this city, E. Gubel has proposed as an explanation that it must have suffered at least a short period of economic decline, and that even parts of its population may have been expelled from the city's island to the mainland (to Ushu/Palaetyros?).[10] Nevertheless, there is no doubt that in the two centuries following the 'Sea Peoples' catastrophe' Sidon and other Phoenician city-states on the Levantine coast—also Tyre, although perhaps with a certain delay—were soon prospering again.

The Expansion in the Mediterranean

According to literary sources, Phoenician expansion (Fig. 2) is an historical process which started at the end of the 2nd millennium and continued into the early centuries of the 1st. The particular historical setting in the eastern Mediterranean accounts for this phenomenon whose characteristic features are dealt with here. Starting at the dawn of European history, it exhibits many traits of experimentation, as is natural in a pioneering phase: after the breakdown of the Bronze Age world and its well-established trading networks, the once prospering Phoenician city-states of the Levantine coast had either to reopen the old trans-Mediterranean trade routes or look for new resources in order to maintain their standard of living. Apparently they did both. Above all it was felt necessary to obtain

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[8] Bunnens 1978. See also Röllig 1982, 18–9. For Cyprus *cf.* Karageorghis 2000. I am indebted to the author for sending me a copy of the proofs.

[9] See in general Röllig 1982. For Akko, see Lipinski 1992, 13 *s.v.* (A. Hermary).

[10] Gubel 1994, 341–2; Röllig 1982, 18.

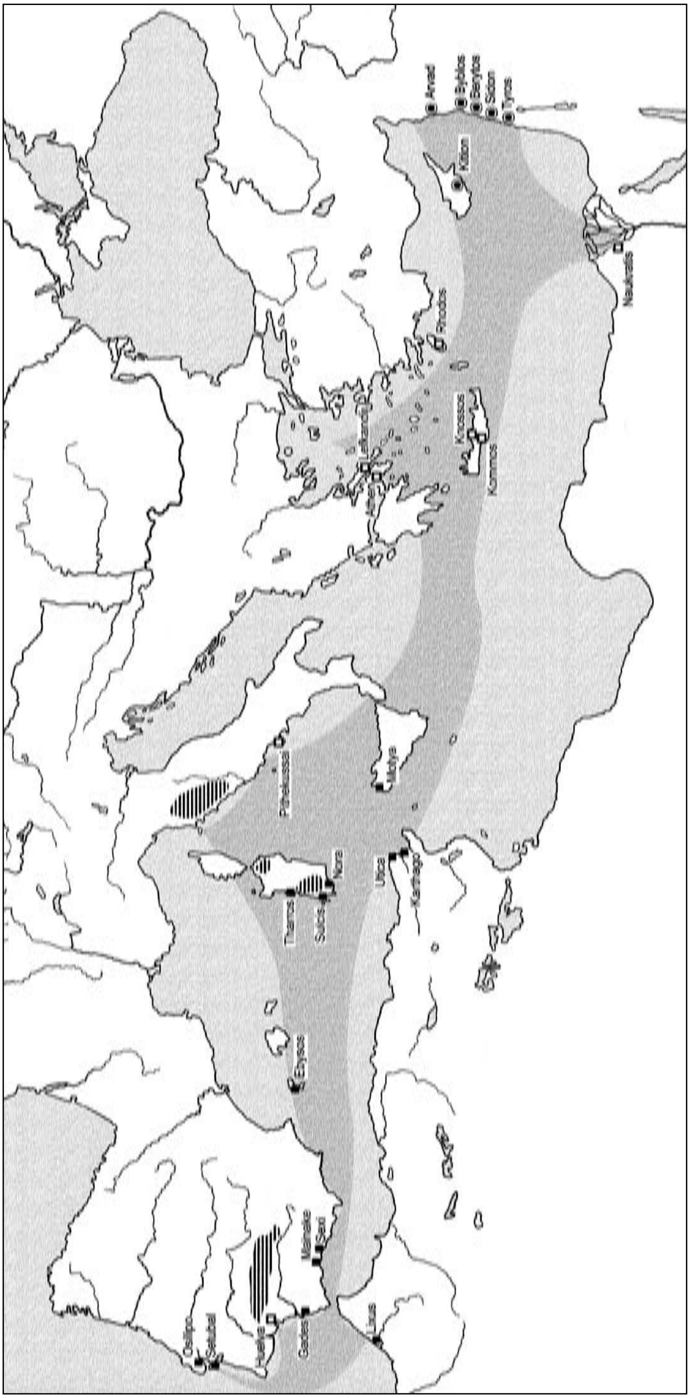

Fig. 2. Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean. Main metalliferous areas indicated by horizontal hatching (after Niemeyer 1999).

metals as the raw material for their own highly developed metal industry. At the same time metals were required for supply to the great Mesopotamian power of Assyria, for which the Phoenicians served as middlemen.

Before discussing this in more detail, a short inspection of the historical and archaeological evidence in the Mediterranean is indispensible. Three general remarks may serve as an introduction:

- As has already been remarked, Phoenician expansion was not a movement to lessen the pressure of overpopulation, as was so often the case with Greek colonisation. And insofar as that was so, Phoenician expansion followed a non-Greek model.
- There are good reasons to assume that expansion to the West used old routes of the Late Bronze Age. Indeed, these may never have been entirely forgotten. Information and tales about practicable trans-Mediterranean East-West sea routes would have been passed on from generation to generation amongst sailors, skippers and merchants involved in overseas trade.
- It is the particular permanence of the Phoenicians' corporate and cultural identity, an identity encompassing the Late Bronze Age as well as the Early Iron Age, *viz.* the late 2nd and the early 1st millennium B.C., that distinguished this expansion to the West and shaped its bearing on European history. The eminent rôle played by the Phoenician city-states in the dissemination of urban civilisation, in the propagation of technical innovations and in the distribution of new lifestyle paradigms, manifest after the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, can only be understood by taking this into account.

In dealing with the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean, the written reports from the neighbouring cultures of the Graeco-Roman world[11] are indispensable. In fact, they are the only textual documents that have come down to us. Thus it is to them that we have to refer when we want to distinguish the specific character of the expansion into the Mediterranean and to evaluate the Phoenician impact on Mediterranean civilisations. This remains valid even if the Classical sources—and this is a further lack of precision hindering our work—use the Greek term *Phoinikes* for people obviously from many different

[11] Bunnens 1979, *passim*; Mazza *et al.* 1988.

Levantine trading towns and ports, and applied this rather general term to all those 'tricky merchants from the Near East'.[12]

The oldest reports about Phoenicians appearing outside their home towns—besides the luxury articles and trading goods transmitted by them—can be found in the historical books of the Bible and in the Homeric epic poems.[13] Here Phoenicians are regarded as well-versed specialists who, for example, are involved in the building of the temple and palace of Solomon (I Kings 5:32; 7:3–51; II Chronicles 2:6 x) or serve as experienced crew members on his ships (I Kings 9:27). The skilled Sidonian fabric-weavers and dyers brought by Paris to the court of his father in Troy fall into the same category (*Il.* 6. 288–295); likewise, the Gephyraeans in Athens, whose Phoenician origin and rôle in the transmission of the alphabet to the Greeks Herodotus himself claims to have discovered (5. 57–58). According to their own tradition they came from Euboean Eretria. Hardly by coincidence this is well matched by the Euboeans' prominent rôle in the transmission of the Phoenician alphabet to the Greeks.[14]

As far as the steadily increasing archaeological evidence is concerned, the numerous Near Eastern imports among the finds in Eretria and Lefkandi[15] have to be listed in first place. Not without reason, the so-called Hero's Tomb at Lefkandi has been identified as that of a Phoenician aristocrat.[16] The number of Near Eastern luxury imports reaching the Aegean during the 'Dark Age' steadily increases in the 10th–9th centuries.[17] They are found especially in the richly furnished graves of the aristocracy, later in sanctuaries as well.[18] As time proceeds, the workshops of Oriental craftsmen (ivory carvers, goldsmiths, metal artists, perfume makers, etc.) are apparently established in the more important Greek communities such as Eretria/Lefkandi, in Knossos and other places on Crete and maybe also on Samos(?) and in Athens, thus becoming real *enoikismoi* in

[12] I cannot address here this problem which has been treated repeatedly during the last decade. For further references, see Pastor Borgoñón 1990; Mocatti 1993.

[13] See Latacz 1990.

[14] Röllig 1990, 92; Burkert 1992, 25–40.

[15] Coldstream 1982.

[16] Gauer 1996, 516.

[17] See the updated discussion and bibliography in Bouzek 1997, 160–8; *cf.* 175. See also Niemeyer 2000 for full references.

[18] Strøm 1992.

foreign surroundings.[19] The Phoenician sanctuary of Kommos on the southern coast of Crete, identified as such by its shrine with *baityloi* as cult idols, is an unmistakable sign of the rank as well as the duration of such immigrant communities. The numerous high quality Near Eastern offerings found in the recent excavations in the Idaean Cave on Crete have to be seen in this context.[20]

However, Phoenician colonisation, *i.e.* the founding of larger, permanent, more or less independent but at the same time homogeneous 'colonies' of Oriental settlers, which, some 150 years ago, Movers believed to have existed in the Aegean,[21] did not happen. All the archaeological and literary evidence (and much more than could be cited here) may well serve and be explained as vestiges resonant of the expanding and increasing activities of migrating traders and prospectors, of resident shipping agents and immigrant artisans proceeding from the Phoenician cities or, more generally speaking, from the East; in short, of those 'first merchant venturers' the late William Culican spoke about unerringly.[22] They mark the first stage of expansion, where here and there small permanent groups of resident 'Phoenician foreigners' might have formed an enclave, *enoikismos* as it is most commonly called, within proto-urban or even urban agglomerations. This expansion was instrumental for further development in the Aegean in forming the Orientalising period, and therewith the prelude to the Archaic period. As has correctly been emphasised,[23] its impact was distinguished by many revolutionary features.

In the central Mediterranean the impact which leads to another Orientalising horizon may readily be observed in the early 1st millennium. Its origins are probably manifold. On the one hand there are the Phoenician settlements founded on Sardinia around the middle and in the second half of the 8th century B.C. Most probably, they continued older 'precolonial' trade relations with the cities of the Levant, which had been established because the island was par-

[19] Niemeyer 1984, 20–1. Impotant evidence collected by Maass 1993, 92; Kourou and Grammatikaki 1998, esp. 248–9. See also de Polignac 1994, 6–7.

[20] Shaw and Shaw 1993; Shaw 1998; *cf.* de Polignac 1999, 6–7.

[21] Movers 1850, 246–86. On this problem, see the well-balanced reassessment by Malkin 1994, 93–4.

[22] This striking name is taken from the title of the inspiring book by W. Culican: *The First Merchant Venturers. The Ancient Levant in History and Commerce* (London 1966).

[23] Burkert 1992.

ticularly rich in ores.[24] An intensive Bronze Age trade in copper ore between the East and the Aegean on the one part and Sardinia on the other is well attested by archaeological finds.[25] On the other hand, an early expansion of Phoenician trade in luxury goods into northern Etruria can be supposed. Again, the aim was to obtain essential raw materials in exchange: silver deposits seem to have played an important part.[26] One of the obviously well-trodden trade routes is marked by finds from about the same time in the Oenotrian necropolis of Macchiabate (Francavilla Marittima) on the southern coast of Calabria, as well as by evidence of a Near Eastern presence (merchants or metallurgists?) in the form of an *enoikismos* in the Euboean settlement Pithekoussai.[27] It has recently been suggested that another such route might have ended in the Gulf of Porto Conte on the north-western edge of Sardinia.[28]

Of course, in this particular context, the very important part played by the Greeks should not be underestimated. But, because they were subject to the impact of the Near East somewhat before their expansion to the West began, they too became mediators of the Orientalising influence on the Apennine peninsula. Over the course of time, scholars have shifted the balance for Orientalising influences to and fro between Greeks and Phoenicians. In our case the impact of Greek traders and settlers can be considered as secondary to Phoenician expansion.[29]

While a fairly consistent picture seems to emerge so far, some problems arise when we attempt to fit in the written sources about the oldest Phoenician settlements in the Far West: according to Velleius Paterculus (*Hist. Rom.* 1. 2. 1–3), Gades (modern Cádiz) was founded in the year 1104/3, Utica a few years later. Pliny the Elder records the year 1101 for Utica (*NH* 16. 216), and elsewhere (*NH* 19. 63) implies an even earlier foundation date for Lixus on the Atlantic coast of Morocco: its temple of Heracles/Melcart is said to be 'somewhat older than that of Gades'. However, archaeological

[24] Bartoloni 1990, 161–7; Bernardini 1993, 39.
[25] Matthäus 1989; Muhly *et al.* 1988.
[26] Markoe 1992; 1996.
[27] Niemeyer 1984, 14–5; Ridgway 1992, 110–8.
[28] Ridgway 1998; *cf.* Niemeyer 1999, 162.
[29] Rathje 1979; Ridgway 1992, 109–11. On patterns of contact between neighbouring civilisations, see Coldstream 1993.

study has not yet confirmed the given dates in any of these three cases,[30] thereby leaving a time gap of some 300 years. Permanent Phoenician settlements can only be spoken of from the 8th century onward. But the reports of ancient authors can hardly have been works of their imagination.[31] Rather, they seem to refer to that first stage, in which trade relations and agreements quite certainly existed, which was kept in mind and could influence future developments. Some trading posts of the *enoikismos* or *fondaco* kind would have been established at this time. Situated near the El Dorado of metals in the Far West, the final goal of Phoenician expansion, they must have attracted special attention at the time, even more so for being at a great distance. The Greek historiographers apparently could not classify them except within their own conceptual system of metropolis and *apoikia*.

On the Iberian Peninsula (Fig. 3), the easily recognisable focal point of Phoenician expansion according to both written sources and archaeological finds, there are particular circumstances compared with Greece and Italy: in the south-west, the rich ore deposits in the Rio Tinto area and in the Sierra Morena, exploited since the Copper Age, are the dominant factor for cultural and economic development.[32] Towards the end of the Spanish Bronze Age, *i.e.* around the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., these formed the basis on which what the Phoenicians (and later the Greeks) would know as the kingdom of Tartessos, labelled by biblical sources as Tarshish, arose.[33] Trade relations must already have reached a very great intensity by the early part of the 1st millennium, as has been explained above. Especially spectacular were the triennial expeditions to Tarshish, joint ventures by kings Hiram of Tyre and Solomon (I Kings 10:22; Ezekiel 27:12), aimed at these ore deposits.[34]

Of the many corresponding archaeological finds uncovered during the last decades,[35] only a few can be referred to. The excava-

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[30] The radiocarbon dates compiled by Aubet (1994, 317–23) begin early in the 8th century B.C. but have to be taken with care, as the author herself explicitly admits (1994, 321). Likewise, the Spanish excavation at Lixus, which has recently been resumed by the University of Valencia, does not produce any material earlier than the late 8th century B.C. (personal communication by F. Gómez Bellard).

[31] Niemeyer 1981; Moscati 1989, 49–51; Aubet 1994, 174–9.

[32] Blanco Freijeiro and Rothenberg 1981; Domergue 1987; Fernández Jurado 1989.

[33] Koch 1984; Niemeyer 1988.

[34] Koch 1984, 47–55, 72–8.

[35] Blázquez 1975 *passim*; see the updated bibliography in Aubet 1994.

Fig. 3. The Iberian Peninsula and early Phoenician settlements on the coast (selected, after Pellicer Catalán 1996a): 1. Huelva ('capital' of Tartessos?); 2. Gades; 3. Torre de Doña Blanca; 4. Calpe (Gibraltar); 5. Cerrod del Prado; 6. Cero del Villar (Guadalhorce); 7. Mainake (Toscanos); 8. Morro de Mezquitilla; 9. Sexi (Almuñécar); 10. Selambina (Peñón de Salobreña); 11. Abdera (Cerro de Montecristo); 12. Baria (Villaricos); 13. Dunas de Guardamar/La Fonteta; 14. Sa Caleta; 15. Scallabis (Alcoçova de Santarem); 16. Olisipo (Sé de Lisboa); 17. Setubal; 18. Lixus.

tions at Huelva in the 1970s and 1980s are of particular significance. Here, in the estuary of the most important rivers flowing through the mining areas, the Odiel and Rio Tinto, the existence can almost certainly be assumed of an early Phoenician *enoikismos* of amazing size and concomitant cultural importance, situated within what seems to have been a true 'port-of-trade' (in K. Polanyi's sense).[36] An especially significant indication of its cultural impact on the surrounding regions is provided by stelai from the south-west of the Peninsula decorated with carvings and reliefs depicting the personal possessions of the deceased—chariots with spoked wheels, weapons and mirrors, combs etc.—of Near Eastern origin.[37] The spread of such stelai is, not insignificantly, almost equal to that of certain 'Tartessian' written records—evidence of another facet of successful acculturation under way.[38] Important finds from the interior may be interpreted in this same context[39], while others should be dated back to the Late Bronze Age, for example, an enigmatic Near Eastern cylinder-seal from Vélez-Málaga, 30km to the east of Málaga.[40] Already in the 2nd millennium B.C., there is evidence in Andalusia of transcultural contacts and exchanges between East and West, encompassing, for example, the Western civilisations of the so-called Atlantic Bronze Age and the Syrian Levant.[41]

The Phoenician Settlements on the Mediterranean Coast

The earliest settlements of the *enoikismos* type in the central and western Mediterranean could be explained as evidence of expansion of early Phoenician trade. The phase immediately following, with the continuance of expansion and trade bringing the establishment of permanent settlements, is not an historical event which started simultaneously throughout the Mediterranean. Nor can it be described uniformly. Rather it must be seen as a multifarious structural change taking place within a certain time frame.

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[36] Fernández Jurado *et al.* 1988–89; Pellicer Catalán 1996b.

[37] Niemeyer 1984, 82–3; Fernández Miranda and Olmos 1986, 97–103; Culican 1991, 513–7.

[38] See maps in Niemeyer 1984, 83, fig. 74; Untermann 1985, 8, map 6.

[39] Schauer 1983, 177–83. Almost as spectacular was the find of two MYC IIIA/IIIB sherds at Montoro in the upper Guadalquivir valley (Martin 1988).

[40] Niemeyer 1984, 8.

[41] See, most recently, Almagro Gorbea 1996.

Not until this second stage were further independent settlements created in foreign lands. These were not, in the strict sense, 'colonies', and they are, therefore, difficult to describe. Because of their special cultural features it is permissible to speak rather of 'factories'. Only in rare cases was their 'hinterland' politically or administratively a dependent territory, a *chora*, but the economic superiority of the newcomers made itself felt. So far, a satisfactory uniform model taking into account all archaeological and historical aspects has not been developed. The interpretative framework commonly used in modern writings on Greek and Roman colonisation is inapplicable to the Phoenicians.[42]

Individual settlements soon grew to be city-states in their own right. This is true, for instance, of the city of Kition on the south-eastern coast of Cyprus, probably the oldest among them according to archaeological finds.[43] It was built in the 9th century B.C. on top of a Late Bronze Age settlement, and belonged, to judge from its cultural features, to an eastern Phoenician *koine*.[44] Its particular importance in the early phase of expansion was occasioned by its incorporation into the older Phoenician-Euboean route of East Mediterranean long-distance trade, which can be traced from the early 9th century B.C., for example in the archaeological finds from Amathus. On this route Cretan Knossos was supplied with Cypro-Phoenician oil flasks and prefumes from *ca.* 800 B.C. onwards.[45]

Gades was without doubt the most important foundation in the Far West according to historical traditions as well as to archaeological evidence. Leaving aside the well-known chronological problems, it can be assumed that the town played a prominent part in this initial phase of the new development. The fact that later the Roman conquerors made it the capital of the *conventus Gaditanus* explicitly indicates its old urban rank.[46]

From the 8th to the middle of the 7th century most of the many smaller and larger settlements were being founded around the target areas of the expansion described above, as well as along the routes of the the long-distance trade from Mogador in the Far West

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[42] Niemeyer 1990a; 1993; *cf.* Niemeyer 1995a for the methodical aspects.
[43] Gjerstad 1979; see in general Lipinski 1992, 248–9 *s.v.* (M. Yon).
[44] Muhly 1985; Bikai 1992.
[45] Coldstream 1986; see also Matthäus 1998.
[46] Barcelò and Niemeyer 1998 (bibliography).

and the settlements on the Portuguese Atlantic coast[47] along the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula (Fig. 3) all the way to Sardinia, Sicily and Malta, and on the Mediterranean coast of North Africa. Some of them probably soon acquired an urban character—the walled Motya/M(w)tw' in the lagoon of Marsala off the western coast of Sicily, or Sulcis/Slky on the isthmus between the island of Sant'Antioco and the south-western edge of Sardinia.[48] Ebysos (Ibiza) too belonged to this category to judge by its later development (although the settlement had been considered a Carthaginian foundation, dated to the reported year of 654/53 B.C., until a few years ago on the basis of written sources [Diodorus 5. 16]). There is good archaeological evidence for a considerable earlier settlement on the island, founded as another station along the old East-West route by 'Western' Phoenicians coming from southern Spain.[49] Taking all of the foregoing into account, something akin to the establishment of a 'colonial empire' seems to have taken place. But once again modern political-historical terminology does not really account for what happened. The basic feature in the foundation of these settlements was orientation along the main trans-Mediterranean navigation routes. The following features in particular can be deduced as decisive for the choice of site:

- a reasonably compact settlement area within natural borders
- easy defensibility—such as on an exposed island or a spit of land jutting out into the sea
- convenient harbour facilities, as far as possible sheltered from the prevailing winds
- proximity of landmarks recognisable from afar as an aid to navigation (capes, mountains near the coast, etc.)
- open access to the near and far hinterland.

Significantly, these make Phoenician settlements subject to a more or less uniform and characteristic typology. They reproduce the settlement pattern of the Phoenician homeland on the Levantine coast,[50] and they fit with extreme facility into the well-known description given by Thucydides (6. 2. 6) of the old Phoenician settlements sit-

[47] Tavares 1993; Mayet and Tavares 1994; *cf.* Niemeyer 1992.
[48] Lipinski 1992, 301–3 *s.v.* Motyé (Falsone), 430 *s.v.* Sulcis (Uberti).
[49] Ramón 1992; Gómez Bellard 1993.
[50] Niemeyer 1990b, esp. p. 62; Lancel 1995, 374.

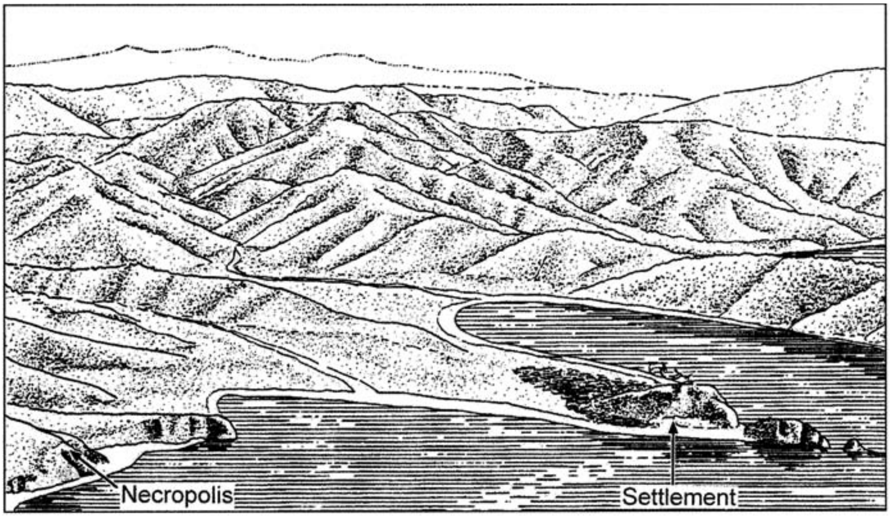

Fig. 4. Aerial view of Almuñécar (after Aubet 1994).

uated on capes and small islands along the Sicilian coast. In the Far West, Toscanos and Almuñécar (Fig. 4) may be seen as typical sites. This summary—owing to its structural difference Carthage has to be left aside at this point (see below)—shows to what extent early Phoenician expansion and the resultant settlements in the western Mediterranean aimed at and represented something dramatically different in purpose from Greek colonisation, which focused mainly on the acquisition of arable land. They may best be understood as resulting from an endeavour to institutionalise older trade routes and, within a changed political and strategical situation, to protect them against rival or even hostile powers—mainly the new Greek western colonisation movement.[51]

In this necessarily foreshortened overview of Phoenician expansion and settlement, who were the prime movers and what were the driving forces, who were the agents and supporting institutions? What were the causes of this extraordinary event which, at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., swept over the Mediterranean from the Levant to the Straits of Gibraltar, and even beyond?

For an answer we have to look back at the political structure of the old Phoenician city-states on the coast of the Levant and their

[51] Niemeyer 1984, 48–50.

poltical-economic conditions.[52] From written sources it has been deduced that at the head of each polity stood an hereditary monarch who concluded foreign treaties, conducted foreign policy, commanded the fleet and the armed forces and had the economic resources of his city-state at his disposal (I Kings 9:11–13). In addition to the king, a council, most likely of elders representing the citizenry, is mentioned in the Amarna letters as well as in the report of Wen-Amun (for Byblos).[53] Likewise, in the treaty between the Assyrian king, Assarhaddon, and Baal, king of Tyre—dated by most scholars to around 675 B.C.—the 'elders' and 'council' are also mentioned as an institution of the community.[54]

From this S.F. Bondi has plausibly concluded that the Phoenician city-states have to be regarded as 'palace-societies' well down to the time of Hiram I of Tyre.[55] Such complex palace-societies and their monarchs are to be held responsible not only for sending out trading expeditions but also for founding and supporting the first premanent trading posts and trading factories, *emporia* and *enoikismoi*, far overseas. These in turn are rooted in Bronze Age traditions in the same way as the urban palace-societies themselves. The executants of the first phase[56] were emissaries, agents and functionaries, and specialists like that other Hiram of Tyre, who built the Temple in Jerusalem and completed its furnishing (see above).

It is mainly where there is mention of Phoenicians or Sidonians in Homeric poems (*Il.* 23. 741–745; *Od.* 14. 287–300; 15. 415–484), that Bondi detected the first signs of the rise of a Phoenician trading aristocracy, which from the 8th century B.C. onward would have taken over control and leadership of the 'colonies' in the West, a parallel to the Ugaritic merchant élite organised in more or less autonomous corporations.[57] Of the archaeological evidence the chamber tombs of those of high rank, for example those at Trayamar (Málaga province) on the southern coast of Spain,[58] might well correspond to this theory. They would signify the strengthening per-

[52] See the useful summary by Tsirkin 1990; also Kuhrt 1995 II, 407–10.
[53] Bondi 1995a.
[54] Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 24–7, no. 5; see also Pettinato 1975, esp. p. 153.
[55] Bondi 1995b, esp. pp. 346–7.
[56] Niemeyer 1984, 22, fig. 15; *cf.* p. 89 'erstes Stratum'; see Moscati 1985.
[57] Bondi 1995b, 346–7; Liverani 1995, 53: 'c'est ce qui arrive en effet à l'Age du Fer, avec des marchands phéniciens'.
[58] Niemeyer and Schubart 1975; see also Niemeyer 1984, 48.

sonal ties of this mercantile aristocracy to the settlements of the Far West. It is highly probable that the new class of entrepreneurs moved on the same social plane as the aristocrats of the Greek world, who became active in foreign trade around the same time.

The expansion of the Phoenician city-states into the Mediterranean was, after all, nothing but and no less than an enormous enlargement of their economic range of interaction, in other words, an expansion of a different kind, mercantile and rather pacific, not based on power politics and conquest. Tyre seems to have played a prominent part in this, according to the few written sources accepted by modern scholarship as trustworthy. Velleius Paterculus states that it is the *Tyria classis, tum plurimum pollens mari*, which was, as is well known, responsible for the founding of Gades.[59]

M.E. Aubet has argued that, in the 11th–10th centuries B.C., active expansion to the Far West had been impossible for Tyre, which, according to other written sources (see above) had only been re-established shortly before the reign of Hiram I. Thereafter, Phoenician expansion and settlement in the Mediterranean should be understood as a consequence of Assyrian oppression, initiated and unleashed to serve Assyria's ever growing demand for raw materials, luxury items and precious metals.[60] Although there is no doubt about the sometimes considerable amount of tribute to the Assyrian king, as I have shown elsewhere,[61] over a long period these payments were made in a climate of economic and political symbiosis, which on the one hand gave the small and comparatively weak city-states along the coast a degree of independence from the great military power of Mesopotamia, and on the other secured for Assyria a more or less regular supply of luxury goods, vital raw materials (iron is mentioned explicitly) and financial resources in the form of precious metal. In other words, the arrangement was mutually beneficial, and it was out of a well-understood desire to survive politically that the Phoenician city-states had developed into a kind of service society for Assyria. But none of this evidence goes far enough to enable Tyre to be seen as an 'instrument' of Assyrian imperialism, expansionism and demand for raw materials.

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59 Niemeyer 1981.
60 Aubet 1994, 70–91—essentially based on Frankenstein 1979.
61 Niemeyer 1999, esp. pp. 166–72; 2000, esp. pp. 102–4.

Two main conclusions must be repeated here: first, that Phoenician expansion started before the Neo-Assyrian empire's oppression, and it did so mainly for reasons rooted in the Phoenician city-states and in their changed economic situation after the breakdown of the Bronze Age world. It is self-evident that for a highly developed business culture new resources had to be opened up to ensure the continuance of the profitable transit trade which formed the basis of the wealth of the Phoenician city-states.[62] Furthermore, the vacuum left in the Mediterranean after the downfall of the great civilisations of the Late Bronze Age would almost inevitably have unleashed some such movement as Phoenician expansion. Secondly, it was not before the 8th century B.C. that it became obviously necessary for the Phoenicians to establish a greater number of permanent factories in order to protect the trade routes through the Mediterranean. Here again the reason is mainly to be found in the Mediterranean itself: the beginnings of rivalry with the Greeks arising from their westward colonisation, which, according to tradition, began with the foundation of Syracuse in 734 B.C.[63]

Carthage

Carthage[64] deserves separate treatment in the history of Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean. In classical tradition its foundation by Tyre dates to 814/3 B.C. However, according to the latest excavation results, it most probably took place slightly later—in the first half of the 8th century.[65] With regard to the older 'trade expansion', the city is situated in a strategically favourable location (Fig. 5), commanding the passage through the Straits of Tunis midway between

[62] This seems to be valid against Aubet 1994, 89, as well as against Gitin 1997; *cf.* Gitin 1998. See also careful résumés by Culican 1991, 467–79; Krings, 227–9 (Bunnens); Kuhrt 1995 II, 408–10.

[63] Niemeyer 1990a. It has to be remembered that the founding of Euboean Pithekoussai belongs to another 'precolonial' story: see Ridgway 1992, 11–31, 107–20.

[64] The amount of historical research regarding Carthage is best demonstrated by the large bibliography in Huss 1994, 391–430(!).

[65] A very useful bibliography of the archaeological research is given by Ennabli 1992, 203–27. Regarding the excavations of the Hamburg Institute of Archaeology in the Archaic residential quarters on the eastern slope of the Byrsa hill, see Niemeyer 1989; Niemeyer, Docter *et al.* 1993; Niemeyer *et al.* 1995; see further Rakob 1987; 1991.

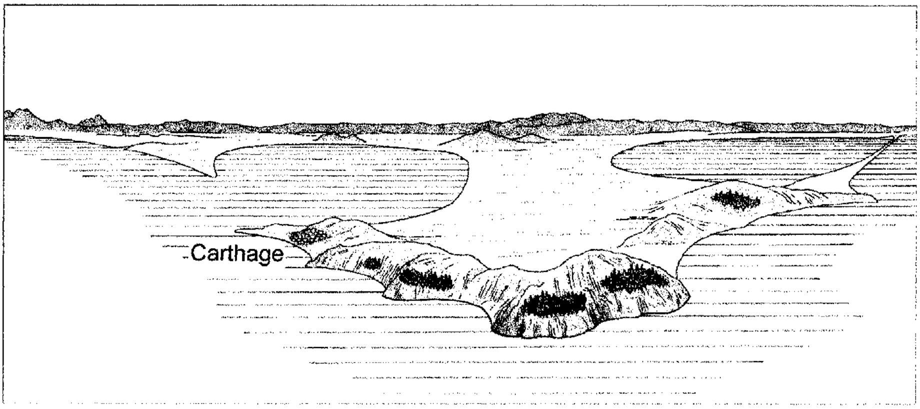

Fig. 5. Aerial view of Carthage (after Niemeyer 1999).

the Levantine coast and the Straits of Gibraltar. However, the main purpose of this 'new city' (the meaning of its name, Qarthadasht) was to provide one of the two conflicting parties in Tyre with its own 'new' place of settlement. In consequence, Archaic Carthage had already a built-up area of at least 25ha—according to other estimates between 45 and 60ha[66]—which is a considerable area compared with the 4–6ha of the factory-type settlements of Toscanos and Almuñécar.[67] It is for this very reason that, in the history of urban development in antiquity, Carthage must have assumed an extraordinary position among early Mediterranean cities.

It is no coincidence that an explicit foundation myth is recorded for Carthage. What can be implied from its historical core contributes to an understanding of the city's distinctive character. Unlike the Phoenician factories and trading posts in the Far West, here a complex and stratified population existed from the beginning, including a political class willing and ready to govern, with a king at its head (at least for the first 150–200 years).[68] All these features make Carthage structurally a case apart in the context of Phoenician expansion: the city was a real *apoikia*.

Laid out according to the 'typical' Phoenician settlement pattern on a spit of land jutting far out into the sea (the Bay of Tunis) and

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[66] Rakob 1987, 349; 1989, 165; Docter 1997, 70.
[67] Niemeyer 1995b *passim*, esp. p. 77.
[68] Huss 1985, 459; Ameling 1993, 67–71.

well protected from the mainland, the city was oriented towards maritime foreign trade. On the other hand, there was—and still is—easy access to a rich agrarian hinterland, necessary to feed a large population. When exactly Carthage began to take possession of the surrounding territory to make its *chora* is still a little difficult to establish. Two reports given by Justinus speak of tribute paid by the Carthaginians to local, *i.e.* African authorities (18. 5. 14), an obligation of which they had only been able to rid themselves a few years after the battle of Himera in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. (19. 2. 4). On the other hand, it is not very likely that the nearby fortified town of Kerkouane on the eastern coast of Cape Bon,[69] probably founded in the 6th century, could have come into existence independently of Carthage. An archaeological field survey attests to a Carthaginian presence in the hinterland as early as the late 7th or early 6th century B.C.[70]

About the rise of the later mighty city we are poorly informed. The foundation of Ebysos/Ibiza by the Carthaginians around the middle of the 7th century, even if only a re-foundation (see above), seems to signify the first military-political expansion into the western Mediterranean. But even then mercantile interests, the desire for an overall expansion of the sphere of influence, might have been predominant. Still, around 580 B.C. when the 'condottiere' Pentathlos of Cnidus leading emigrants from Rhodes and Cnidus tried to settle in western Sicily, the Western Phoenicians of Motye, Panormus (Palermo) and Soloeis (Solunt), who had been settled there for the previous 150 years, were well able to defend themselves against the invaders on their own, at best with the help of the Elymians who settled around Segesta. No call for help was made to Carthage, which obviously was not regarded as the hegemonic power.[71]

For the economic, cultural and political system built up in the southern and western Mediterranean by Phoenician expansion, and which now formed an integral part of the Mediterranean as a whole, the conquest of Tyre in 573/2 B.C. by the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar II, brought about a profound change in the general state of affairs. The repercussions of this secular event on the smaller Phoenician settlements must have been immense, even if they are

[69] Fantar 1984–86.
[70] Greene 1992, 194–7 (with bibliography); Lund 1988.
[71] Huss 1985, 58–9.

not documented in written sources.[72] According to archaeological evidence, several settlements were abandoned or, in some cases, dislocated along the southern Mediterranean coast and the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula.[73] Apparently, it is from then on that Carthage slipped step by step into the rôle of the politically and culturally predominant power in the once-Phoenician part of the western Mediterranean. Following Roman usage, hereafter this is legitimately spoken of as the 'Punic' world.[74] At the same time the geopolitical setting of the Archaic period finally disintegrated and, at the end, was dramatically changed. But that is another chapter in Mediterranean history.[75]

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[72] Lancel 1992, 95–126.

[73] Aubet 1994, 293–96; Niemeyer 1995a, 362; 1995b, 78.

[74] Bunnens 1983.

[75] Consistently two books on the same topic end their discourse with this break: Gras *et al.* 1989, 10; Aubet 1994, 13.

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GREEK COLONISATION IN SOUTHERN ITALY: A METHODOLOGICAL ESSAY*

Emanuele Greco

Any article intending to treat the vast movement which goes under the name of Greek colonisation cannot help but begin with a series of primarily terminological clarifications concerning long-identified key notions.[1] I refer principally to the term 'colonisation' itself, but also to the term 'colony', which derives from the Latin *colere*. This in turn relates to a phenomenon really very different from that which the Greeks intended by the term *apoikia*, literally 'home away from home'. The difference between these two meanings has natural consequences when we are discussing the Greek phenomenon: first of all the need to avoid superimposing modern interpretations gained from wholly different types of colonisation, be it Roman or more recent, on the Greek phenomenon.

The origins of the *apoikiai*, in effect, lie in political groupings: they often consisted of mixed groups, which, as we shall see, did not simply continue to reproduce their metropoleis abroad (save for certain social and cultural aspects at the very beginning) with the aim of exploiting new territories and opening new trade routes. The *apoikiai* tended rather to originate from crises in their *poleis* of origin and create new types of communities unrelated to those of their homeland. If we also consider the time at which these events took place (the first *apoikiai* date back as far as the middle of the 8th century B.C.), we cannot help but notice that the colonisers move to the West from a Greek metropolitan reality where the *polis* was still taking shape. Thus, rather than finding in the West a duplication of the mother city, we see a parallel evolution of urban societies taking place in both places.[2]

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* Translated by Pierpaolo Finaldi.

[1] Finley 1976; Lepore 1981; Gabba 1991.

[2] Malkin 1994.

Taking into account the fact that literary sources belong to somewhat later periods, beginning with the fragments of Hecataeus and Antiochus of Syracuse (end of the 6th–third quarter of the 5th century, although the poet who composed *Odyssey* 6. 7–10 gives us the clearest and most ancient description of a Greek colonial foundation) it can nevertheless be surmised that colonial ventures were organised by the *polis* and within its aristocratic framework. This ensured the necessary means (ships and crews), including a leader for the expedition (the *oikist*), himself often a member of the aristocracy: he and his *hetairoi* formed the nucleus of the colonising force and would in turn become the aristocratic core of the new social structure which they would establish in Italy.

The rôle of the Delphic oracle, at least in these earliest expeditions, is still problematic. Delphi was considered an obligatory stop before leaving to the West, in order to gain both the consent of the oracle and the necessary information, although actually the sources of information tended to be provided by the *oikist*, who went off 'prospecting' various sites, returned home and then set out again with his followers. Fifth-century sources (in particular Antiochus) record foundation oracles, for instance the cases of Croton and Taras (Strabo 6. 1. 12; 6. 3. 2); however, whether Delphi was regularly consulted in the second half of the 8th century is still an unresolved question.[3]

Another problem, perhaps the greatest, is the relationship between the Greeks and the indigenous populations of the Italian peninsula, who seem almost universally to have possessed their own clearly defined territories and culture, which appear to have affected deeply their individual relations with the Greeks (see B. d'Agostino's chapter below in the present volume). We must, therefore, evaluate each case separately, and absolutely avoid making generalisations. However, one fact is certain: with the exception of the failed attempts to found colonies in western Sicily (first the expedition of Pentathlus of Cnidus, *ca.* 580 B.C., whose companions nevertheless proceeded to found a colony on the island of Lipari; and Dorieus of Sparta at the end of the 6th century), all the others were successful, although with some difficulties caused by native resistance (*cf.* the well-known cases of Taras and Locri, but also the Antiochean traditions, reported in

[3] Rougemont 1991.

Strabo 6. 1. 5, regarding the wars between the Metapontines and the Oenotrians over the demarcation of their respective territories).

The impact between Greeks and native Italians is one of the fields where archaeology has seen the greatest progress in the second half of the 20th century. Generally speaking, we must admit a remarkable assimilation of indigenous elements (first of all women—a point which has been the subject of many important studies)[4] by the new Greek communities. This explains the equally remarkable population explosions which the settlements witnessed in the first two or three generations. One can also suppose the use of natives as unfree labour. However, the most important effects take place in the indigenous communities themselves. The cultural transformation of the native peoples through various forms of Hellenisation plays a vital rôle in the history of Magna Graecia from the 5th to the 3rd centuries B.C. More accurate study of the archaeology of the areas around Sybaris may well indicate a new phenomenon: indigenous village communities (such as Francavilla and Amendolara) which seem to have been administratively autonomous and to have preserved their own customs, especially burial rites, even within the *chora politike* of Sybaris. These are, perhaps, the *hypekooi* which Strabo describes (6. 1. 13).

The Origins of the Colonists and the Geography of Colonisation

As already stated, the complex events which took place around the Euboean settlements of Pithekoussai and Cumae opened the Greek colonial movement in the West (see also d'Agostino's chapter in the present volume). Hence the Euboeans, more precisely the Chalcidians, appear to have been the first Greek people active in this area, closely followed (according to the tradition which will be discussed below) by the rather vague group known as the Achaeans. Evidence for the involvement of Delphi during this early period comes from its geographical location, among other sources. The Euboeans had to cross the Gulf of Corinth to reach the West, while the Achaeans lived on the shores opposite Delphi.

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[4] Graham 1980–81; Gallo 1983; Van Compernolle 1983.

After the Bay of Naples, Chalcidian colonial enterprises began on the two shores of the Straits of Messina (Rhegion and Zancle) and the coasts of eastern Sicily (Naxos, Leontini and Catane). We see at the same time settlements whose geographical position took particular advantage of trade routes (Pithekoussai, the cities on the Straits of Messina which had an insignificant agricultural hinterland) and those located in positions to exploit vast agricultural plains (Cumae and the cities of the Aetna valley in particular). I would like to mention the question about these two types of settlement, as debated in much of the 20th-century literature. On the one hand there are scholars who argue that the colonial ventures intended to bring trade to new areas (modernists); on the other, there are those who adhere to a more old-fashioned agricultural view of the ancient economy. The polarisation of the debate has made neither position tenable: both have produced anachronistic generalisations, difficult to defend. While apparently the principal motivation for colonial initiatives was the search for new territories to exploit, archaeological evidence has made it equally clear that trade and exchange cannot be ignored. It must be taken into account that such socio-economic distinctions depend on the sophistication of the societies practising them, and that modern definitions should not be forced on ancient processes.[5] Within the sphere of Chalcidian colonisation, much attention has been given to the phenomenon of piracy as reported in ancient sources (Thucydides 6. 4. 5). The Chalcidian foundation of Zancle is a case in point, since it seems to open contacts with an area which would be heavily settled later. The original settlement, on the evidence of fragments of LG chevron skyphoi from Messina, would seem to be chronologically closer to the establishment of Pithekoussai than Cumae, assuming that the traditional chronology (in the process of revision) be accepted which places the island settlement earlier than that on the mainland.[6]

To date, archaeology has found little to confirm the historical record, but piracy, although a recognised form of *emporion*, cannot have been the entire basis of the city's economy. Neither Cumae,

[5] The main work in this area remains Mele 1979. See also the debate between Bravo 1984 and Mele 1986 and other contributions published in *AION ArchStAnt* new series 1.

[6] Most recently, see d'Agostino and Soteriou 1998; d'Agostino 2000; Bacci 1998; 2000.

the city from which the *Lestai* left to found Zancle, nor Zancle itself depended entirely upon piracy. It is not by chance that Thucydides (6. 4. 5) tells us that the *plethos* (colonists) divided the land among themselves. Piracy, after all, is simply another way to trade, which depends on the exploitation of agricultural resources.

The tradition regarding Achaean colonisation raises even more problems, especially if recent (well-founded) revisions of the data are taken into account.[7] Rigorous analysis of the written and archaeological sources concerning Achaea have made C. Morgan and J. Hall sceptical about the Achaean origins of such famous *poleis* as Sybaris, Croton and Caulonia (end of the 8th century), Metapontum (end of the 7th century) and Poseidonia (beginning of the 6th century). It would be easy to turn to *argumenta ex absentia*, since Achaea is a region little explored archaeologically (although the recent excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis at Ano Mazaraki[8] have been a turning point, revealing many fascinating discoveries); yet it must be noted that no ethnic group in the West has a clearer identity than the Achaeans. The highly distinctive features of the Achaean *polis* and *chora* structures are extremely specific, as is the sovereignty of Hera (the divinity to which the *apoikoi* were most devoted, and a sign of continuity from the Homeric Achaeans), both elements which in the West cannot be interpreted as mere coincidences. It would be equally wrong to say that the Achaeans in the West constructed their specific identity as a reaction against that of their traditional enemies, the Dorians of Taras. It will be necessary to return to this question,[9] but in the meantime it is important to underline the trap into which some 'archaeological' observers fall: constructing a theoretical Achaean block which ignores the inevitable shades of grey that exist within such a unit.[10]

Two other Greek settlements are of primary importance: Taras (Fig. 1) and Locri, both cities whose origin and foundation were studied by S. Pembroke.[11] Particular importance was paid to the rôle of women in both foundation myths, giving significant consideration to the social function of women in Archaic society in general (with all its consequences for the history of Locri in particular).

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[7] Morgan and Hall 1996.
[8] Petropoulos 1997 (with full bibliography).
[9] Greco 1999; Mele 1997a–b.
[10] Giangiulio 1997, 422–4.
[11] Pembroke 1970.

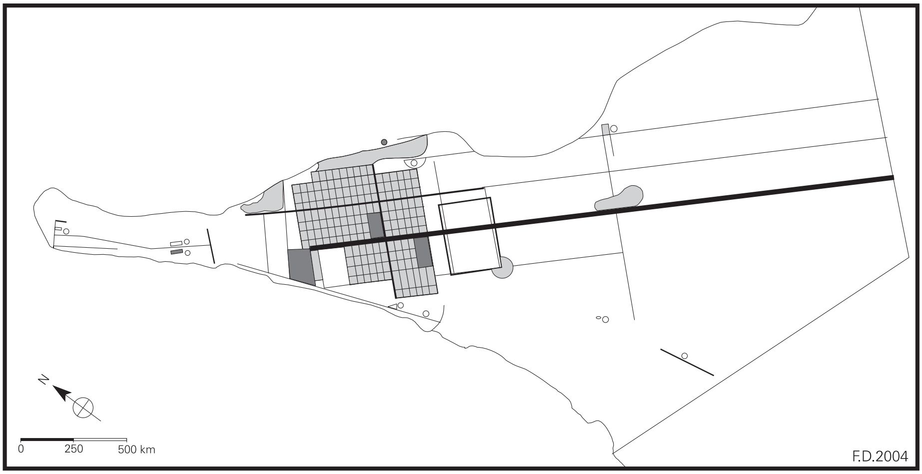

Fig. 1. Plan of Taras (centre: *agora*; west: *acropolis*) (after Lippolis 1989).

Despite the fact that a great amount of evidence has been lost owing to the rapid growth of the modern city and the destruction of much of the city's cultural heritage, the grave goods of the oldest necropolis of Taras (Protocorinthian aryballoi of the transitional type between spherical and ovoid [Fig. 2]) actually confirm the traditional chronology of this Laconian settlement (end of the 8th century) (Fig. 3). The foundation took place after a battle against the barbarous Iapygians, foretold by the Delphic Oracle. According to the previously cited fragment of Antiochus, the foundation of Locri should be dated just after that of Taras ('a little while after . . . Croton and Syracuse'—Strabo 6. 1. 7). According to Strabo, the Locrian colonists first stopped at Cape Zephyrion (modern Bruzzano) for three or four years, then moved on to the definitive location of the settlement in a place previously occupied by native Sicels.[12]

In the area between Sybaris and Metapontum, tradition sets another famous settlement, Ionian Siris, called Polieion by its Colophonian colonists (Strabo 6. 1. 14). In the last 30 years intensive excavation has yielded vast amounts of material from which to reconstruct not only the dynamics of the Greek settlement but also the complexities of its relationship with indigenous cultures.

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[12] Musti 1976.

Fig. 2. Taras. Protocorinthian aryballos from the necropolis.

Fig. 3. Taras. Laconian cup from the necropolis.

The main site was the Incoronata, situated on the right bank of the River Basento near Metapontum. Its great importance has been proved by P. Orlandini's excavations and publications.[13]

From the very first seasons of excavation the huge volume of imported Greek and colonial pottery (the latter made in Western *ergasteria*) massed in the small *oikoi* ($3m^2$) was striking. These were destroyed by fire around 630 B.C., *i.e.* at the time of the foundation of Metapontum. Research by A. Di Siena (of the Soprintendenza della Basilicata)[14] has found evidence of an 8th-century village which predates the arrival of the Greeks. This is confirmed by the burial evidence from the 8th-century phase of the nearby necropolis on the hill.

The beginning of the 7th century saw one of the first great events in the area: the foundation of Siris-Polieion, on the plateau between the Akiris and Siris rivers on the hill of Incoronata. In place of oval huts there are square *oikoi* with stone foundations and Greek material of the highest quality, of varied provenance and function. According to the publisher, the Ionian Greeks who colonised Siris-Polieion destroyed the village on the hill and planted an *emporion* in its stead.

[13] The excavations at l'Incoronata are being published in a series edited by P. Orlandini, *Ricerche archeologiche all'Incoronata di Metaponto* (Milan); volumes 1 (1991), 2 (1992), 3 (1995) and 4 (1997) have already been published. For a critical view, see Pelosi 1981.

[14] Most recently, see summary by Bianco 1999.

Not all are in agreement with this interpretation of events. Some argue that the dating of indigenous material is too high, and a nearby local necropolis of the 7th century has led many to conclude that here, as at Siris itself, we encounter a case of large-scale integration of Greek *apoikoi* and the indigenous peoples, whose material culture underwent rapid changes.

Integration on such a scale should be attributed to the different nature of Ionian/Colophonian colonisation. The *oikisteis* of Siris, according to the *Etymologicum Magnum* (680. 11) were known as *Polis Emporos*. The destruction horizon of 630 B.C. shows us a kind of colonisation different from that of the Achaeans at Metapontum, for instance, where conflicts over land were common. Such conflicts are brought to our attention by fragments such as that mentioned from Antiochus of Syracuse (Strabo 6. 1. 15), who describes the war between the Metapontines and the Oenotrians for the division of the land. We must draw attention therefore to the profound structural differences between the Ionians of Siris and the Achaeans of Metapontum. Not by chance Pompeius Trogus informs us, in a summary of his work by Justinus (20. 2. 3), that the Metapontines, Sybarites and Crotoniates viewed the expulsion from Italy of the Ionians, whom they defined as *ceteri Graeci*, as the primary objective of a common policy.[15]

The end of the 7th century saw the first serious attempts to establish *apoikiai* in the Tyrrhenian Basin. Until then the northernmost Achaean enclave had been Metapontum, a settlement established by the Sybarites as a buffer between themselves and Taras, whom Strabo describes as being εν πλευραίς (6. 1. 15). Here we find a case of Achaean 'anti-Dorianism', which reproduced in the West the traditional Peloponnesian enmity between Achaeans and Dorians.

The necropolis of Gioia Tauro (ancient Metaurus) has yielded some interesting discoveries. The burials themselves and the grave goods are perfectly analogous, despite some years' difference, from those of Chalcidian Mylai, a colony of Zancle. This places the Chalcidian origins of Metaurus in a new light (Solinus 2. 1. 1). A related and significant occurrence is that the poet Stesichorus was claimed by both Metaurus and Himera as their own, each being a

[15] An up to date review of the colonial events in this area of the Gulf of Taranto is now in Greco 1998b.

Chalcidian colony. The necropolis of Gioia Tauro is noteworthy, however, not only for its Chalcidian elements but also for the presence of non-servile indigenous burials (proved by the arms buried with the deceased). By the middle of the 7th century, we are faced with a settlement located at the edge of a vast agricultural plain. It would not be too fanciful to conjecture mixed Greek and indigenous management of the land as a large centre of crop production initiated by the Chalcidians from Zancle. From the middle of the 6th century the cultural setting changes considerably and the site seems to gravitate much more towards a Locrian sphere of influence. (Locri was responsible, between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century B.C., for the foundation of two further colonies: Hipponium (Vibo Valentia) and Medma (modern Rosarno).) Further north, in the Bay of Lamezia, the written sources (and recent unpublished archaeological finds) allow us to locate Terina, whose foundation was due to a Crotoniate initiative, and nearby Temesa, the mining district mentioned by Homer (*Od.* 1. 184–186) close to the mouth of the River Savuto, in the territory controlled by Sybaris towards the end of the Archaic period. To Sybaris and its activities on the Tyrrhenian coast must be linked the foundation of Poseidonia (early 6th century), only a few decades after that of Metapontum. It is of note that both were located near to the rivers (the Sele and the Bradano) which in the Classical period served to demarcate the boundaries of Italia.

The events which led to the birth of Poseidonia, as told by Strabo (5. 4. 13) in an extremely condensed account, subsequently the subject of endless discussions, raises many questions on this later period of colonisation. We are informed that the Sybarites built a τείχος on the sea while the colonists settled ἀνωτέρω. Strabo's text is difficult to interpret: read diachronically, the τείχος would precede the arrival of the colonists and the foundation of the *polis*; read synchronically, the meaning would change totally. The first interpretation suggests that the Sybarites established a base from which they conducted their Tyrrhenian commerce before founding the *apoikia*; the second, that the military meaning of τείχος may be intended (defensive wall or fort), alluding to the armed contingent sent by the Sybarites to ensure the settlement of the colony in a hostile area facing the Etruscanising towns on the opposite bank of the Sele. The adverb ἀνωτέρω has also been the subject of various interpretations—not in itself, since its meaning is clearly 'further up', but rather in its cartographic inter-

pretation: in the Roman world maps were oriented south, while the Greeks (and Strabo seems to have used Greek sources) pointed their maps north. Thus the τείχος would have been located to the south of the city, in an area (Agropoli) not far from where the historical sources (Lycophron *Alexandra* 722 and *Sch.*) place the sanctuary of Poseidon, eponymous divinity of the new city.[16]

Two hundred *stadia* to the south of Poseidonia (just under 40km) was another famous Greek city, 'called "Hyele" by the Phocaeans who founded it, and by others "Ele", after a certain spring, but is called by the men of to-day "Elea". This is the native city of Parmenides and Zeno, the Pythagorean philosophers' (Strabo 6. 1. 1) (Fig. 15). This is surely the best known foundation in the West thanks to the long and detailed account given by Herodotus (1. 163–167), which can be integrated with the brief fragment of Antiochus quoted by Strabo (6. 1. 1), regarding the exodus of the Phocaeans.

In this case we are not faced with a 'normal' colonial foundation, but with the mass exodus (decreasing in size *en route* through various defections) of an entire city trying to free itself from Persian domination in 545 B.C. After a five-year sojourn in Corsica, and defeat in the Battle of Alalia at the hands of a joint Etruscan, Agyllan and Carthaginian force, the survivors reached Rhegion, where a man from Poseidonia correctly interpreted Pythia's prophecy and convinced them to remain in Italy.[17] At this point in the narrative, Herodotus writes that the Phocaeans bought a city in the land of the Oenotrians, an event which has been the subject of some important reflections.[18] This is no doubt an exceptional case, because both the Phocaeans buy and the indigenous Oenotrians sell the land where the new *polis* will arise. This episode is eloquent proof of the degree of sophistication reached by the indigenous community, organised to the point that it can impose such a transaction. Of equal interest is the rôle of the Poseidonian as mediator in the deal, insofar as his city had played a similar rôle as guarantor in analogous situations.

The 6th century concluded with no less fascinating events, in particular the migration of the Samians, fleeing the tyrant Polycrates around 530 B.C. They were welcomed into Cumaean territory to found Dicearchia (a city whose name suggests a place where justice

[16] Greco 1987.
[17] Greco 2000.
[18] See especially Gigante 1966.

rules), the city which the Romans would rename Puteoli (Pozzuoli) in the 2nd century B.C.

Urban Settlements and Territorial Organisation

The history of urban settlement is better understood when considered together with the problems of occupying and exploiting the resources of the *chora.* Town-planning in the Western colonies has suffered in the past from a certain amount of mystification and a rather frustrating underestimate of its importance; it still does. This has often stemmed from a tendentious use of archaeological evidence. It is therefore important to note that the study of the Greek city in terms of its own town-planning (a highly unsatisfactory term, since it does not do justice to the relationship of the Greek world with space) has been undertaken by many 20th-century scholars. Two works stand out: *Griechische Städteanlagen* by von Gerkan (1924) and *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique* by Martin (1956; 1974). Martin had previously written a book I believe to be even more important and still extremely relevant: *Recherches sur l'agora Grecque* (1951). These scholarly investigations have provided us with a key to the interpretation of the Greek city, apart from the personal viewpoints and cultural baggage (even if of the highest quality) of scholars who based their suppositions on the data available in the first half of the 20th century. We now run the risk of placing the new pieces of the mosaic within an already fixed frame. It is now necessary, faced with so many new discoveries, to ask how far the old key to the map of the Greek city is still relevant or whether it must be completely redesigned.

The clearest instance of this is the indifference there has been in the past towards the *chora* of the city. The neglect of agricultural settlements (*komai, pyrgoi*, isolated farmsteads, etc.) and the fixation with what lies within the city walls, has led to the paradox that the history of Greek town planning has been written without reference to the majority of Archaic cities on the Greek mainland. Closer examination shows that modern study of the colonial phenomenon as a whole has always been heavily influenced by a negative prejudice bases on the notion that the West was a provincial, backward and semi-barbarous area. A recent example is quite enlightening. In page 2 of his Introduction to *Le sanctuaire Grec* (*Entretiens* XXXVII of the Fondation Hardt), A. Schachter states that 'the investigation is also

limited geographically to the Greek mainland and the Aegean. The Western colonies present a different set of problems, not least those which arose from the need to adapt to a foreign milieu and to a developed local population.'

I do not question the good faith of the author, but it is possible to draw only one conclusion from his comments: if one wishes to study the Greek sanctuary in its pure form one should not go to those areas where this purity has been tainted. Thus we see a respectable academic of the 20th century express opinions not far removed from 2,000-year-old propaganda slogans such as *ekbarbarosthai panta*! Many other examples could be cited.

Let us return, however, to the city and the two epsitemological pillars of its study. The first is that the Greek city was essentially a 'creation' of the 5th century, in particular of Miletus and the '*école milésienne*'; the second, that the art of city-building was just another manifestation of a flourishing Greek culture, freed from its barbaric masters by the successful outcome of the Persian Wars. The Archaic period would be simply a time of preparation, of timid experiments, among which are the dozens of colonial urban settlements whose 'regularity' is considered synonymous with simplicity. These colonies are called *Streifenkolonien* by the Germans, in order to stress their primitive nature which had nothing to offer to the Milesian architects, inventors of functionalism. The conclusion that Archaic Greek *poleis* were not functional cities seems too much. Would it not be better to learn from anthropological studies and so be a little less absolutist?

The problems relative to the birth and urban structure of mainland Greek cities are not within the remit of this piece, yet it cannot be denied that Greek colonisation was in a sense a great 'laboratory'. The Classical city derives, both in theory and in practice, from the experience accumulated in the previous two centuries. The model outlined by von Gerkan and all the studies undertaken after him is typically formalist. The classification of the urban form is based on the layout of the city and its relation to the *ethnos* that built it (the same approach used by those wishing to classify city walls, whereby polygonal stones are considered Italic while ashlar work is interpreted as Greek). Thus, an early city with a geometric plan laid out on an axial grid had to belong to a non-Greek tradition (it would belong to the Etrusco-Italic sphere of influence, depending on the *etrusca disciplina*, which adhered to a system of two intersecting main axes).

Therefore, when von Gerkan encountered the very regular grid of Selinus, he concluded that it must have been the city rebuilt after the destruction of 409 B.C. Assigning such an idea to the Archaic colony would not have been in accordance with his preconceptions.

Today, following many important studies, it is clear that the plan of Selinus belongs to the Archaic period, and must have been executed not long after the foundation of the city (as happens in almost all western colonial foundations, a couple of generations or so after the traditional date of the *ktisis*). Indeed, Selinus has now become a paradigm for those wishing to study the elements of an Archaic Greek city.

Thanks to the knowledge gained from Selinus, I believe, R. Martin (1974), discussing new archaeological data, opened a new chapter in the study of the *polis*; one which takes a more balanced approach to the evidence and which above all gives just weight to the potentially enormous amount that we can learn from previously neglected sources.

We should, after all, when reading general works by such scholars as those mentioned above, expect to have to take into account the contextual debates influential at the time of writing. If we have learnt anything from the lessons of the past, it is that such works, despite their flaws, should be treated with respect, conscious of the fact that it would have been impossible to progress without their contributions. As Hippodamus could never have thought of the 5th-century *polis* without the experience gained in the Archaic period, in the same way, we are able to speak today of Greek town-planning only thanks to the foundations laid by von Gerkan and Martin.

Our current knowledge of the structure of Archaic Greek cities and their territories allows us only to give examples, which must be understood not as definitive models but simply as preliminary paradigms to compare and contrast with new discoveries. Archaeology offers us a variety of models but also (sometimes) some skeleton guides to our studies: chief among these are sanctuaries, used by many colonial communities and especially by the Achaeans (Sybaris, Croton, Metapontum, Poseidonia) to control their territory and safeguard their rights to its use.

The debate concerning extra-urban sanctuaries have occupied many scholars of the 20th century (Fig. 8). The Achaean world in particular entrusted its famous Heraea (Croton to Cape Lakinion, Metapontum to the south bank of the River Bradano, and Poseidonia

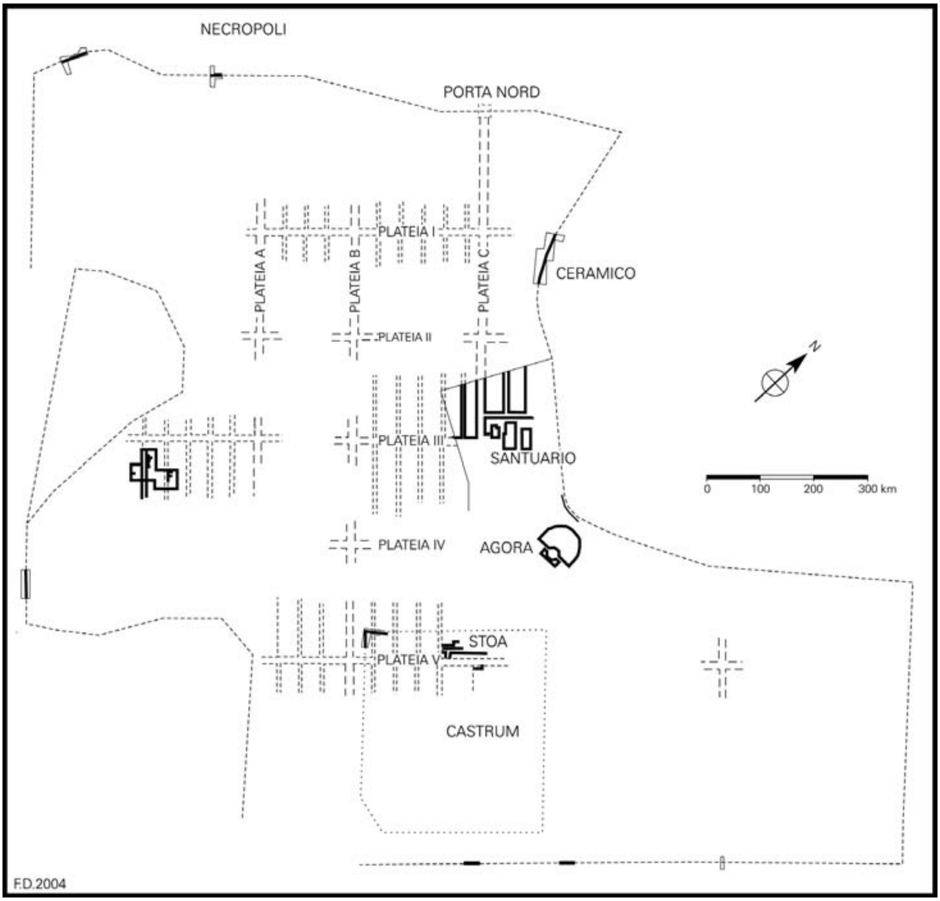

Fig. 4. Plan of Metapontum (after Mertens 1999).

to that on the River Sele) with the task of defending its territorial integrity: not by chance all these sanctuaries dedicated to Hera are placed on the *chora*'s boundaries.[19] The discovery that most of them were cult places already used by indigenous peoples or established by Bronze Age Greeks (during the period of contact with the Mycenaean world) led to the conclusion (based also on reliable archaeological evidence) that they date back to the very beginning of the colonial settlement. The contemporaneous building of the inhabited

[19] Recent summary with full bibliography in Leone 1998.

Fig. 5. Metapontum. The Archaic *thymiaterion* from the sanctuary of Artemis (San Biagio alla Venella).

settlement and the sanctuary located in its *chora* demonstrates the need of the *polis* to place its territory under the protection of its patron deity (Fig. 5).[20]

Only Taras maintained for a long time a system based on agricultural villages, until a great movement of the population into the city, datable to the second quarter of the 5th century.[21] Most other *poleis* began as relatively large urban centres containing the majority

[20] Greco 1990a.
[21] Greco 1981.

Fig. 6. Metapontum. The Archaic terracotta plaque from the urban sanctuary.

of the population. This explains their extremely precocious first steps (even when compared with their metropoleis) towards an organised system of town-planning.

At the forefront of these studies is the ongoing research at Metapontum and Poseidonia (Figs. 4–6). Both are located on flat areas of land, 145 and 120ha respectively. In both cases, recent research[22] has shown that the urban area was divided into three parts from the outset: a sacred area (containing the one and only large *temenos*), a public space including the large *agora*, and a private area with blocks of housing (Figs. 7; 9). Already in the Late Archaic period both cities had defensive walls with stone foundations and upper parts built of mud-brick. The sheer size of the public spaces is striking, both the sacred spaces and the huge *agorai*,[23] in which buildings with circular ground plans have been identified (traditionally equated with *ekklesiasteria*), amongst the most original Western contributions to civilian architecture.

The occupation of the *chora* seems to have produced no conglomeration of buildings which could be called a *kome*; the dominant

[22] For Metapontum, see De Siena 1998; 1999; Mertens 1999. For Paestum, see essays in Greco and Longo 2000.
[23] Greco 1998a.

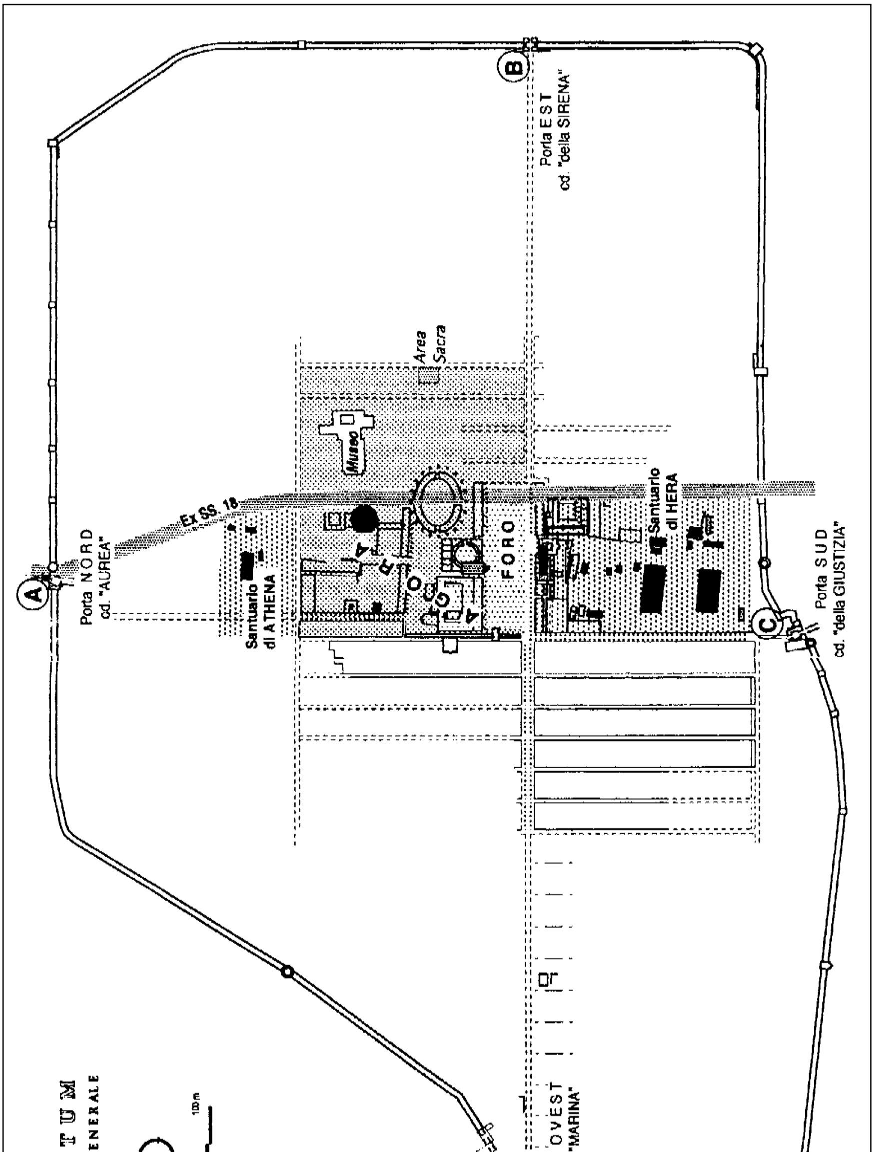

Fig. 7. Plan of Paestum (after Greco and Theodorescu 1987).

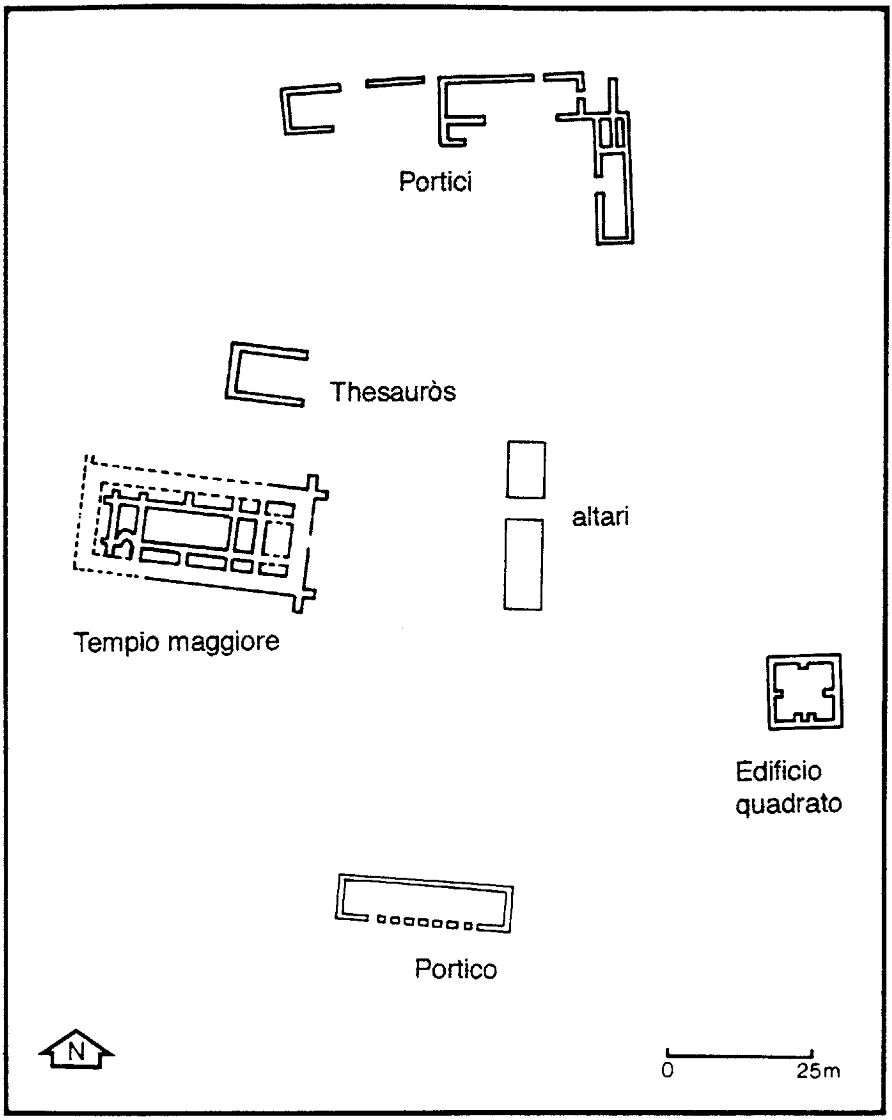

Fig. 8. Paestum. Plan of the sanctuary on the south bank of the River Silarus (after de La Genière and Greco Maiuri 1994).

Fig. 9. Paestum. The Late Archaic marble head.

form is that of the single family farmstead, which itself appears only in the Late Archaic period, and then but rarely. As far as we know, beforehand it was common to live in the city and go out into the *chora* to work the land. It follows that the production of cereal crops was most widespread because they require less close attention. The rapid growth of the urban settlement forced the colonists to face the

Fig. 10. Paestum. Bronze hydria from the *heroon* in the *agora*.

problems of 'designing' space. Once the sacred and public spaces had been demarcated, the residential areas were almost universally divided according to a simple system known as *per strigas*, consisting of three or four *plateiai* in one direction and a certain number of smaller orthogonal roads in the other. These were usually planned so that the *agora* and the intra-mural sanctuary were harmoniously integrated (Figs. 11–14). The distance between the major *plateiai* (*ca.* 300m) was responsible for the often elongated shape of the blocks; their width (about 35–37m) was the result of the orthogonal roads. The current state of our knowledge suggests that this simple plan was the fruit of a long process of development. Archaeology enables us to trace this process from the end of the 8th century (with the splendid example of Megara Hyblaea) until the emergence of cities

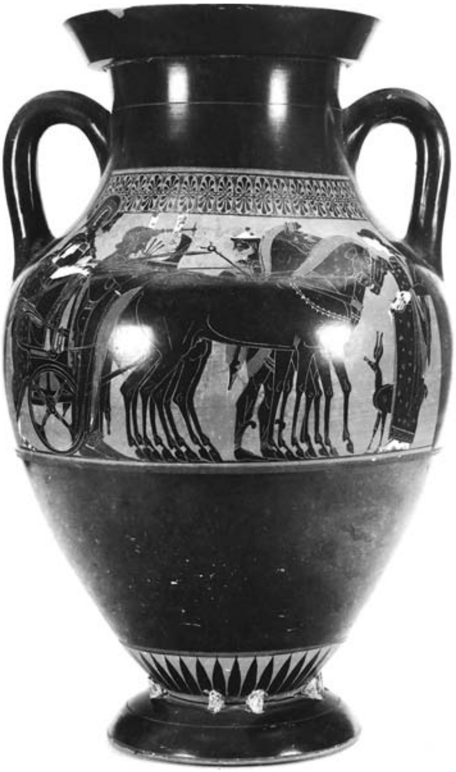

Fig. 11. Paestum. Attic black-figure amphora from the *heroon* in the *agora*.

built in every respect *per strigas* (the pattern followed by practically all cities known to us), which do not appear before the end of the 7th century.[24]

The process of 'ethnic coagulation' of the indigenous Italic peoples, which had almost certainly begun a long time before, was accelerated by the arrival of the Greeks. The surviving traditional stories concerning the foundation of the colonies offer a very different picture of the occupation of Italy compared with what we see later. The Oenotrians occupied the area where we later hear of the Lucanians,[25] Brutti[26] (in modern Basilicata and Calabria) and Iapygians[27]

[24] See essays by Gras and Treziny, 'Megara Iblea', 251–68; Allegro, 'Imera', 269–302; Jannelli, 'Ischia e Cuma', 303–28; Giardino and De Siena, 'Metaponto', 329–64; Longo, 'Poseidonia', 365–84. All in Greco 1999.

[25] Pontrandolfo 1982.

[26] Guzzo 1989.

[27] De Juliis 1988.

Fig. 12. Paestum. The Archaic temple of Hera (so-called 'Basilica').

(in Puglia where there were long-established and organised *ethne* with a culture highly influenced by long contacts with the coast of Illyria).

It is noteworthy that the few examples preserved in the historical record, when referring to these 'districts' (especially those in the vicinity of Achaean foundations), call the whole area by the name of the city considered to be the *basileion, i.e.* the residence of the *basileus* or chief. A good example is that of Pandosia in the territory which will later become the hinterland of Siris and Metapontum. The city was almost certainly located near modern Cosenza, as suggested by Strabo (6. 1. 15), in a region not far from Sybaris. Strabo himself provides us with a possible key to solving this problem when he says that Pandosia (near Sybaris) was at one time believed to be the *basileion* of the Oenotrians. If one considers the rather obvious meaning of the toponym—place which 'gives all'—it chimes well with a Greek *interpretatio* of an indigenous centre characterised by the presence of some kind of power, habitually represented by the Greeks in the word *basileus*, while the *basileion* was the place from where such power was exercised. Unfortunately, the site of Pandosia (famous also as the place where, during a siege, Alexander, king of Molossia, met

Fig. 13. Paestum. The so-called 'Temple of Neptune'.

his death in 331 B.C.—Strabo 6. 1. 15; Livy 8. 24) has not yet been identified. On the other hand there is good evidence to suggest that another Pandosia, whose existence is proved by Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 16. 4) and the Tables of Heracleia (*IG* 14. 654. 12, 54, 113), was located close to Siris, to be precise, on the hill of San Maria d'Anglona, where excavation has brought to light some excellently stratified finds: not only the Hellenistic village of which the Tables speak, but also an 8th-century settlement which, notwithstanding some geographical movement, continued until the end of the 7th century. Some spectacular princely burials found at this site give archaeological support to the claim that the Greeks might have seen this place as one of the abovementioned indigenous *basileia*.[28] Thus we see a surely not uncommon example of the process by which the Greeks referred to the whole indigenous area by its seat of power.

Here we observe a single aspect of a greater phenomenon, namely the settlement of the Greek *polis*, its institutions and *paideia*, which speeded the process of 'ethnic coagulation' and emphasised the indige-

[28] D'Ambrosio 1992; Greco 1992, 34–40.

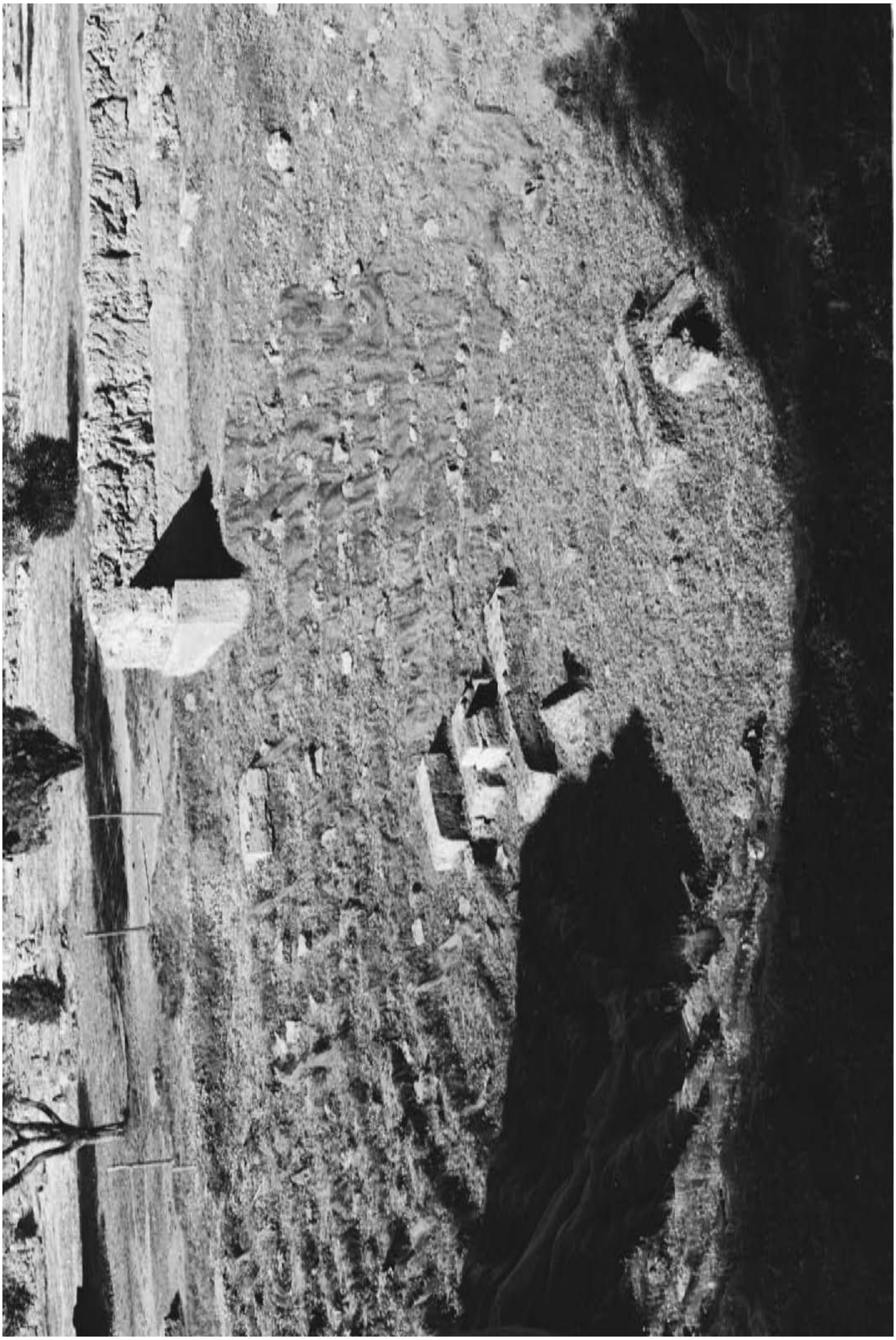

Fig. 14. Paestum. The *ekklesiasterion*.

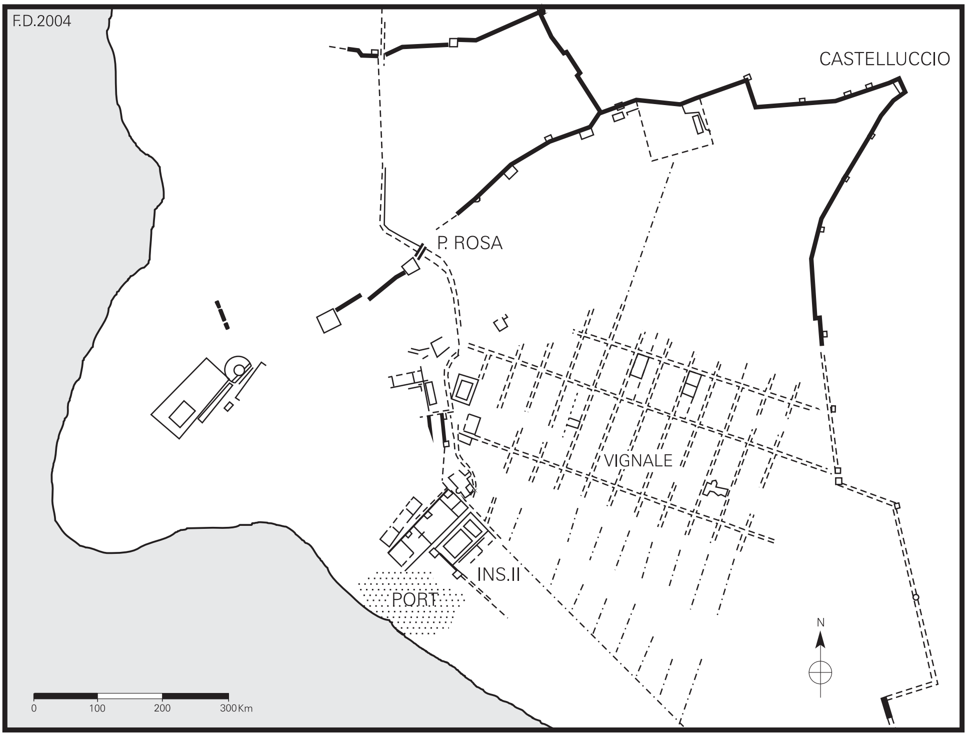

Fig. 15. Plan of Velia (after Krinzinger and Tocco 1999).

nous sense of ethnic identity.[29] Sybaris and its vast hinterland is one of the clearest examples of this process in Archaic Magna Graecia. Strabo describes Sybaris at the acme of its political expansion, at the centre of a huge federation including four *ethne* and 25 *poleis* (Strabo 6. 1. 13). In the years immediately prior to its fall, Sybaris was planning a large political, territorial and economic organisation. This far-reaching design, although never actually carried through, represents, as has been acutely observed, the greatest innovation in the history of Archaic Magna Graecia. This idea undoubtedly inspired Hecataeus' concept of 'Italia', a vast land covering the whole of southern Italy from Campania to Iapygia, almost prefiguring the modern concept of *Megale Hellas*, whose origins have been justly recognised in the political projects of Sybaris.[30]

[29] Mele 1997a; 1997b; Malkin 1998.
[30] Lepore 1980.

The influence of Sybaris has been duly noted, but it is more difficult to understand the mechanisms of the relations between the Greeks and the political powers of the surrounding communities. However, great help is to be found in the famous inscription discovered at Olympia in 1960 (whose meaning has recently been the subject of renewed debate).[31] We read that the Sybarites and their allies (*symmachoi*) sealed a pact of eternal friendship (*philotas aeidion*) with the Serdaioi, having as its guarantors Zeus, Apollo, the other gods and the city of Poseidania (the Dorian form of Poseidonia). Attempts, really not very successful, to reconstruct the inscription's historical and geographical context are based on some fragments of Hecataeus quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium, concerning a number of Oenotrian inland settlements. Stephanus of Byzantium's *lemmata*, although transmitted in an abridged form and with all the problems posed by that tradition, remains the most important source of ethnic and toponomastic information.

Numismatics, moreover, offer us a contemporary historical evidence of considerable interest. Various indigenous centres used coins struck by Sybaris, a phenomenon which has been interpreted by some as proof of the presence of an almost 'imperial currency'.

Four issues of incuse coins, datable to the second half of the 6th century, are closely linked to Sybaris' mint: they use one of its favoured types showing a backward facing bull (except for the Palinuro coins which show the *episemon* of a wild boar) and the Sybarite weight standard (the 7.85g stater), except for the SO series which used the 'Tyrrhenian' standard of 5.50g.[32] It is likely that the coin with the legend PAL-MOL belongs to Palinuro, using both names for the site: the Greek name, Palinurus, which refers to the coastal promontory, well known to sailors, and the indigenous Molpa, referring to the settlement near the River Melpes which we know from Pliny (*NH* 3. 72). Correct interpretation of the double legend of the SIRINOS-PYXOES coins is more difficult, although the doubts about the equation of SIRINOS with Siris have been resolved. PYXOES is easily read as referring to the *ethnos* of the city of Pyxus (known to the Romans as Buxentum and today as Policastro Bussentino). More difficult still is the issue with the legens AMI-SO. AMI ought

[31] Greco 1990b; Giangiulio 1992.
[32] Parise 1972; 1987.

to refer to the Aminei, but it is highly unlikely that these are the Aminei from Campania; SO could be linked to the Sontini mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 3. 98), who may have been located near the modern town of Sanza (although firm evidence is lacking). If this were true, it would explain the anomalous use of the Tyrrhenian standard: since this area was at the margins of Sybaris' sphere of influence, the coin of Sybaris would have been rendered more easily compatible with Etruscan currency. It is clear that the numismatic evidence cannot enlighten us on more than a select list of ethnic groups, none of them (except Siris and Pyxus) mentioned in the historical record, including Hecataeus/Stephanus of Byzantium. Nevertheless, the very fact that such issues of coins can be tied only to such select groups suggests a marked distinction between wo made made use of them and who did not.

It is, therefore, possible to begin to outline more clearly the structure of the so-called Sybarite 'empire': a complex organisation with the great Achaean city and its *chora* at the centre, surrounded by satellite communities. Each community had its own status, some—probably those nearest—completely subject to Sybaris and forming what Strabo termed the *plesion*, while others, although under the influence of Sybaris, enjoyed greater autonomy.

Our attention is thus drawn to some important discoveries in the Tyrrhenian Basin. Here we find some important suggestions for solving this complex question. The last decade of archaeological research in this *paralia* of the Tyrrhenian has provided us with a modest amount of evidence of use of human settlements in the reconstruction of the history of the Archaic period.

From the estuary of the River Mingardo, near Palinuro, to the Bassa Valle del Noce and continuing into the area of the Lao valley, an ever-increasing occupation of the coasts by indigenous peoples may be observed, commencing at the end of the 7th century and growing noticeably in the second half of the 6th century.

Besides Palinuro, which remains the most thoroughly excavated centre, indications of other culturally homogeneous centres have been found at Capo la Timpo di Maratea, Palestro di Tortora and the Petrosa di Scalea, along with traces of intermittent Archaic occupation of other lesser known and explored sites such as Sapri and Pyxus.

Given the close cultural similarity of the inhabitants of these coastal settlements to those further inland, the demographic movement could

simply be interpreted as a migratory flux from the interior towards the coast (which begins sporadically but develops into a mass movement in the second half of the 6th century). Palinuro has for a long time been interpreted as a projection of the Vallo di Diano, while the other settlements of the Noce and Lao valleys seem to exhibit notable cultural affinities with those further inland along the Agri and Sinni rivers. Attracted by the opportunities offered by trade with the Tyrrhenians, the indigenous peoples of the interior created an organised network of 'gateway communities', to use a term borrowed from American anthropology.

It is not difficult to imagine who controlled the commercial traffic along this particular coast throughout the period in question. After the foundation of Elea/Hyele, the Phocaeans must have exercised a vital rôle in the area, regulating and carrying out the commercial action, of which the indigenous peoples who had flocked to the coast wanted a share.

Two critical elements for the development of the area—the well-oganised, culturally open structures of the indigenous people, and the long-range commercial and other interests of Phocaean sailors—are joined by a third: Achaean political control. The 'imperial currency' may have been a clear symbol of the long reach of Sybaris, but the mediatory rôle played by Poseidonia within this system should not be forgotten. In the Olympia inscription we see the *polis Poseidania* fulfil the rôle of *proxenos*, both witnessing and guaranteeing the agreement between the Sybarites and their allies and the Serdaioi (who can probably best be identified as an Oenotrian group).

Poseidonia also, as we have seen, plays a similar rôle in the *ktisis* of Elea/Hyele. From the Olympia inscription it is clear that we should not confuse Poseidonia with the *symmachoi* of Sybaris, indeed these are referred to without mentioning their ethnic identity since they are fully subject to Sybaris' political system. Thus, the autonomous political status of the Serdaioi as of the other party to the contract (with a named ethnic identity) is at least formally recognised by Sybaris.

It is not within the scope of this piece to re-examine all the arguments concerning the geographical location of this otherwise unknown *ethnos*. Suffice it to say that it is likely to be within the Italic and, more precisely, the Oenotrian/Tyrrhenian area. This seems to be confirmed by a group of coins with the legend SER, some among which bear the legend SERD. The coins are silver with relief types

on obverse and reverse struck according to the Sybarite standard and datable on stylistic and technical grounds to the first decades of the 5th century, *i.e.* to the years immediately after the destruction of Sybaris (510 B.C.). This event effectively marks the end of the political system which had dominated the history of Magna Graecia in the Archaic period and ushered in a new era of great social and ethnic change.

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THE FIRST GREEKS IN ITALY*

Bruno d'Agostino

The end of the Mycenaean world saw a hiatus in the contacts between the Aegean and Italy which lasted throughout the 11th–9th centuries B.C. These contacts were resumed in the Salento Peninsula, whose most important town was Otranto. In addition to a limited presence of fragments datable to the 9th century, the most significant finds date to the decades before the middle of the 8th century B.C. (phase MGII), made up mainly of Corinthian pottery. Such early involvement by the Corinthians in the West seems to have touched peninsular Italy only marginally: evidence for these contacts with Greece is limited to Messapic settlements on the coasts, which were probably ports of call for internal Greek shipping routes in the Ionian Sea. As d'Andria suggests,[1] in its earliest stages this phenomenon is very much tied to Corinthian expansion into north-western Greece, a fact well documented at Ambracia and Vitsa Zagoriou.

On the Tyrrhenian coast, Corinth appears only towards the middle of the 8th century. Here the resumption of contacts with the Aegean between the end of the 9th and the first years of the 8th century was mainly due to Euboean and Cycladic initiatives. Pottery shapes and styles typical of these areas, such as pendent semi-circle and chevron skyphoi of MGII, punctuate the renewed intercourse (Fig. 1).[2]

Before entering too deeply into the Italian situation, it is necessary to ask by way of introduction: why Euboea?[3] One must look for the answer in the unique conditions enjoyed by the island at the threshold of the 1st millennium B.C. While the majority of Greece during this period was undergoing radical transformations which created a completely new political and cultural order, Euboea was affected only very slightly by these events. Already at the end of the

* Translated by Pierpaolo Finaldi.

1 d'Andria 1984. The bibliography is collected in d'Agostino and Soteriou 1998, 363–5.

2 d'Agostino 1985.

3 Popham 1981.

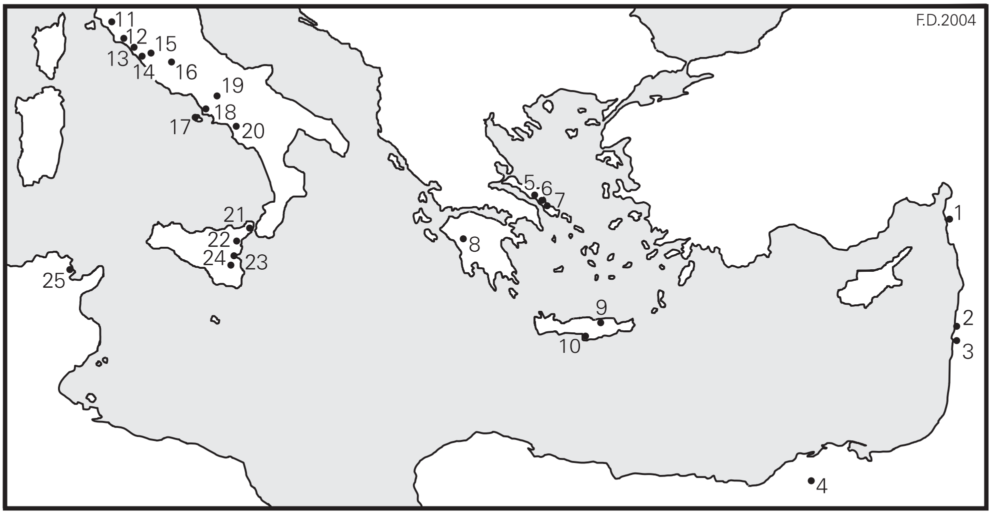

Fig. 1. Map of the Mediterranean with places mentioned in the text: 1. Al Mina; 2. Sidon; 3. Tyre; 4. Naukratis; 5. Chalcis; 6. Lefkandi; 7. Eretria; 8. Olympia; 9. Knossos; 10. Kommos; 11. Vetulonia; 12. Vulci; 13. Gravisca; 14. Caera; 15. Veii; 16. Praeneste; 17. Pithekoussai (Ischia); 18. Cumae; 19. Calatia; 20. Pontecagnano; 21. Zancle; 22. Naxos; 23. Catane; 24. Leontini; 25. Carthage (after J.P. Crielaard, *Hamburger Beiträge* 19/20 [1992/93], 237).

10th century power was in the hands of a rich social class which engaged in contacts and exchange with the Near East. The great apsidal building at Lefkandi surrounded by wooden columns preserves for us a vivid picture of this society. The structure served first as a dwelling place and then as a burial site for a prince and his wife, accompanied by rich grave goods and the horses from the funeral cart.[4]

The presence of Euboean pottery at Tyre from the end of the 10th century B.C.[5] illustrates the strength of the ties between Euboea and the Phoenicians which stretched back to the time of the prince of Lefkandi (see H.G. Niemeyer's chapter in the present volume). As D. Ridgway has rightly noted,[6] Euboean ships first reached Sardinia by following the shipping route opened by the Phoenicians from Cyprus. This is demonstrated by the pendent semicircle skyphoi and

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[4] *Lefkandi II.*
[5] Coldstream 1988; 1998.
[6] Ridgway 1984; 1992.

chevron skyphoi found in the nuragic village of Sant'Imbenia in northern Sardinia.[7] It would not be too fanciful to imagine that it was precisely here in Sardinia that the Euboean explorers came to know of the richness of the metal deposits in northern Etruria—a supposition further reinforced by the Sardinian bronze statuettes of the nuragic period found in this area.

In these same years Euboean ships landed on the shores of eastern Sicily, albeit sporadically: this is shown by the pendent semicircle skyphoi and the Aetos 666 cup found in the indigenous necropolis of Villasmundo, in what would later become the hinterland of Megara Hyblaea.

The first contacts between the Aegean and the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy also date to the first half of the 8th century B.C. These contacts are first drawn to our attention by the arrival of 'Tyrrhenian' objects in Greek sanctuaries.[8] It is not easy to interpret their meaning: it is unlikely that they are dedications made by Tyrrhenian visitors, especially since the majority are weapons. They could more easily be interpreted as military trophies taken from defeated enemies, or more likely the results of ceremonial exchange. Through these very objects the Tyrrhenian world, which had once existed only in the tales told by Euboean sailors, came to be part of the everyday experience of many Greeks.

The presence of Greek vases from the very same period in the non-Hellenic necropoleis of the Tyrrhenian coast[9] shows that the Early Iron Age indigenous peoples in Etruria, Latium and Campania had also come into contact with the first Greek sailors, in particular those from Euboea.[10] The estuaries of rivers such as the Picentino, the Volturno and the Tiber controlled by important Etruscan settlements like Pontecagnano, Capua and Veii were favourite landing points for Euboean ships along the route which had taken them to the threshold of Etruria proper. It was this area which contained the richest metal deposits thanks to the natural wealth of two areas in particular: the Tolfa mountains situated between Caere and Tarquinia, and in northern Etruria, Elba and Populonia.

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[7] Most recently, see Ridgway 1998.
[8] Kilian 1977, 429–42; v Hase 1979; 1988; Herrmann 1983, 271–94.
[9] *La céramique grecque* 1982; Peserico 1995.
[10] d'Agostino 1985.

Circumstances of the Encounter

The Tyrrhenian world which the Greek sailors encountered was in no way a political unity (Fig. 2). The region between the Arno and the Tiber rivers, which nowadays corresponds to Tuscany and northern Latium, was the homeland of Etruscans, who had also settled parts of the Po valley and Campania. In Campania the two major settlements were Capua (to the north of Naples) and Pontecagnano (south of Salerno).[11] These were advanced urban enclaves surrounded by an Italic world which still belonged to a more rural tradition.

For the whole Early Iron Age (9th–8th centuries B.C.) our knowledge of settlements is extremely limited. Most evidence comes from graves, and it is for this reason that differences in burial customs have become more fundamental to our understanding of cultures. In areas occupied by Etruscans burial practices continued according to the Villanovan tradition, characterised mainly by the use of cremation. In the rest of peninsular Italy from the 9th century onwards inhumation was more common.

The Opicians[12] who occupied the greater part of modern Campania practised inhumation; they fit into a large cultural *koine* (defined by the pit graves they utilised) which stretched down into Calabria. Their settlements were small and close together, while their necropoleis were large and scattered. Their way of life was based entirely on rural models with the exception of Cumae. This settlement was located on a headland overlooking the sea, dominating the coast to the north of the Bay of Naples. It is thus not surprising that this site, once conquered by the Euboean Greeks, became the *acropolis* of the oldest Greek colony in the West.

Between Etruria and Campania lived the Latins:[13] their way of life continued on from the traditions of the Late Bronze Age, their modest villages were often concentrated around large sanctuary sites.[14] Only towards the second half of the 8th century does one see a reorganisation of the settlements from which the major centres of Latium emerge, among them Rome. In the funerary practice, cremation gives way to inhumation during the course of the 9th century.

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[11] Bartoloni 1989; d'Agostino and Gastaldi 1988.
[12] d'Agostino 1988.
[13] Colonna 1988.
[14] *Formazione della città* 1980; Guidi 1985.

Fig. 2. Map of ancient Italy (after *Prima Italia*, Catalogo Mostra 1980–81, 252).

It is clear even from these brief points that the peoples who inhabited Tyrrhenian Italy were extremely diverse, not only from an ethnic point of view but also, more importantly, in cultural and socio-economic matters. These differences were to affect greatly the results of their encounters with the Greeks. It is necessary therefore to examine briefly the development of these local cultures, with a particular emphasis on Etruria and the areas of its expansion.

Local Conditions

The Etruscan world had already reached a high level of sophistication by the end of the Bronze Age.[15] The replacement of the old pastoral economy with an agricultural system had favoured the growth of urban centres; these had reached particularly dense levels of population in regions blessed with exceptionally rich natural resources, such as the Fiora valley and the Tolfa mountains, where metal-working had reached a highly developed state. It was in these very areas that social stratification and wealth hoarding first appear.

It was according to these premises that a complete restructuring of the population was seen at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. In a phenomenon analogous to *synoikismos* in Greece, Early Iron Age Etruria witnessed the replacement of settlement patterns based on small village complexes by large urban centres often at considerable distance from each other. These would go on to develop into the great cities of the historical period—Veii (Fig. 3), Caere, Tarquinia and Vulci—controlling vast territories. It is probable that the birth of these centres coincides with the origin of the concept of the private ownership of land.

The birth of these urban centres is accompanied by egalitarian burial practices which do not emphasise any type of social differentiation. The simple grave goods contain only a lidded ossuary and even ceramic grave goods are a rarity. The picture changes rapidly as differences of rank develop into differences in status. Already towards the end of the 9th century B.C. dominant political élites are emerging and in the course of the 8th century a social hierarchy seems to be firmly in place.

[15] Peroni 1988; d'Agostino 1995.

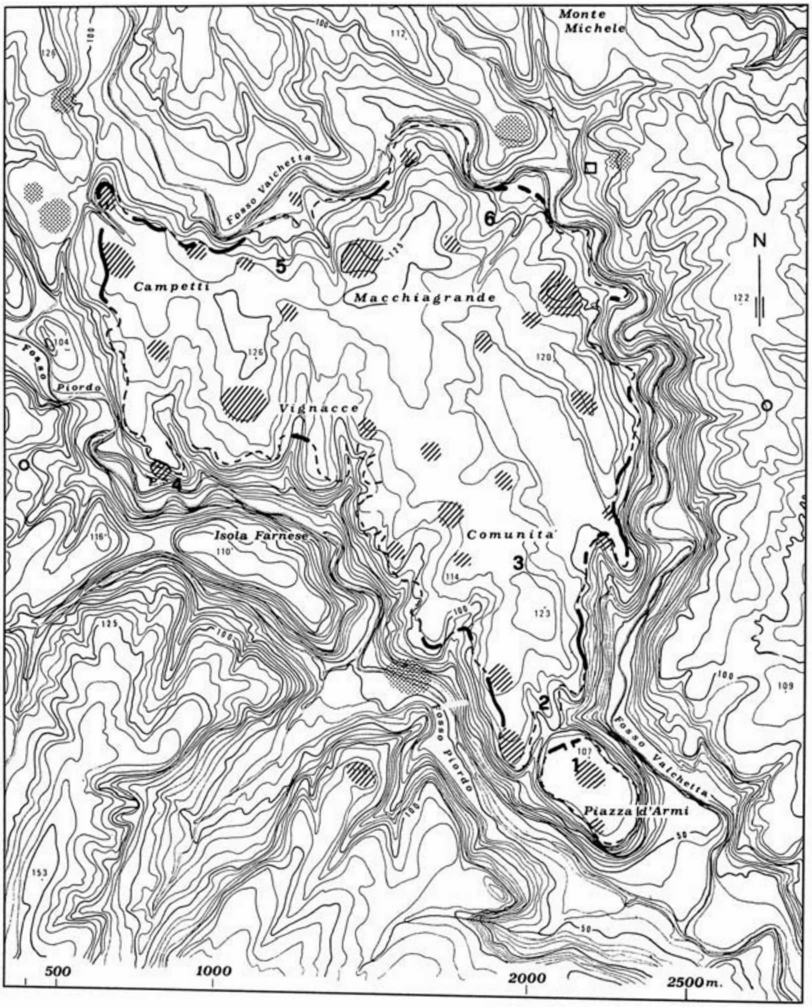

Fig. 3. Veii during the first Iron Age. Hatching indicates settlement areas, dots-necropolis (after G. Pugliese Carratelli [ed.], *Rasenna-Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*, Milan 1986, 508, tabl. III).

First Contacts with the Outside World

At the same time as Tyrrhenian society grew in complexity, it also opened up to the outside world. The first objects to circulate, especially among warrior élites, were weapons: greaves and, above all, swords of a type in use in the Calabrian settlement of Torre Galli

near Tropea. Manufactured metal goods and pottery reached Etruria from the indigenous populations of Calabria and Basilicata through intermediaries. From the end of the 9th century long range exchange by sea did exist, with Sicily (even if limited to Pontecagnano) and more frequently with nuragic Sardinia.[16] The presence of Sardinian manufactured goods (bronze statuettes, buttons, models of boats, etc.) at Pontecagnano (Fig. 4), Vulci and along the coasts of northern Etruria is limited to burials of people of rank and seems to be more common in female graves, although not entirely absent from some warrior graves.

It is likely that these Sardinian objects were transported by Phoenician ships. Indeed, their presence is often accompanied by that of Near Eastern luxury goods such as a cup in Vetulonia and the first Egyptian-type scarabs.

It is against this already lively background of international relations that contacts were resumed between the Tyrrhenian and Greek worlds. This phenomenon is clearly noticeable in the first half of the 8th century with the presence of MGII pottery in phase II Early Iron Age contexts.

What was the social structure of the Etruscan world at this time? In theory, control over individual communities seems still to have been in the hand of adult male warriors; it is clear, however, that real power was concentrated ever more in the hands of a restricted élite based on small and dominant kinship groups (Fig. 5). These groups, which formed the nucleus of future nobilities, interacted with and secured the friendship of foreigners through a system of gift exchange. The gifts seem to have consisted mainly of drinking cups with geometric decoration (pendent semicircles, chevrons, birds, meanders and other decorative motifs) (Fig. 6), as well as some jugs for pouring wine (oinochoai). Somewhat rarer was the krater, the vessel which typifies the *symposion*, used for mixing wine with water and thus providing the means of drinking wine according to the cultural norms of the Greek world.

These vases, despite their simplicity, are distinguished easily from the locally produced coarse handmade dark wares: their regular shape, a consequence of the use of the wheel, and painted decoration immediately pick them out as exotic objects. It was clearly not

[16] Cristofani 1983, 15–7; Gras 1985; Gastaldi 1994.

Fig. 4. Pontecagnano (Sa). Fragments of the furniture from tomb No. 6107, including a small bronze basket from Sardinia (Museo dell' Agro Picentino) (after P. Gastaldi, *Pontecagnano II.1: La necropoli del Pagliarone*, Naples 1998, 162–4).

Fig. 5. Seated figure from Caere (Rome, Museo dei Conservatori) (after G. Pugliese Carratelli [ed.], *Rasenna-Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*, Milan 1986, fig. 462).

Fig. 6. Euboean skyphoi from Lefkandi and Veii (after S. Aro, *Hamburger Beiträge* 19/20 [1992/93], 221).

from their modest intrinsic value that these objects derived their importance; their function as status symbols came rather from their use in the consumption of wine. The acquisition of such exotic customs allowed the Tyrrhenian élites to place themselves on an equal footing with the Greek aristocracies.

In Etruria, the distribution pattern of these vessels is significant (Fig. 7): they are almost completely absent from the coastal centres and are concentrated instead in the necropoleis of Veii.[17] This city, which faces Rome across the Tiber, appears to have been an important distribution centre. It was the starting point of a route which led up the Tiber valley 'to the *bacino volsinese* and the Tyrrhenian Sea and in the direction of the famous Tuscan mining region' (Fig. 8).[18] Of equal importance was the river route down to the south towards Campania. The majority of imported goods at Veii are Euboean; only a single cup may be Corinthian. Almost immediately a small number of local imitations were produced which are very difficult to distinguish from imports.

As has already been mentioned, despite their easy access to the sea, centres in southern Etruria have yielded very small numbers of Geometric vases: a few examples in Tarquinia[19] and a small number of isolated cups in the Etrurian interior.[20]

To find a similar presence of Greek pottery to that at Veii it is necessary to go to the principal Etruscan settlements in Campania—Capua and Pontecagnano. The pre-Hellenic necropolis at Cumae[21] has also produced three cups. In all these cases the centres involved have a close and constant relationship with the sea: even Capua and Pontecagnano, situated at some distance from the coast, like Rome controlled a fluvial port, and the river itself allowed easy communications with a large hinterland often occupied by native peoples.

Notwithstanding some rare Attic examples, Euboean cups make up the bulk of imported wares even in Campania. Yet imported vessel types in the different localities do not coincide exactly: glazed cups are common at Pontecagnano;[22] although present in Euboea

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[17] Descoeudres and Kearsley 1983, 9–53; Ridgway, Boitani and Deriu 1985, 139–50.
[18] Colonna 1986, 95.
[19] Paoletti 1986, 407–14.
[20] Peserico 1995.
[21] *Colonizzazione Greca* 1969; d'Agostino 1989; 1990; 1992; *Prima di Pithecusa* 1999.
[22] d'Agostino and Gastaldi 1988, 44–8.

Fig. 7. Sites which have yielded Euboean skyphoi. 1. Tarquinia; 2. Narce; 3. Cures; 4. Veii; 5. Rome; 6. Cumae; 7. Capua; 8. Pithekoussai; 9. San Marzano sul Sarno; 10. Pontecagnano; 11. Torre Mordillo; 12. Incoronata; 13. Scoglio del Tonno; 14. Villasmundo; 15. Sulcis, S. Imbenia (Alghero) (after S. Aro, *Hamburger Beiträge* 19/20 [1992/93], 227).

Fig. 8. The road following the River Tiber (after *Il Tevere e le altre vie d'acqua del Lazio Antico*, Rome 1986, 91, fig. 1).

ther are entirely absent from Veii and Capua. Despite the fairly localised origin of much of the material, the dissimilar local patterns of distribution in Italy suggest that trading expeditions were undertaken as a result of individual initiatives.

How to explain the peculiar distribution pattern of Greek Geometric pottery, which seems to touch the Etruscan area only marginally?[23] To find the answer one must discover what the Euboean pioneers were looking for on the Tyrrhenian coast. The most commonly asserted hypothesis is that their principal scope was the search for metals, and this was certainly an important motivation. I believe that however important this was, the marginal utility which resulted from *emporion*-type commerce and exchange was equally fundamental. Such activities were made possible by the fragmentation of the indigenous world and the consequent lack of an organised economic system.

From this perspective it is easier to understand their decision to remain at the fringes of Etruria proper. This region held a considerable attraction for the Greeks, especially since it controlled the mineral rich areas of northern Etruria. The strong political structures of the Etruscan world did not make it easy for foreign merchants to gain a foothold. Therefore, it was preferable to establish contacts with border communities such as Veii or with the cities in Campania (which were, in effect, advanced enclaves surrounded by weaker and more backward communities). Such centres were more open to outside contacts and exchange. In addition, because of her geographical position, Veii was able to act as intermediary with the Etrurian cities which controlled the sources of metals.

Local Responses

In the Etruscan milieu, the acceptance of Greek ceramics in itself was not as important as the adoption of Greek customs that it implies, in particular the institutionalised drinking of wine, which had only recently developed into the well-defined institution of the *symposion* in Greece itself under the influence of Near Eastern models.[24] As already suggested, the *symposion*, which helped to form and consolidate bonds between people of a similar social stratum, allowed Euboean merchants to establish contacts with the upper echelons of Etruscan society, where it was accepted as the defining activity of a Greek aristocratic lifestyle. It is no accident that all vases exported

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[23] These problems have been revisited by Ridgway 1998, 660; see also Coldstream 1993.

[24] Murray 1994.

to the West in the precolonial period were related in some way to wine consumption, a pattern which continues throughout the Orientalising and Archaic periods.

Nevertheless, as happens frequently, the reception of a foreign custom was accompanied by slight adaptations and elaborations. While in Greece the *symposion* remained essentially outside the funerary spheres,[25] in the Tyrrhenian world its paraphernalia were increasingly to be found among grave goods, and constituted a vital element in the self-definition of the status of members of the élite. The process did not simply occur in Etruria and Etruscan Campania but was repeated in Latium and by other Tyrrhenian communities.[26]

In order to maintain its social visibility, it was necessary for the institutionalised consumption of wine to be carried out using the Greek vessels which were specific to it. The importance of this is demonstrated by the birth in Veii and Campania of local centres of production, set up to satisfy a demand which outstripped the small imported supply. These produced modest numbers of cups which closely imitated those being made contemporaneously in Euboea.

In Etruria the phenomenon at first seems limited to Veii, but from the second half of the 8th century it also comes to involve Vulci and its extensive hinterland, while Tarquinia seems to stay on the fringes of relations with the Greek world until the beginning of the Orientalising period.

This picture has recently been put in doubt by F. Delpino.[27] He notes that during the period between the end of the 9th and the first half of the 8th century, a small collection of wealthy tomb groups from the area also contain innovative objects. Wheel-made decorated pottery appears, as does a new ovoid-shaped impasto vessel of quite large dimensions, which may have fulfilled the function of the krater. If so, then this would suggest both knowledge of and the adoption of the *symposion*.

This hypothesis, while extremely interesting, is not without its problems: if the *symposion* was considered an exclusively exotic and élite

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[25] Murray 1988; Pontrandolfo 1995.

[26] Bartoloni, Cataldi Dini and Zevi 1982, 265–6; Zevi 1987, 73–4; on an 'Oriental' interpretation, see Rathje 1995. While in Etruria vessels for wine were Greek or of Greek type, Latium developed its own specialised repertoire of shapes, albeit with the larger shapes influenced by Near Eastern examples.

[27] Delpino 1989, 110.

activity, it is difficult to imagine its taking place without the use of vessels of either Greek or Near Eastern type. Furthermore, in Greece itself the *symposion* had only taken its definitive shape in the course of the 8th century.[28] It is, therefore, hard to see how this custom could have reached the West before the second quarter of the 8th century, and significant that the first Geometric cups appeared at that very point in time.

The paraphernalia of the *symposion*, present from an early period in élite Tyrrhenian tombs, quickly became the dominant element of their funerary ritual. Until then the representation of the deceased as a warrior had been the highest social distinction. At Veii and Tarquinia, the tombs of the most prominent members of society were distinguished by the presence of parade weapons: a high-crested helmet like those which reached Delphi and Olympia, shield, sword and spears. Already in the third quarter of the 8th century, the presence of weapons, which had once reflected the warrior lifestyle of the deceased, had become simply a symbol of rank. While the weapons remained, their meaning was increasingly removed from reality; they were left as simply a status symbol. Society had changed, and the ideology of the *symposion* accurately reflected the change and furnished the élite with a new funerary idiom. What counted now was not the functional rôle the deceased had played in society but his ascribed status, reflected in a lifestyle marked by Oriental-style luxury.

The Birth of Pithekoussai

Around the middle of the 8th century B.C., contacts between the Greeks and the Tyrrhenian communities underwent a change, made evident by the foundation of a Euboean settlement on the island of Ischia (Fig. 9).[29] This entreprise, destined to change the face of Tyrrhenian Italy, came about at a time when the Euboean presence was joined by that of the Corinthians, and not only on the routes to the West. A similar process took place at Aetos—perhaps ancient Alalkomene—on the island of Ithaca.[30] Today we know that Aetos was not the only place open to exchange; in the Ionian Islands other

[28] According to the alternative chronology proposed by Murray 1994.
[29] Ridgway 1984.
[30] d'Agostino 1994, 22–4.

Fig. 9. View of Pithekoussai (after *Magna Grecia*, Vol. 1, Milan 1985, fig. 334).

similar Dark Age settlements existed on both coasts of Kephalonia.[31] However, around the same time as the foundation of Pithekoussai, Aetos was subsumed into the Corinthian sphere of influence, thus providing a bridgehead to the West.

The nature of these early settlements away from the homeland has been the subject of fierce debate. There does not seem to have been a term in the vocabulary of ancient writers accurately to describe them. This is noticeable in Thucydides' account of the foundation of Zancle (6. 4. 5):[32] he knows of a precolonial Greek settlement and describes it as 'founded by pirates'. According to him, these came from the Chalcidian city of Cumae in Opicia, an observation which, as we shall see, is problematic. The meaning of piracy to Thucydides is explained in another passage (1. 5): pirates tend to come from a high social class intent on gaining profit for themselves and suste-

[31] d'Agostino and Soteriou 1998.
[32] d'Agostino 1994, 21–3.

nance for their subordinates. Thus, we are left with a picture which seems to place such figures on the margins of the aristocracy, while stressing their links with members of the lower classes, although Thucydides does not specify whether these belong to the same *genos*.

This phenomenon would seem to be stimulated by motives similar to those which led the aristocratic societies of Euboea to engage in the first adventures towards the Occident. The power of the dominant clans was founded upon agricultural wealth based mainly on the cultivation of cereals. This was a closed aristocratic world, where only the first-born was guaranteed a substantial political rôle in his city.[33] This state of affairs sparked off the conflicts within the aristocratic caste, whose result was to push those excluded from city politics into the search for new economic activities. Viticulture and the cultivation of the olive now assumed a considerable importance since they were the vehicles for producing the surplus to engage in trade. In addition to commerce intended to aquire essential goods (*prexis*), new patterns developed on a Phoenician model (*emporie*).[34]

After irregular initial contacts had served to open relations with the West, the exiled aristocrats began to engage in more stable relationships with the Tyrrhenian élites. This was the pattern followed in the 7th century by Demaratus, a member of the Bacchiad *genos* which held power in Corinth, who moved to the Etruscan city of Tarquinia.[35] The discovery of economic opportunities resulting from the strucural weakness of this new world at the time led aristocrats to leave in search of the political rôle denied them back home.

The foundation of the first western *apoikia*, Pithekoussai, on the island promontory of Lacco Ameno at Ischia facing the cliff of Cumae (Fig. 10), follows logically. It was an *apoikia* of a peculiar type, one which cannot be traced back directly to Greek city-models. At this stage, and perhaps even later when the first colonies were being founded, the Greek city itself had not yet crystallised into a stable form,[36] indeed it is likely that the cities themselves differed very little from *apoikiai* at this time.[37] Nevertheless, one should not forget that the foundation of settlements in far off lands, such as Pithekoussai

[33] Humphreys 1978; Malkin 1994.
[34] Mele 1979.
[35] On Demaratus, see Musti 1987.
[36] Malkin 1994.
[37] Greco 1994.

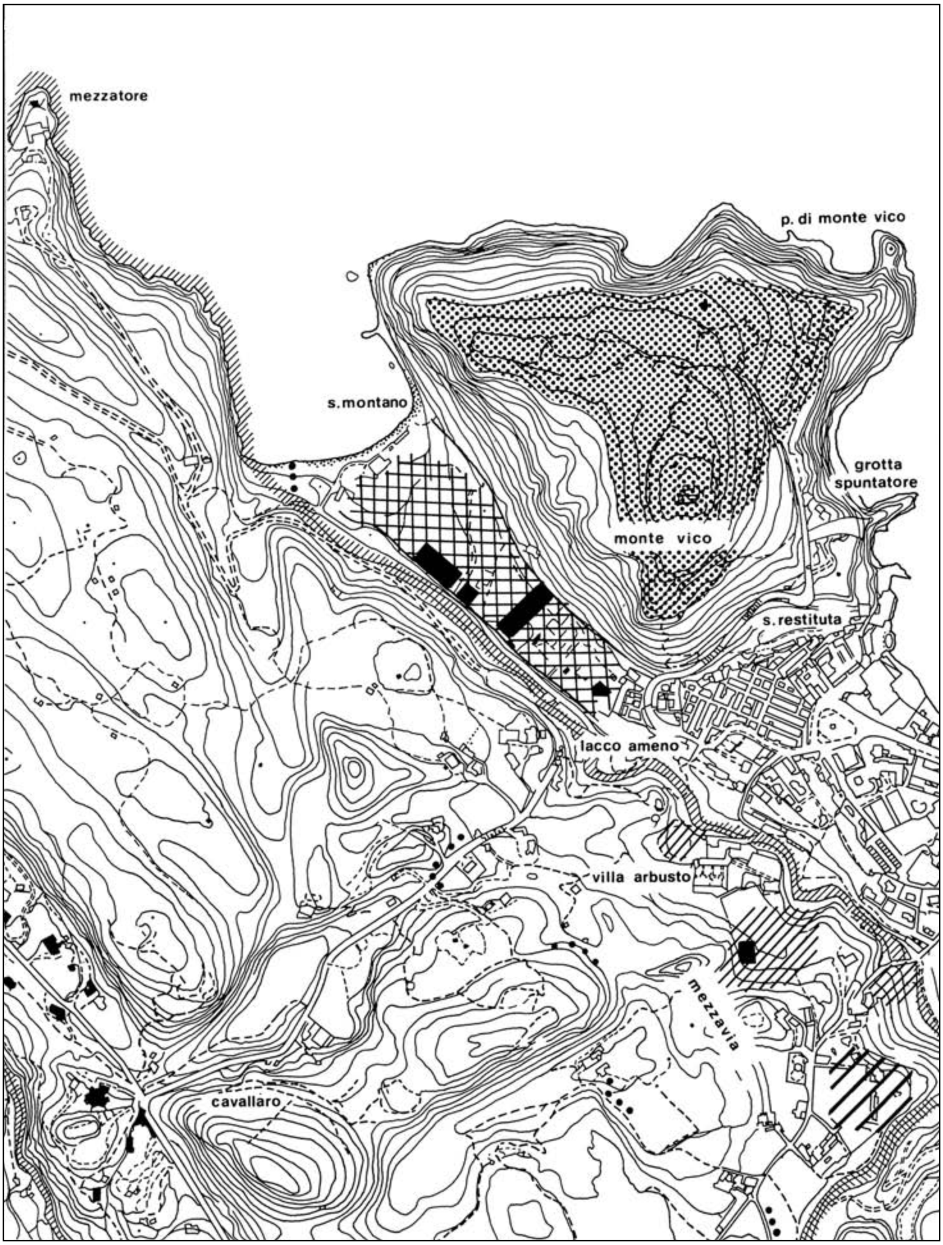

Fig. 10. Pithekoussai. Plan of the site (after *Magna Grecia*, Vol. 1, Milan 1985, fig. 386).

in the Bay of Naples or Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes, necessitated a socio-economic motivation of such strength that it would have left its mark on the organisation of the new settlement.

The anomalous nature of Pithekoussai is already indicated by the disagreement of ancient authors as to its origins. Traditions regarding formally founded colonies have survived owing to the fact that they were closely related to the cults that arose around the *oikist*;[38] there is, however, no mention of an *oikist* for Pithekoussai. Even Strabo, who shows himself to be well informed about the island and who attributes its foundation to Eretrians and Chalcidians (5. 4. 9), in another passage seems to forget Pithekoussai and awards Cumae the honour of being the most ancient Greek colony in the West (5. 4. 4). A. Mele has demonstrated that Strabo based his information on much older Cumaean sources via the writings of Timaeus. Such an affirmation may well spring from Cumaean local patriotism, but there is another explanation. To an ancient author, the only city founded was Cumae; Pithekoussai was an altogether different phenomenon, not directly comparable. This also explains why Thucydides attributed the older foundation of Zancle to pirates from Cumae in Opicia (6. 4. 5). In truth, the enterprise must have originated with Pithekoussai when Cumae did not yet exist.[39] As has been highlighted already, both these atypical *apoikiai* were genetically related, this despite the fact that the first Zancle may have been no more than the fortified harbour used as a base for raiding and brigandage described by Pausanias (4. 23. 7).

To see the seniority of Pithekoussai acknowledged, one must have recourse to two Roman sources, Livy (7. 22. 5) and Phlegon of Tralles[40]—in particular the latter who must have based himself on a very ancient local tradition. He describes the foundation of Cumae by Pithekoussai as an act of violence inflicted on the local indigenous inhabitants under the guidance of Hera.

Pithekoussai[41] does not lend itself easily to rigid definitions. It is certainly an *emporion*; grave goods are rich with Near Eastern *athyrmata*, from figured seal stones of the Lyre Player Group from northern

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[38] Mele 1979, 28, n. 2.
[39] So argues Mele 1979; for a different interpretation, see Greco 1994, 15.
[40] Breglia 1983, 11B vv. 53–55.
[41] On its foundation *cf.* Mele 1979, 28–30.

Syria to the great quantity of Egyptian scarabs.[42] The Euboean settlement must have been home to a substantial colony of Phoenician merchants; indeed, in both the necropolis and the inhabited areas, Phoenician red-slip ware is well represented (the same which influenced the local Etruscan and Campanian pottery repertoire so deeply). For these reasons the island has been seen as the western extremity of a Euboean circuit of exchange which had its other extremity at Al Mina. Already in 1971 A.J. Graham[43] had highlighted the fact that the majority of objects imported from the Near East ended their journey at Pithekoussai. Therefore, of what use was the island to the Euboeans?

The idea that it was simply a bridgehead for the acquisition of Etrurian iron seems unlikely. While traces of Elban iron ore, together with sponges and iron slag from the island, have been found in an ancient dump on the *acropolis* of Monte Vico,[44] it is also true that the metal was present in Euboea itself.

As the economic reasons for the adventure become more blurred, the influence of Euboean artisans on the native populations and in Etruria in particular gains in importance. The birth in Etruria of workshops turning out pottery of the same Euboean style as that found in Pithekoussai is to be attributed to the craftsmen of the island.

More significant in terms of the relationship with the Tyrrhenian world was the rôle of Pithekoussai in the metallurgical sphere. The presence of Elban haematite suggests that part of the metal extracted in northern Etruria was worked at Pithekoussai. Workshops belonging to local smiths dedicated to the working of metals datable from the middle of the 8th century B.C. have been found in the Mazzola site (Fig. 11). We also know from the discovery of a goldsmith's weight that, in addition to iron and bronze, precious metals were also worked on the island.[45] It is likely that these were the origins of the *chryseia* which, in Strabo's opinion (5. 4. 9) made a large contribution to the island's prosperity.[46]

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[42] For the most recent discussion, see Boardman 1994.

[43] Graham 1971.

[44] Buchner 1969, 97–8.

[45] According to Buchner (1975; 1979), the working of Orientalising gold objects found in the princely tombs of southern Etruria would have taken place on the island.

[46] Ridgway 1984, 48.

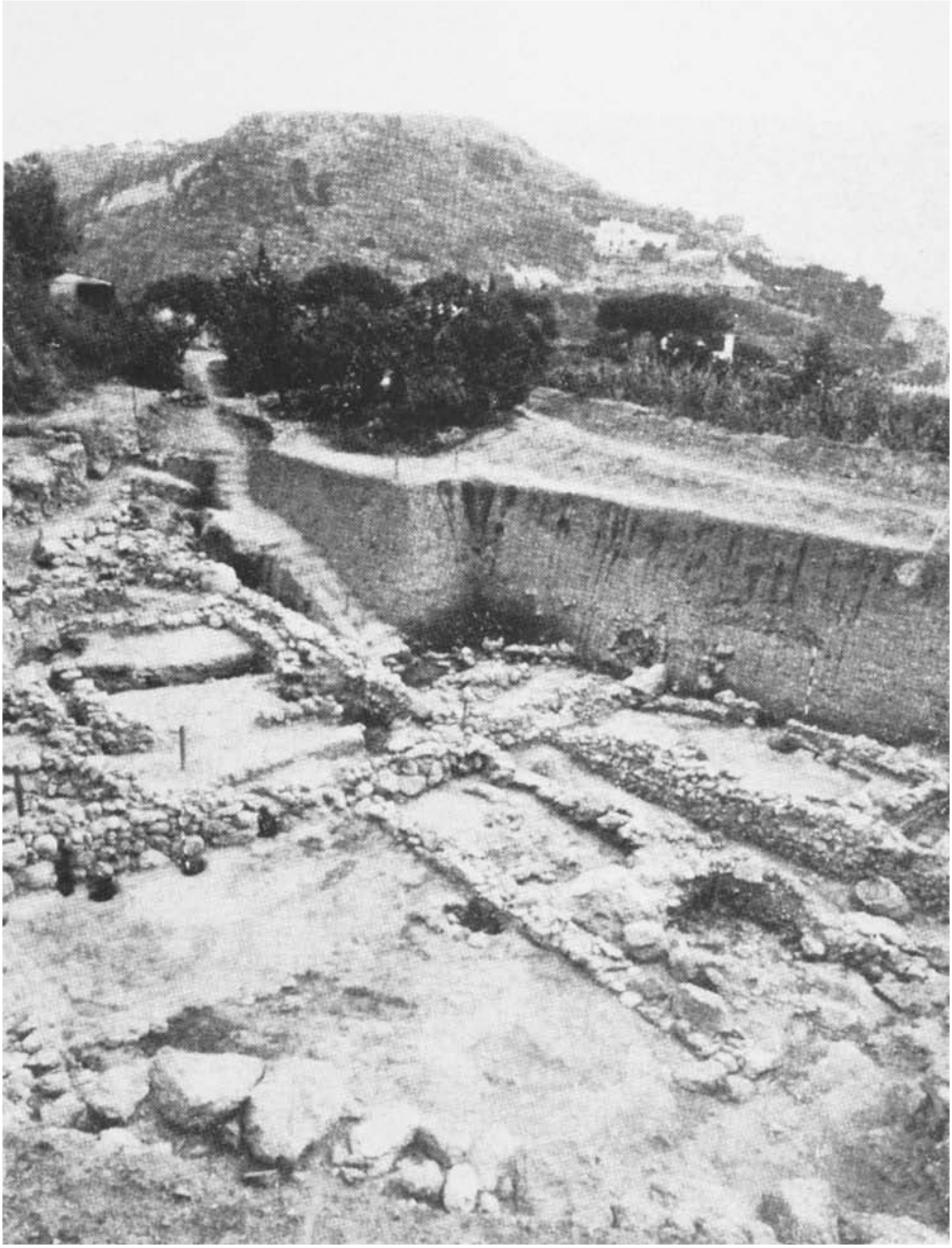

Fig. 11. Pithekoussai. View of the industrial complex (after *Magna Grecia*, Vol. 1, Milan 1985, fig. 335).

In 1972 I proposed a model which attempts to explain the way in which the Pithekoussan economy worked:[47] the strengths of this settlement lay in its possession of artisan know-how, its *techne*. In the ancient world, this was an even more vital resource than raw materials or the luxury goods used in exchange. In the field of metallurgy, the growth of myths concerning the Cabiri of Euboea and the Cimmeri of Cumae prove this.

In this domain the island had a vital rôle. New types of fibulae were developed in Ischia which, throughout the second half of the 8th century B.C., came to be distributed throughout Tyrrhenian Italy. This new repertoire of fibulae was an elaboration of existing Tyrrhenian types, which the Greeks of the island had come to know also through mixed marriages with indigenous and, perhaps, also Etruscan women.[48] The character of the existing repertoire was modified, and, in addition to bronze fibulae, new types were created in silver and electrum. These qualified as prestige goods, not only because of their material but also on account of the technical virtuosity of their execution. Thus a fashion was created and spread among the inhabitants of Greek colonies and non-Hellenic settlements in Italy and Sicily alike, regardless of ethnic differences.

Pithekoussan crafts therefore conformed to a system whereby raw materials were purchased from Etruria only to be returned to Tyrrhenian communities as manufactured goods. No less important was the movement of artisans themselves, both metalworkers and potters, and their capacity to establish local workshops in Etrurian territory.

In the light of these still valid facts, it would seem logical to conclude that Pithekoussai[49] was an *emporion* ready to welcome external contributions of any type and whose population was made up primarily of artisans and merchants. The way in which the settlement was established had failed to reproduce the land-rich aristocracy which developed in more formally founded colonies such as Cumae. More recent evidence, however, suggests that in reality the settlement had a much more formal structure.

Even at the time of the birth of Pithekoussai, the Euboean presence on the island was not limited to the principal settlement of Lacco Ameno, situated on the promontory opposite Cumae; they

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[47] *Cf.* d'Agostino 1994.
[48] Buchner 1979, 133–5; Coldstream 1993, 90–5.
[49] This was the hypothesis expounded in d'Agostino 1972.

controlled the whole island. A small but significant rural hamlet has recently been discovered at Punta Chiarito on the opposite side of the island as well as evidence of other inhabited areas indicated by chance finds at other points along the coasts of the island.[50] These finds illustrate the great importance of control of the island's agricultural *chora*. Still today the Ischian soil is particularly suited to viticulture,[51] such a typically Euboean activity that the Lelantine plain between Chalcis and Lefkandi was known by the ancients as an *oinopedon*.[52] Thus the fame of the island's *eukarpia* is further justified (Strabo 5. 4. 9).

Still more significant is the picture which emerges from the Pithekoussai necropolis, now that a large proportion of the grave goods have been the subject of an exemplary publication.[53]

The preliminary reports suggested a society without strong social stratification. Princely tombs of the type found at Cumae were, and still are, absent, a fact which confirms the distinctive status of Pithekoussai when compared with more typical colonial *ktiseis*. In addition, the only evidence of a slightly higher social class (D. Ridgway's upper middle class) was construed from the presence of *parures* similar to those found in other female tombs but executed in precious metals (silver or more rarely electrum). Thus, only burial customs indicated the existence of a firm social framework, which seemed to be differentiated by age groups. Adults were cremated and their remains deposited under a small stone tumulus together with burnt grave goods, while adolescents and children were inhumed in pit graves, and infant bodies were inserted in a pot (*enchytrismos*). Only certain adults of subordinate classes were inhumed in a crouching position and buried in shallow graves.

The recently published area of the necropolis suggests a more complex picture[54]. Inhumation is, in fact, reserved for around half the adult population, and these graves are characterised by the poverty, or indeed total absence, of grave goods. Thus a large lower class seems to have existed. Even the grave goods of the privileged few who were cremated suggest considerable divergences of burial practices. This evidence does not effectively distinguish the different

[50] De Caro 1994.
[51] Mele 1979, 22–3, 75–7.
[52] d'Agostino 1994, n. 31; Cor. Theogn. 892.
[53] Buchner and Ridgway 1993.
[54] d'Agostino 1999a; 1999b.

levels of a pronounced stratification of society, but shows a social continuum dominated by an emerging and closed group which nevertheless remains distant from the luxury of the 'princely tombs'. This evidence could well point to a situation in which the society was articulated in some gentilical group and there were wide divergences of wealth between members of the groups themselves.

The map of the necropolis provides further evidence in favour of such an interpretation. In certain areas, tumuli, grave pits and *enchytrismoi* relate to each other in a seemingly ordered way. The continuous use of the plots would seem to indicate the enduring nature of the *genos* as an institution. Adult inhumations on the other hand are located in areas from which tumuli are almost completely absent.

In addition to the points mentioned above, there is other evidence for the description of Pithekoussai as a settlement with a strong social structure.[55] The very fact that a high percentage of the Near Eastern *athyrmata* seem to have ended up among the grave goods of members of the island's Euboean community implies the presence of a cultured and wealthy social class. It was for this very class that the local production of Euboean-style painted pottery, including exceptional pieces such as the Shipwreck Krater (Fig. 12), were destined. Even the employment of writing seems to have had a refined purpose. As M. Giangiulio points out, an inscription like that on Nestor's cup (Fig. 13) denoted not only familiarity with the style and content of epic poetry, but also the existence of a cultured social class which could permit itself the luxury of enjoying such knowledge within the setting of the aristocratic *symposion*.[56]

Pithekoussai seems therefore to keep on the 'precolonial' pattern since it has both style and motives in common with this movement. However, even from an organisational and socio-political perspective, it prefigures all the fundamental aspects of the phenomenon of colonisation.

Pithekoussai and the Tyrrhenian World

Already in our discussion of the Pithekoussan economy, we have had a chance to comment on the influence its metallurgical industry had

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[55] Giangiulio 1981, 152–6.
[56] Murray 1994.

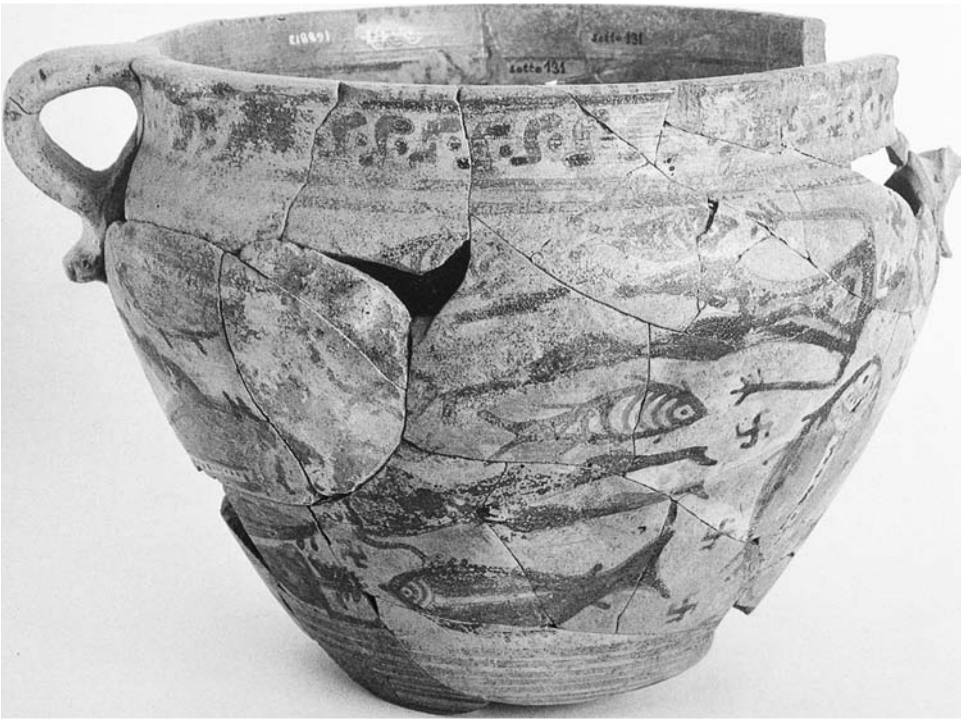

Fig. 12. Pithekoussai. Shipwreck Krater (Pithekoussai, Museum) (after *Magna Grecia*, Vol. 1, Milan 1985, fig. 340).

on the Etruscan and Italic peoples of the Tyrrhenian area. The rôle of the island's craftsmen in the creation of the Orientalising Etruscan gold-working industry was so great that G. Buchner considered that much of its output in fact originated in Pithekoussai.[57] Although he somewhat over-stresses his point, Buchner nevertheless highlights the likelihood that smiths trained on the island would have moved to Etruria, introducing there techniques, such as granulation and filigree, learnt from the Phoenicians.

Potters must have followed the same trend. While the majority of vases found amongst grave goods—oinochoai and kotylai—are of a generally Corinthian type, most large vessels such as amphorae and kraters, which appear but very rarely in tombs (Fig. 14),[58] are either

[57] Buchner 1975.

[58] The only published case is that of the kraters found in the tomb group including Nestor's cup: see Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 212–4.

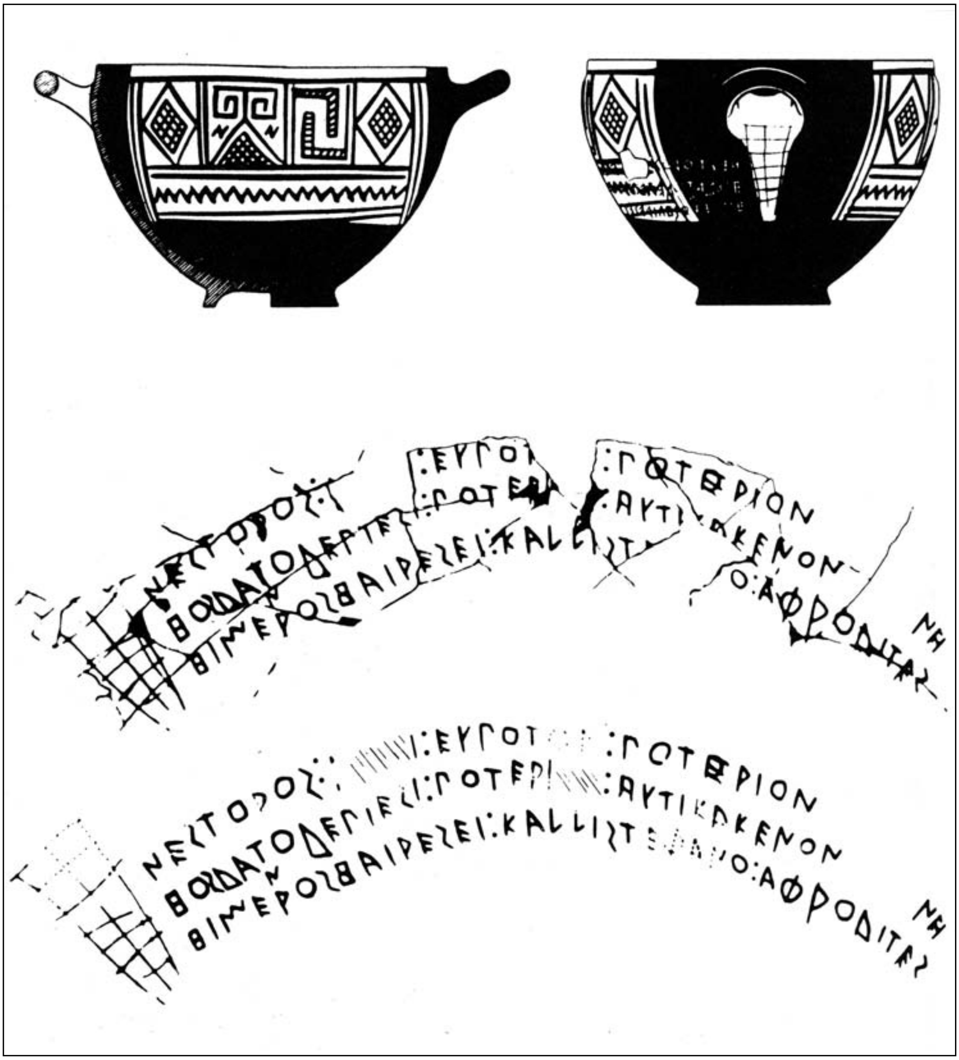

Fig. 13. Pithekoussai. Nestor's cup, tumulus No. 168 (Pithekoussai, Museum) (after *Magna Grecia*, Vol. 1, Milan 1985, fig. 344).

of Euboean manufacture or are close imitations. These are notable for the care taken in their figured decoration, as in the case already emphasised of the Shipwreck Krater.

Around the middle of the century the imitation Greek pottery found in greatest quantities in Etruria tends to reproduce the decorative schemes of Middle and Late Geometric cups. However, more

Fig. 14. Pithekoussai. LG amphora of local production (Pithekoussai, Museum) (after *Magna Grecia*, Vol. 1, Milan 1985, fig. 342).

complex figured schemes take root, inspired by Pithekoussan pottery decorated in the Euboean style. In particular one finds echoes of the style of the Cesnola Painter, transmitted by the vase painters of the island to southern Etruria and in the Etruscan settlements in Campania.[59]

Various workshops have still not been accurately pinpointed; the most important being that of Vulci, founded by Euboean craftsmen from Pithekoussai. The workshop specilised in the production of large kraters which are difficult to distinguish from Greek imports (Fig. 15) on account of the precision of shape and quality of decoration. The Geometric pottery of Vulci expands into a vast hinterland reaching all the way to the valley of the Tiber. In addition, craftsmen from Vulci moved into these inland centres and initiated other local centres of production.

The change from interaction on a personal basis, where it was necessary to maintain ties of hospitality with local élites, to more stable political relations, ended the period of ceremonial exchange. This change in the nature of the association between the Greeks and the Etruscans explains why the spread of imitation pottery was accompanied by an almost total disappearance of genuine imports from centres such as Veii, Capua and Pontecagnano, which had in the past welcomed chevron skyphoi and other Middle Geometric vases as important elements in the grave goods of Early Iron Age tombs.

In those same years, some imported Greek wares and much greater numbers of Pithekoussan imitations appear among the grave goods of some indigenous centres in Campania. These have their greatest concentration throughout the second half of the 8th century in the settlements of the Sarno valley.[60] Typical finds in indigenous tombs include derivations of the chevron skyphos, kotylai of the Aetos 666 type and Thapsos cups and oinochoai. In a rich female tomb all these shapes are accompanied by a standard krater of Euboean type made at Pithekoussai, the only Campanian tomb group of the 8th century B.C. in which the entire repertoire of *symposion* shapes is to be found. Such exchanges, which perhaps once again had a ceremonial function, were tied to a precise moment in the development

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[59] *Lefkandi* I, 75, n. 93 (J. Boardman and M. Price); Canciani 1987, 9–15, 242–54; Cerchiai 1992. On the Cesnola style, see Kourou 1998 and the discussion in Bats and d'Agostino 1998, 405 (J.N. Coldstream and N. Kourou).

[60] d'Agostino 1979; 1982.

Fig. 15. Krater produced in Vulci (750–725 B.C.) (Zürich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität) (after *La ceramica degli Etruschi*, Novara 1987, fig. 5b).

of Pithekoussai, which coincided with the establishment of the Euboean settlement on the island. It is likely that the Euboean community, not yet agriculturally self-sufficient, was forced to seek assistance from the surrounding indigenous peoples.

The rather backward nearby farming communities were stimulated into rapid social change through their contacts with the more

advanced Greek culture. The phenomenon was, however, short-lived and had already run out of steam by the end of the 8th century. The sudden interruption of this process eventually caused the collapse of the indigenous cultures.

The Foundation of Cumae

The ancient sources are rich with information concerning the very earliest history of Cumae. Nevertheless they give no date for its foundation and are not in agreement concerning the circumstances in which this happened. According to Strabo (5. 4. 4), as already mentioned, it was the result of a joint venture by Chalcis and Cumae, each of which provided an *oikist*: Megasthenes from Chalcis and Hippokles from Cumae. He does not, however, specify which Cumae was involved, that in Euboea or that in Aeolis. A. Mele has argued with good reason, based on the history of local cults and myths, that it was in fact Aeolian Cumae.[61] At the time it was written Mele's hypothesis was also supported by the fact that Euboean Cumae had not yet been found. However, recent excavations by E. Sapouna Sakellaraki[62] have brought the site to light, showing its extraordinary importance from prehistory to the end of the Dark Age. The question is further complicated by the fact that Aeolian traditions were present in Euboea itself.

As already noted, according to Livy and Phlegon of Tralles, the relationship between Pithekoussai and Cumae is that of a single foundation which took place at two different times. This account presupposes that both initiatives took place closer in time to each other.

Until recently, it has been acknowledged that the settlement at Pithekoussai dates to the middle of the 8th century, *i.e.* the moment of transition between MGII and LGI. The foundation of Cumae has generally been dated to about 20 years later—at the point where LGI and the Aetos 666 type cups come to an end, and LGII, with its soldier bird kotylai and Protocorinthian spherical aryballoi, begins.

This account has recently been called into question by new finds. During excavation of the northern stretch of the city walls of Cumae,

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[61] The Aeolian presence is mentioned by Ps.-Skymnos 238–239.
[62] Sapouna Sakellaraki 1998.

fragments of vases as old as anything found on Pithekoussai were found in a rampart related to a late 6th century context.[63] It is likely that these come from the earliest graves of the Greek city, disturbed while digging the ditch for the city walls. The earth from the ditch was then used for the rampart.

Based on these few fragments one must be careful not to draw premature conclusions regarding the foundation date of Cumae. It is, however, important to note that whatever the chronological difference between their foundations, the two settlements were fundamentally different in structure.

As previously mentioned, the first element which distinguishes Cumae from Pithekoussai is its status as a formally founded city, with a subsequent *oikist* cult. Cumae was born from a show of strength by the Greeks at the expense of the indigenous Opician inhabitants, whose relations with them in the past had been friendly, as shown by the chevron skyphoi found in two tombs of pre-Hellenic Cumae and the LGI vases included in the grave goods of the pre-Hellenic tombs of the Sarno valley. Thus the initiative was undertaken with a view to securing control of a large agricultural *chora*, at the expense of the Opicians and of the Etruscans from Capua who had control of it previously. The struggle which sought to affirm Euboean supremacy grew almost into a new gigantomachy.[64]

Even more important in defining the nature of the city are the data that emerge from its necropolis, this despite the fact that the excavations took place in the 19th century and were published somewhat unsatisfactorily.

A small group of graves probably related to the first colonists of the city[65] is exceptional both for the funeral ritual and the grave goods. They are cremations with the bones laid in a silver urn placed inside a bronze *lebes*. These are often covered with a bronze shield and placed in a stone cist grave.

This type of burial finds remarkable parallels in graves found in the *heroon* by the west gate of the city of Eretria.[66] These reflected both a conception of the hero and the burial customs found in the *Iliad*. The dead hero is accorded an austere ritual: cremation of the

[63] d'Agostino 1999a; 1999b.
[64] Greco 1994.
[65] Malkin 1994, 6, n. 38.
[66] Bérard 1970.

body and the placing of the charred remains in a precious metal vessel and its deposition under the earth with his weapons as his only grave goods.

The main aspects of these burials can be found in the tombs of Cumae.[67] However, the initial austerity is lost through a process of integration with the Tyrrhenian mindset, which placed great store on a somewhat exaggerated show of the deceased's status.

The dealings between the two cultures were not all one-way traffic: if the Euboean settlements passed on to the Tyrrhenian world the skills of their craftsmen, the knowledge of epic and the art of writing, the Tyrrhenian world also changed the culture of the Euboean cities profoundly, enriching the tombs of their élite with luxury objects produced by their own artisans, such as plated shields, bronze lebetes with hour-glass stands and precious metal clasps. Through these and other contributions a frontier culture was born, which was to shape the Tyrrhenian world until the time of the Tarquinii.

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[67] d'Agostino 1999c.

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EARLY GREEK IMPORTS IN SARDINIA

David Ridgway

There are no Greek colonies in Sardinia. The scatter of Greek ceramics that reached the island in reasonably predictable circumstances in the Archaic and Classical periods[1] hardly justifies an autonomous account in even the most detailed treatment of Greek colonisation and settlement overseas. Prior to the Archaic period, however, a series of recent Sardinian discoveries has shed unexpected light on several major issues.[2] I refer in particular to the Mycenaean penetration of Sardinia, definitively confirmed only in 1980 (Nuraghe Antigori, Sarrok) (Fig. 1, 11), four years after the mysterious emergence of a handful of LH IIIB sherds of clandestine origin, seemingly from the area around the Gulf of Orosei on the eastern seaboard[3] (Fig. 1, 1); and to the addition in 1990 of a Sardinian site (Sant'Imbenia, Alghero [Fig. 1, 14]) to the relatively familiar distribution map of 'precolonial' skyphoi of Greek Geometric types on the Italian mainland. These and similar developments will be briefly assessed below in their Tyrrhenian and wider Mediterranean setting.[4]

Mycenaean

A *catalogue raisonné* of Mycenaean finds in Sardinia issued in 1998 lists the findspots (Fig. 1, 1–13) that have yielded material in the range LH IIIA–IIIC, mainly but by no means exclusively painted

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[1] Ugas and Zucca 1984; Davison 1992; Tronchetti 1992.

[2] For the best part of the last quarter of a century, I have had the privilege of recording Sardinian discoveries and excavations for English readers in *AR for 1979–80*, 54–62; *AR for 1981–82*, 82–3; *AR for 1988–89*, 130–6; most recently Ridgway 1995, 77–81, whence my Figs. 2 and 3). I gladly take this opportunity of re-affirming my gratitude to the many Sardinian colleagues who have shared their news and views with me over the years, and particularly to Dr Fulvia Lo Schiavo, until recently *Soprintendente Archeologo* of the modern administrative provinces of Sassari and Nuoro.

[3] Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1980.

[4] An admirable introduction to the wider scene will be found in Gras 1985, 17–252, especially pp. 43–162.

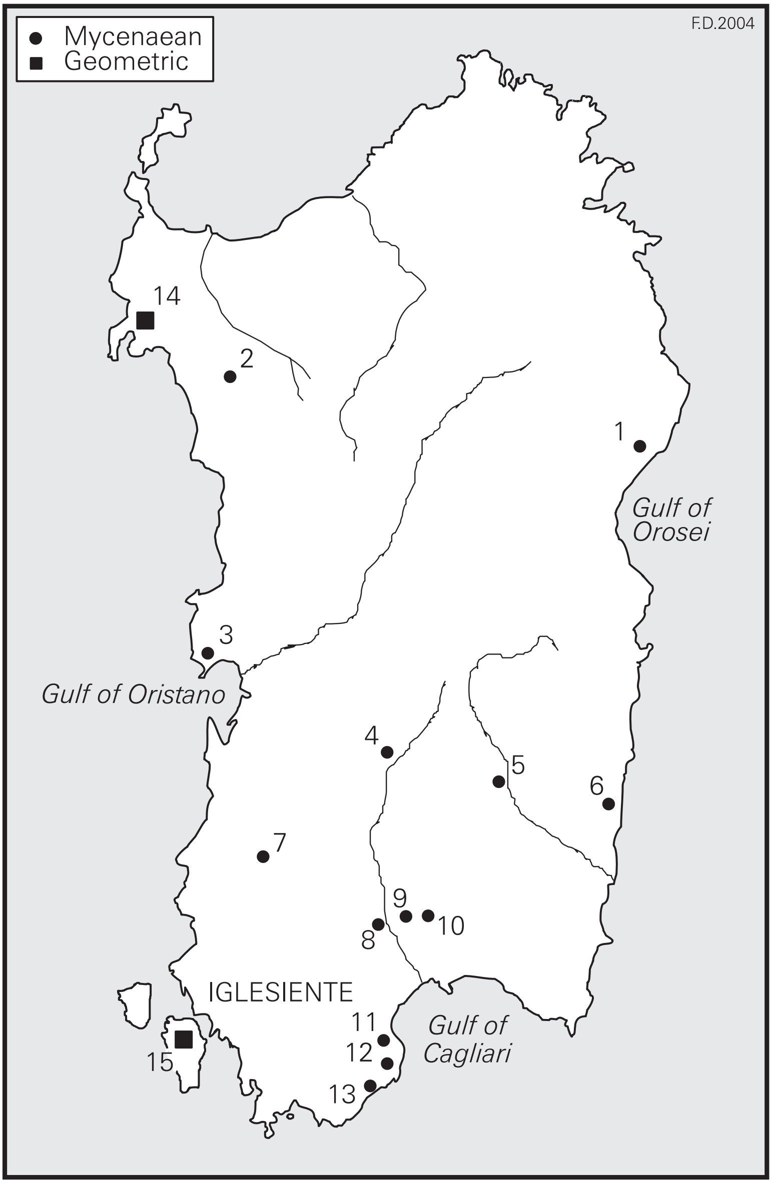

Fig. 1. Findspots of Mycenaean and Geometric material in Sardinia. *Mycenaean*: 1. "Orosei" (precise location unknown); 2. Pozzomaggiore, Sassari; 3. Tharros, San Giovanni di Sinis; 4. Nuraghe Su Nuraxi, Barumini; 5. Nuraghe Arrubiu, Orroli; 6. Nuraghe Nastasi, Tertenia; 7. San Cosimo, Gonnosfanadiga; 8. Mitza Purdia, Decimoputzu; 9. Su Fraigu, San Sperate; 10. Monte Zara, Monastir; 11. Nuraghe Antigori, Sarrok; 12. Nuraghe Domu s'Orku, Sarrok; 13. Nora, Pula. *Geometric*: 14. Sant'Imbenia, Alghero; 15. Sulcis, Sant'Antioco.

pottery (a significant proportion of which was made in Sardinia itself from LH IIIB onwards).[5] This suggests that the addition of Sardinia to the southern Tyrrhenian circuit (established by LH I–II) of Mycenaean contact coincided both with the peak (LH IIIA–IIIB) of Mycenaean palace civilisation on the Greek mainland, and with its period of maximum expansion in the Aegean and as far afield as the Iberian Peninsula.[6]

All but three of the Sardinian findspots of Mycenaean material are in the southerly part of the island, below the Gulf of Oristano on the western seaboard; and no less than seven of them appear to stand in some kind of strategic relationship to the Iglesiente district in the south-west, rich in argentiferous lead, copper and iron ore.[7] A suite of three sites overlooking the western arm of the Gulf of Cagliari coincides with the most obvious landfall for seaborne commerce with this area, whether emanating from the Italian mainland or ultimately from the Aegean or the Levant. Structures within the nuragic fortress of Antigori, Sarrok (Fig. 1, 11), have yielded a rich harvest of Mycenaean sherds of LH IIIB and IIIC date, including imports from the Peloponnese, Crete and Cyprus, as well as locally-made painted vessels, while Mycenaean coarse pottery types and a lead double axe suggest some degree of peaceful co-habitation and perhaps even of expatriate cult activity. Two kilometres south-east of Antigori, further sherds of imported vases from the Peloponnese and Crete have been identified at the Domu s'Orku nuragic complex (Fig. 1, 12), as have a few local versions (LH IIIC); and, a little further south still, there is another stray LH IIIC sherd from Nora (Fig. 1, 13), the site of the first Phoenician colony in Sardinia. A clear indication of external metallurgical connexions—and of the early existence of ferrous metallurgy in Sardinia, perhaps indeed of its actual introduction to the whole western Mediterranean—is afforded by the association of a piece of worked iron with a fragmentary

[5] See Re 1998 for a map (whence the Mycenaean information on my Fig. 1), and, with Vagnetti 1998, for earlier references (of which only the most important and/or accessible are repeated here). The generally accepted approximate dates B.C. for the Mycenaean (L[ate]H[elladic]) pottery phases mentioned in the text are: LH I = 1575–1500; LH II = 1500–1400; LH IIIA = 1400–1300; LH IIIB = 1300–1190; LH IIIC = 1190–1050/30 (Mountjoy 1993, 4).

[6] Vagnetti 1993; 2000. See also J. Vanschoonwinkel's chapter on Mycenean expansion in the present volume.

[7] Giardino 1995, 148.

'wishbone' handle of imported Late Cypriot 'Base Ring II' ware (prior to 1200 B.C.)[8] in an undisturbed level at the Nuraghe Antigori. In a cogent observation that has yet to receive the attention it deserves, F. Lo Schiavo has pointed out that the search for iron could well constitute 'a better explanation for the Cypriot presence in the West than the exchange of copper between the two islands richest in copper ores'; and it could also provide a context for the early introduction to Sardinia of the Aegeo-Levantine *cire perdue* method of casting bronze, essential to the production of the well-known Sardinian series of *bronzetti*.[9]

There is food for thought, too, in the fact that the earliest Aegean artefacts exported to Sardinia were found further inland than most of the others and are among the most prestigious. They include around 70 faience and glass beads of types close to Aegean examples of LH IIIA type, all from the characteristically nuragic 'giant's tomb' of San Cosimo, Gonnosfanadiga (Fig. 1, 7); and a miniature Mycenaean ivory head of a warrior wearing a boar's tusk helmet (LH IIIA–IIIB), found during an archaeological survey around Mitza Purdia, Decimoputzu (Fig. 1, 8). Both sites are on the northern fringe of the Sulcis-Iglesiente, and it is tempting to see these two luxury items as gifts offered at a high social level in exchange for access to the resources there. In this connexion, it is perhaps worth recalling the appearance during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. (roughly corresponding to LH IIIA–IIIB) of Sardinian impasto vessels in the metalworking areas of Kommos, the principal Minoan port town in southern Crete; it has been authoritatively suggested that they could have been used as containers for scrap metal.[10]

A 'gifts for access' model similar to that proposed above would account for another early prestige object: the fine Mycenaean straight-sided alabastron of LH IIIA(–IIIB?) date (Fig. 2),[11] probably from the north-eastern Peloponnese, that was discovered in the foundation level of the central courtyard inside the Nuraghe Arrubiu, Orroli (Fig. 1, 5)—the largest and most imposing site of its kind in all Sardinia. Given the stratigraphical position of the Mycenaean frag-

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[8] Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1985, 5 no. II, 4 with fig. 2.5.

[9] Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989, 227.

[10] Watrous *et al.* 1998.

[11] Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1993; *cf.* Mountjoy 1993, 76 no. 160.

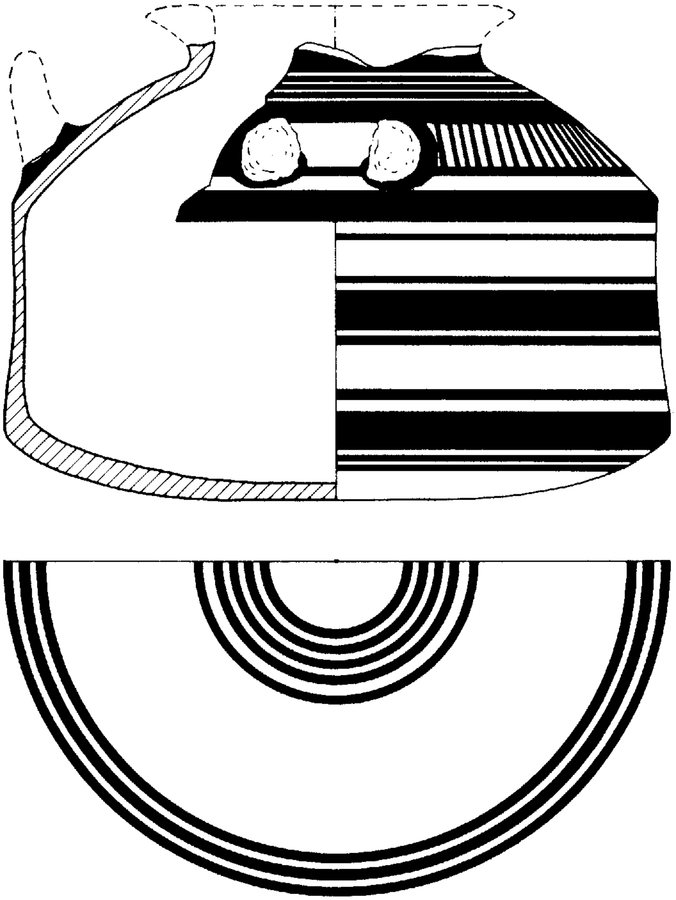

Fig. 2. Mycenaean alabastron from Nuraghe Arrubiu, Orroli (after Ridgway 1995, 79, fig. 3).

ments, it is clear that this vessel was broken before the completion of the central tower and its impressive (and so far unique) pentalobate complex; it is equally clear that this handsome vase does not form part of any kind of Mycenaean 'package'. But it can hardly have been dropped by accident: and Arrubiu *is* the largest nuragic structure in Sardinia. Although now deserted, the Pranu 'e Muru plateau on which it stands appears to have supported a considerable nuragic population, with easy access to abundant lead mines, excellent clay beds and good agricultural land; and although it is *ca.* 50km from the sea, regular contacts with the coast are indicated by

the extensive presence of mussel and oyster shells. All told, it does not seem too hazardous to postulate a level of native nuragic production and distribution centred on the Arrubiu fortress that could well have attracted the interest, and the respect, of the outside world.

This is not the place for a review of the controversies that continue to surround the oxhide ingots of copper in Cyprus and Sardinia.[12] Suffice it to say that resident bronze-workers from Cyprus were clearly active and influential in Sardinia by the 12th–11th centuries B.C.; and that from then onwards the indigenous Sardinian communities participated in long-distance exchanges that were as remarkable in their own way—and as redolent of an 'aristocratic' society—as the many sophisticated nuragic buildings that were being commissioned and executed at the same time. It is by no means impossible that the first mutually profitable exploitation of the mineral riches of the Colline Metallifere ('Metal-bearing Hills') of northern Etruria was organised by entrepreneurs from Sardinia rather than by their 'precolonial' counterparts from Euboea and Corinth whose imported and locally-made Geometric skyphoi are encountered in the native Iron Age *corredi* along the Tyrrhenian seaboard of peninsular Italy.[13] That rather too much credit for 'opening up the West' has been attributed in the past to purely Greek enterprise is in any case apparent from J. Toms' perceptive revision of the classic Villanovan sequence in the Quattro Fontanili cemetery at Veii, which demonstrates clearly that significant advances in the local use of metal had already been achieved in the decades immediately preceding the 'chevron skyphos phase'.[14]

Geometric

It is against this background that the discovery of Euboean Geometric skyphos fragments in Sardinia itself must be assessed. Their immediate context is the nuragic centre of Sant'Imbenia (Fig. 1, 14) on the northwest coast near Alghero, overlooking the magnificent natural harbour of Porto Conte.[15] Investigation has so far been limited

[12] Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1990; Ridgway 1991; Stos-Gale 2000.
[13] Peserico 1995.
[14] Toms 1986.
[15] Bafico *et al.* 1995; 1997; Oggiano 2000. I am particularly grateful to Drs S. Bafico, R. D'Oriano and I. Oggiano for discussing their work at Sant'Imbenia with me on a number of occasions in recent years.

to a small section of the extensive 'village' adjacent to the nuraghe itself. Clearly, not all the buildings so far revealed were intended for habitation. One hut, equipped with a rectangular stone 'bath' and 'drainage(?) channel', has yielded two hoards of small copper ingots, packed—ready for export?—in two locally made amphorae of East Mediterranean type; the same hut also yielded two joining fragments of a Euboean pendent semicircle skyphos; just outside, three more similar sherds were found, two with chevrons and one with a bird (Fig. 3).

At the time of writing, the Euboean Geometric fragments from Sant'Imbenia are the earliest post-Mycenaean Greek imports in Sardinia. They are, too, at least as early as the examples of precisely the same three skyphos-types—pendent semicircle, chevron, one-bird—regularly encountered in the *corredi* of the indigenous Iron Age cemeteries of southern Etruria (for example Veii: Fig. 4)[16] and Campania (for example Pontecagnano)[17] on the Italian mainland. There is indeed some reason to think that the pendent semicircle skyphos from Sant'Imbenia might be the oldest known 'precolonial' Greek import in the West as a whole (as well as by far the furthest away from its place of manufacture): in the series established for the type by R. Kearsley, it is closer to 'Type 5' (attested in Cyprus and the Levant as well as the Euboeo-Cycladic area) than it is to 'Type 6', which embraces the other Western specimens.[18]

Turning now to the immediate context of the Sant'Imbenia fragments, the most salient feature is surely that this interesting site provides us with the first direct association in the Western archaeological record of Euboean Geometric pottery and metallurgical activity. Hitherto, in the words of the present writer, we have had to make do with no more than

> . . . the strong possibility that the inhabitants of the southernmost of the large contemporary centres of Etruria [*i.e.* Veii] played an essential part—perhaps as intermediaries acting on behalf of the metal-rich centres of northwest Etruria—in the trade in iron and other raw materials whose existence was one of the prime motives for the establishment of the two foundations that represent not only the earliest (and so least documented, and unblessed by Delphi) but also the most northerly advance of Greek colonisation [*i.e.* Pithekoussai and Cumae].[19]

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[16] Ridgway 1979; 1988.
[17] See most recently Bailo Modesti and Gastaldi 1999.
[18] Kearsley 1989, 99–104; 138–9.
[19] Ridgway 1979, 120–1.

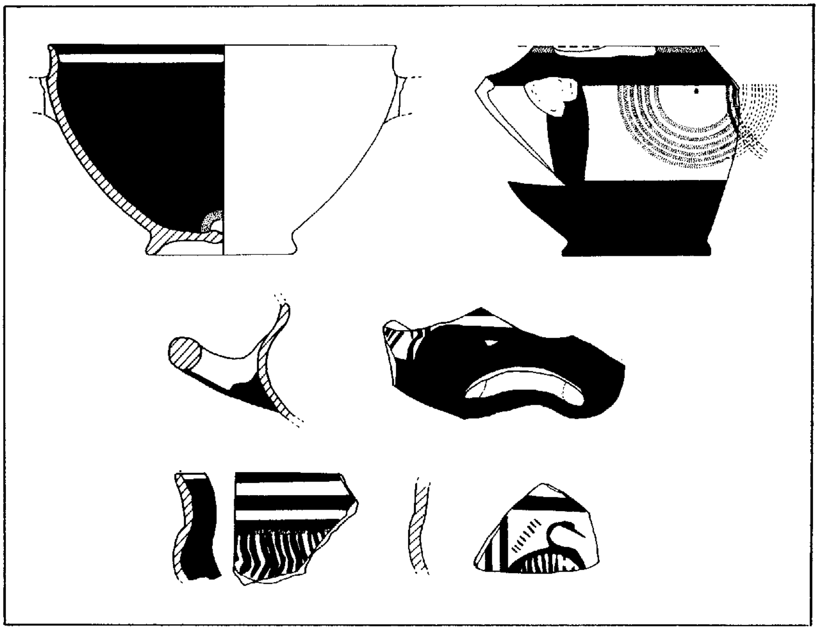

Fig. 3. Euboean Geometric skyphos fragments from the nuragic village of Sant'Imbenia, Alghero (after Ridgway 1995, 81, figs. 5–6). For the types (pendent semicircle, chevron, one-bird), *cf.* Fig. 4.

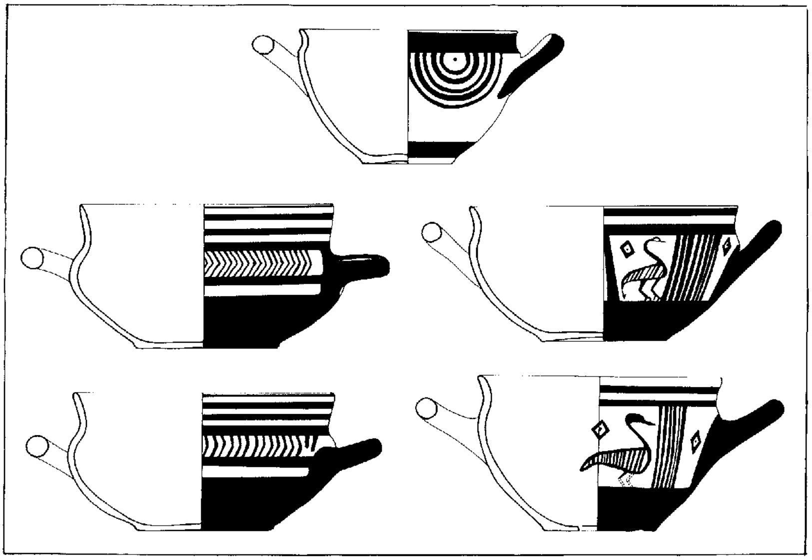

Fig. 4. Euboean Geometric skyphos types from the Villanovan cemetery of Quattro Fontanili, Veii, Southern Etruria (after Ridgway 1988, 491, fig. 1), *cf.* Fig. 3.

Now, at Sant'Imbenia, we find Euboean pieces of precisely the same types as those that have long been familiar along the Tyrrhenian seaboard of the Italian mainland. They come from the interior and immediate vicinity of a building that has also produced two ingot hoards, and moreover forms part of a complex situated in a position that combines the characteristics of an ideal landfall with those of a clearing-house for the major centres of its hinterland. Among the latter is the Nuraghe Flumenelongu, where the variety of forms represented in an interesting bronze hoard had already been independently interpreted in terms of a connexion with the international 'tin route'[20] of the late 10th and early 9th centuries B.C.; and the Algherese as a whole is fertile, and well-supplied with copper, lead, and iron.[21] It almost looks as though we are dealing with a late stage in the story that began with Mycenaean 'prospectors' seeking access to the Sulcis-Iglesiente, and continued with the pan-Mediterranean distribution of oxhide ingots: and it is tempting to speculate on the prospect of an unbroken sequence offered by the preliminary demonstration that occupation of the Sant'Imbenia site goes back at least as far as the local Middle Bronze Age (*ca.* 1600–1400 B.C.).

But if we suppose that the Sant'Imbenia village owes its existence to an understandable native nuragic wish to supply an external demand for raw materials, the evidence does not permit us to attribute the demand in question to the first Greeks in the West. Most of the imported pottery at the site is Phoenician; and the local nuragic wares are influenced to a unique degree by Phoenician preferences and manufacturing techniques.[22] If the traditional 'search for metals'[23] was the determining factor here, it was Levantine rather than Greek, Phoenician rather than Euboean—an impression that is in no way diminished by the presence, barely a generation later, of a handful of fragments of painted Euboean and Euboeanising (perhaps Pithekoussan?) Geometric vases at the early Phoenician colony of Sulcis on the island of Sant'Antioco (Fig. 1, 15).[24]

[20] 'The route, leaving the Aegean, touched Cyprus, passed through Sicily, and then via the Tyrrhenian coasts of Lazio and Tuscany, and Sardinia, reached Spain, the Atlantic coast of Portugal, and finally England and Ireland in one direction and Brittany in another' (Lo Schiavo 1976, 14).

[21] Giardino 1995, 141, 147.

[22] Oggiano 2000.

[23] *Cf.* Dunbabin 1948, 8.

[24] Bernardini 1988; 1997.

Wider Issues

The diagnosis proposed at the end of the previous section raises various questions of more than local interest. Some of them have been identified and appraised on a number of recent occasions elsewhere, most notably in a context of antipathy to Hellenocentrism in general and to pan-Euboeanism in particular.[25] There is no need to return to this controversy here,[26] and in any case a middle way seems to be gaining ground:

> No matter what the exact nature of the relationship between Euboeans and Phoenicians, it is clear that there was contact between these two peoples, especially at several key geographic sites of convergence. The strategic location of the islands of Cyprus, Crete, and Sardinia helps explain their important role in Greco-Phoenician commerce.[27]

The recognition of a handful of Euboean Geometric pottery fragments on what appears to be a heavily Phoenicianised site in Sardinia certainly does not guarantee the presence there of actual Euboeans. The situation at Sant'Imbenia allows no more than the inference that the hypothetical Levantine entrepreneurs who were responsible for the present state of the evidence were, or had recently been, in some kind of contact—at Sant'Imbenia itself or elsewhere—with people whose possessions included the distinctive types of drinking vessel involved. It may in any case be that, in the practical circumstances of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., ethnic distinctions decreased in importance as the physical distance from 'home' increased (along with loyalty to the group itself, and to its leader). This is all the more likely to be the case if the following two statements about our area and period are to be believed:

> It appears that the gains from trade accrued to the traders in such ways that the traders, if not others, viewed the gains separately from their obligations to members of their communities at home;

and

> . . . iron obtained in one's home territory or at least from nearby sources was not as desirable as iron obtained at a distance. . . . Iron (or any other commodity) generated at or near home was perceived as oblig-

[25] *E.g.* Morris 1998 and Papadopoulos 1998, both with earlier self-reference.
[26] *Cf.* Ridgway 2000, 183–5.
[27] Dougherty 2001, 149.

> ated in some way to the community in which it was generated; iron (or any other commodity) obtained at a distance was not so obligated and could be used by individuals (and groups) without concern for the community at home . . .[28]

In such circumstances, and 'against a background where mobility was easy, and even normal, and where large numbers of ships and people were continuously and familiarly moving around the Mediterranean,'[29] it is not difficult to see how a group overseas could, in spite of the presence of instantly diagnostic artefacts, assume an identity that defies classification in terms of pre-existing ethnic categories. Nor would it be surprising if some settlements abroad developed into what A. Peserico—citing Rhodes in the East and Pithekoussai in the West—has elegantly defined as 'cultural clearing-houses', with all that this term implies for reception, re-working and onward transmission.[30]

The transition from an early period of 'multinational entrepreneurial expansion' to a later one of 'Greek colonisation' does not concern us here: its delineation depends to a significant degree on comprehension of the emerging needs and priorities of individual Greek states, and of the ways and means in which those states were able to turn the existing international situation to their own advantage. It is, however, reasonably clear that the first period can no longer be regarded as simply 'precolonial' *vis à vis* the second in any but the literal 'before and after' terms of relative chronology: and it is in practice virtually impossible to divest this time-honoured word of its improperly teleological connotations.[31]

From the Bronze Age onwards, Sardinia was part of the wider Mediterranean world in which Greeks lived, moved and exchanged goods. It is possible that, by accident or design, small Greek groups took up permanent or at least seasonal residence there. If so, there is no reason to credit them with colonial intentions, or with anything like the effects on settlement and regional organisation that are plausibly attributed to Phoenician and Punic penetration of the native nuragic scene.[32]

With the discoveries at Sant'Imbenia, in fact, Sardinia has joined the growing list of areas that received Greek Geometric skyphos types

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[28] Tandy 1997, 4, 64.
[29] Osborne 1996, 129.
[30] Peserico 1996.
[31] Malkin 1998, 10–3; see also Oggiano 2000, 235 note 1.
[32] van Dommelen 1998.

but were never subsequently colonised by Greeks: the same is now true not only of Etruria, but also of Sabine country, Latium vetus and North Africa as well.[33] We may conclude that, in the case of Sardinia, neither Bronze Age (Mycenaean) nor Iron Age (Geometric) Greeks could fail to share the interest shown from the earliest times by the outside world in the natural resources of the island that Herodotus regarded as 'the biggest in the world'.[34]

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[33] Ridgway 2000, 187.

[34] Herodotus 1. 170; 5. 106; 6. 2. Assuming that Herodotus' world did not extend beyond the Mediterranean, he is literally wrong: Sardinia, with a surface area of 24,090km^2, is in fact slightly smaller than Sicily (25,708km^2). However, it has been pointed out that the only observations of islands likely to be available to the Father of History in the 5th century B.C. were those concerning their coastlines (Rowland 1975): that of Sardinia (1,335km) is noticeably longer than that of Sicily (1,094km). It is interesting to note that Greek awareness of something more than the perimeter of Sardinia had reached the written record by the 2nd century A.D.: 'the Greeks who went there to trade called it "Ichnussa", because the island's shape closely resembles that of a human footprint *ichnos*' (Pausanias 10. 17. 1)—hence the title of the studies in Sardinian archaeology presented to Miriam S. Balmuth (Tykot and Andrews 1992)!

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GREEKS IN SICILY*

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It is traditional to begin the history of Greek colonisation in Sicily by mentioning a well-known passage of Thucydides in the opening chapters of his sixth book because, despite the problems that this text continues to arouse, it is one of the most interesting general overviews left by an ancient author about this historical process, both in respect of Sicily and for continental Greece. I shall, therefore, follow tradition:

> Of the Hellenes, the first to arrive were Chalcidians from Euboea with Thucles, their founder. They founded Naxos and built the altar to Apollo Archegetes, which now stands outside the town, and upon which the deputies for the games sacrifice before sailing from Sicily. Syracuse was founded the year afterwards by Archias, one of the Heraclids from Corinth, who began by driving out the Sicels from the island upon which the inner city now stands, though it is no longer surrounded by water: in process of time the outer town also was taken within the walls and became populous. Meanwhile Thucles and the Chalcidians set out from Naxos in the fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse, and drove out the Sicels by arms and founded Leontini and afterwards Catane; the Catanians themselves choosing Evarchus as their founder.
>
> About the same time Lamis arrived in Sicily with a colony from Megara, and after founding a place called Trotilus beyond the river Pantacyas, and afterwards leaving it and for a short while joining the Chalcidians at Leontini, was driven out by them and founded Thapsus. After his death his companions were driven out of Thapsus, and founded a place called the Hyblaean Megara; Hyblon, a Sicel king, having given up the place and inviting them thither. Here they lived

* I would like to thank G.R. Tsetskhladze for entrusting me with this chapter, which has let me revisit a subject I dealt with several years ago (Domínguez 1989). In this chapter I have been able to take into account recent scholarship and new approaches to the issue of the Greek colonisation of Sicily and relationships with the non-Greek world. I should also like to express my gratitude to F. De Angelis, who kindly gave me details of the most recent literature about ancient Sicily.

two hundred and forty-five years; after which the Syracusan tyrant Gelon expelled them from the city and the country. Before their expulsion, however, a hundred years after they had settled there, they sent out Pamillus and founded Selinus; he having come from their mother country Megara to join them in its foundation. Antiphemus from Rhodes and Entimus from Crete, who joined in leading a colony thither, in the forty-fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse, founded Gela. The town took its name from the river Gelas, the place where the citadel now stands, and which was first fortified, being called Lindii. The institutions that they adopted were Dorian. Near one hundred and eight years after the foundation of Gela, the Geloans founded Acragas (Agrigentum), so called from the river of that name, and made Aristonous and Pystilus their founders; giving their own institutions to the colony. Zancle was originally founded by pirates from Cumae, the Chalcidian town in the country of the Opicans: afterwards, however, large numbers came from Chalcis and the rest of Euboea, and helped to people the place; the founders being Perieres and Crataemenes from Cuma and Chalcis respectively. It first had the name of Zancle given it by the Sicels, because the place is shaped like a sickle, which the Sicels call zanclon; but upon the original settlers being afterwards expelled by some Samians and other Ionians who landed in Sicily flying from the Medes, and the Samians in their turn not long afterwards by Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, the town was by him colonized with a mixed population, and its name changed to Messina, after his old country.

Himera was founded from Zancle by Euclides, Simus, and Sacon, most of those who went to the colony being Chalcidians; though they were joined by some exiles from Syracuse, defeated in a civil war, called the Myletidae. The language was a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric, but the institutions that prevailed were the Chalcidian. Acrae and Casmenae were founded by the Syracusans; Acrae seventy years after Syracuse, Casmenae nearly twenty after Acrae. Camarina was first founded by the Syracusans, close upon a hundred and thirty-five years after the building of Syracuse; its founders being Dascon and Menecolus. But the Camarinaeans being expelled by arms by the Syracusans for having revolted, Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, some time later receiving their land in ransom for some Syracusan prisoners, resettled Camarina, himself acting as its founder. Lastly, it was again depopulated by Gelon, and settled once more for the third time by the Geloans.

Thucydides 6. 3–5 (Loeb translation)

In this passage, the principal cities founded by the Greeks in Sicily (Fig. 1) during the 8th and 7th centuries appear, ordered according to their different dates of foundation and also according to the different ethnic origins of their founders and colonists. In general, it

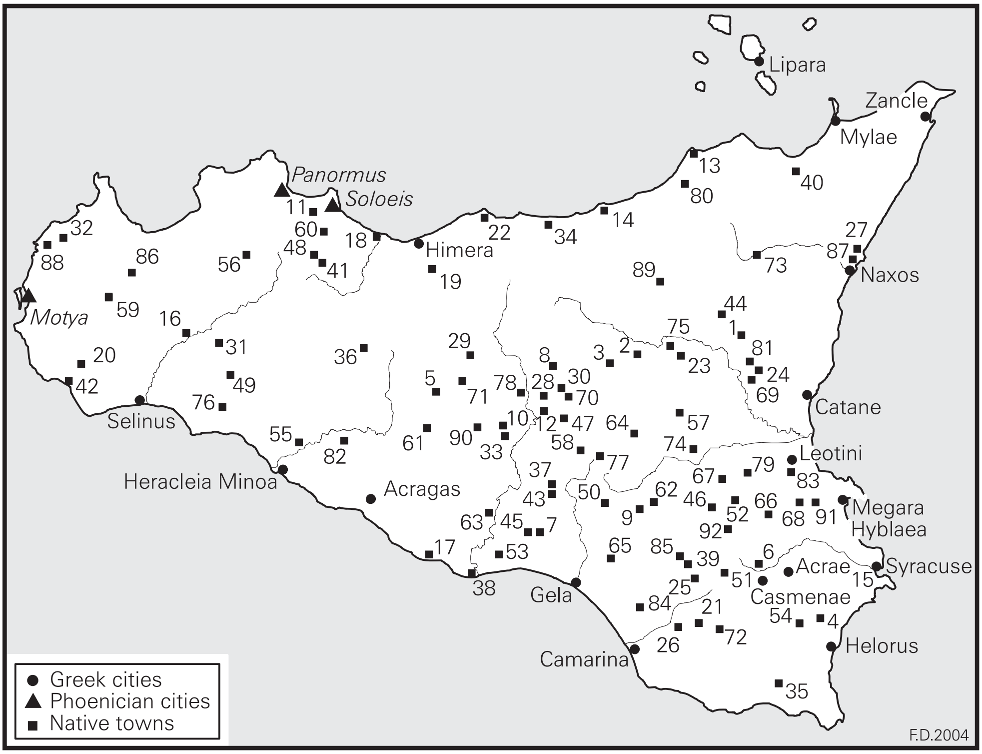

Fig. 1. Main places in Sicily. 1. Adrano; 2. Agira; 3. Assoro; 4. Avola Antica; 5. Balate di Marianopoli; 6. Buscemi; 7. Butera; 8 Calascibetta; 9. Caltagirone; 10. Caltanisetta; 11. Cannita; 12. Capodarso; 13. Capo d'Orlando; 14. Caronia (Cale Acte); 15. Cassibile; 16. Castellazzo di Poggio Reale; 17. Castellazzo di Palma di Montechiaro; 18. Castellaccio di Termini Imerese; 19. Casteluccio di Marianopoli; 20. Castelvetrano; 21. Castiglione; 22. Cefalù; 23. Centuripe; 24. Civita di Paternò; 25. Chiaramonte Gulfi; 26. Comiso; 27. Cocolonazzo di Mola; 28. Cozzo Matrice; 29. Cozzo Mususino; 30. Enna; 31. Entella; 32. Erice; 33. Gibil Gabib; 34. Halaesa Arconidea; 35. Ispica; 36. Monte Kassar; 37. Lavanca Nera; 38. Licata; 39. Licodia Eubea; 40. Longane; 41. Marineo; 42. Mazzara; 43. Mazzarino; 44. Mendolito; 45. Milingiana; 46. Mineo; 47. Montagna di Marzo; 48. Montagnola; 49. Monte Adranone; 50. Monte Bubbonia; 51. Monte Casasia; 52. Monte Catalfaro; 53. Monte Desusino; 54. Monte Finocchito; 55. Monte Giudecca; 56. Monte Iato; 57. Monte Judica; 58. Monte Navone; 59. Monte Polizzo; 60. Monte Porcara; 61. Monte Raffe; 62. Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone; 63. Monte Saraceno; 64. Morgantina-Serra Orlando; 65. Niscemi; 66. Ossini; 67. Palike; 68. Pantalica; 69. Paternò; 70. Pergusa; 71. Polizzello; 72. Ragusa; 73. Randazzo; 74. Ramacca; 75. Regalbuto; 76. Rocca Nadore; 77. Rossomanno; 78. Sabucina; 79. San Basilio di Scordia; 80. San Marco d'Alunzio; 81. Santa Maria di Licodia; 82. Sant'Angelo Muxaro; 83. Sant'Eligio; 84. Scornavacche; 85. Sciri Sottano; 86. Segesta; 87. Taormina; 88. Trapani; 89.Troina; 90. Vassallaggi; 91. Villasmundo; 92. Vizzini.

seems that Thucydides' chronological outline is correct,[1] so it can be used to organise our discussion, taking into account the different origins of those colonial foundations. However, I shall distinguish between the first generation colonies and the colonies they founded in turn (secondary colonisation).

The First Generation Colonies

Euboean Colonies

In Thucydides' text, Naxos, sited at Punta Schisò, 50 km south of the Straits of Messina, appears as the first Greek colony in Sicily (Fig. 2). It does not seem, however, that it was the first place in Sicily to have been visited by the Euboeans (as we shall see later). The relationship of Naxos with the navigation routes seems clear if we consider that the altar of Apollo Archegetes became the point of departure and arrival of the sacred ambassadors (*theoroi*) leaving Siciliy for the sanctuaries and festivals of Greece.[2] It is quite probable that Naxos arose as a mere point within a network of establishments created by the Euboeans during the second half of the 8th century, in order to secure for themselves trading routes in the direction of Tyrrhenian Italy. Of course, within the later historiographical scheme, Naxos appeared as the pioneer of Euboean colonisation in Sicily and around it new foundation stories arose, which added more details to the brief mention in Thucydides. For instance, Strabo (6. 2. 2) says that the founder, Thucles, called by him Theocles, arrived at the future site of Naxos, 'borne out of his course by the winds' and there 'perceived both the weakness of the peoples and the excellence of the soil'; consequently, he led an expedition composed of Chalcidians from Euboea, as well as of some Ionians and Dorians. These latter would bring about the foundation of Megara Hyblaea, to be dealt with later.

Naxos never possessed much territory, which again suggests that the main aim for its establishment was control of a key point in the maritime communications of eastern Sicily, at a time when the Euboeans were pursuing a similar strategy in other parts of the

[1] Morris 1996, 51–9.
[2] Malkin 1986, 959–72.

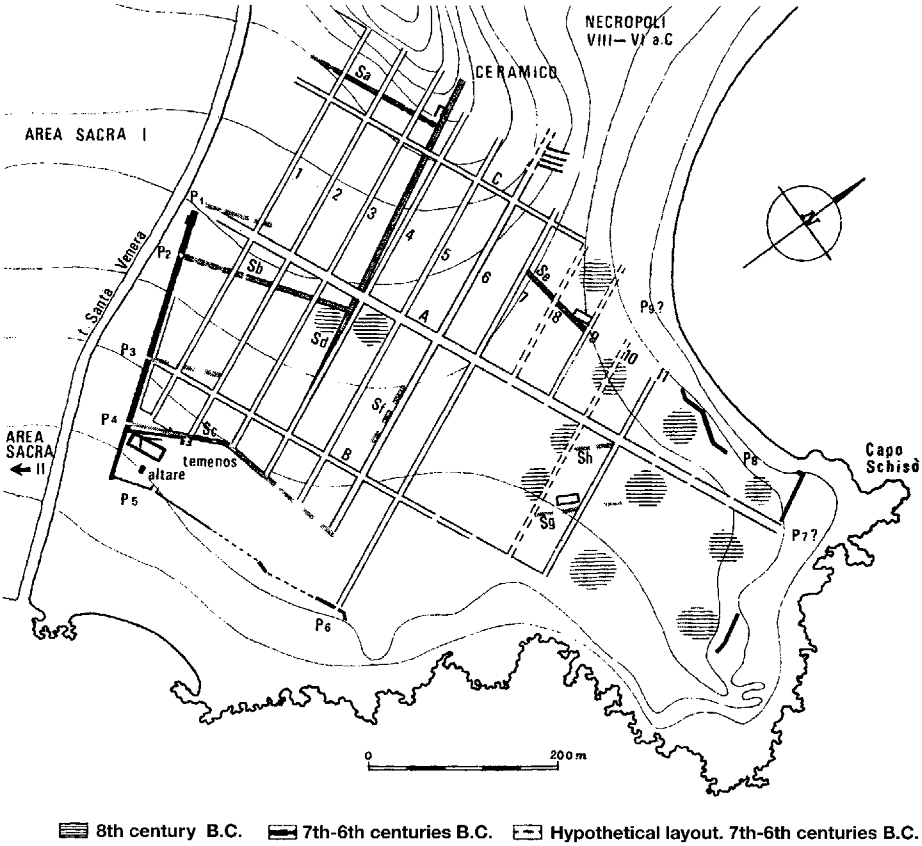

Fig. 2. Naxos. Layout of the city during the 6th century B.C., with references to Archaic layout (after Pelagatti 1981, fig. 3).

Mediterranean. The relationship of Naxos to control of the approaches to the Straits of Messina seems quite certain: the relationship of Cape Schisò with navigation to and from Italy is attested during the Bronze and Iron Ages.[3] Some scholars even insist that first establishment at Naxos has the character of an *emporion*,[4] although others continue to doubt this.[5] For a while Naxos could have acted as the main point of arrival for other Greeks who were beginning their own process of emigration which, within a few years, would lead to the rise of new colonies. The reference in Strabo (6. 2. 2) to the Ionians and the Dorians, who, presumably, arrived together with the Euboeans, could be the proof of this.

The date usually given for the foundation of Naxos is 734 B.C. and archaeological finds made there do not challenge this.[6] The archaeological evidence seems to corroborate the reference in Strabo (6. 2. 2) to the weakness of the natives.[7] The name of the city, which is that of a well-known Aegean island, implies the presence of people originating there, otherwise reported by Hellanicus of Lesbos (*FGrHist* 1 F 82); there is also archaeological evidence for this Aegean presence.[8] We know some of the houses of the earliest Naxos: they are quadrangular (4 × 4m), single-room constructions, concentrated in the north-eastern part of the plateu, where the harbour seems to have been. The extent of the first settlement has been calculated at about 10ha. The habitat grew notably during the 7th century and it is possible that, although showing a regular layout, it was organised around several axes,[9] perhaps recalling the existence of colonists of different origins.[10] During this period (7th century) the city's increasing economic prosperity is reflected in the size of its houses.[11] It is possible that recent excavation has located the place of the *agora*.[12] As for the Archaic necropolis, very few tombs are datable to the

[3] Procelli 1983, 79–80; Boardman 1999, 169.

[4] Consolo Langher 1993–94, 169.

[5] Pelagatti 1981, 311; Lentini 1987, 424–6. On the territory of Naxos, see De Angelis 2000b, 130.

[6] Pelagatti 1982b, 141–63.

[7] Procelli 1983, 63–6, 80–1.

[8] Guarducci 1985, 7–34; Pelagatti 1981, 291–311; Consolo Langher 1993–94, 247–51; Kourou 1998, 167–77; Lentini 1998, 377–86.

[9] Pelagatti 1981, 291–311.

[10] Fischer-Hansen 1996, 337–9.

[11] Lentini 1984–85, 809–38; Cordsen 1995, 106–9.

[12] Wilson 1996, 79.

first generation of the colony;[13] however, the presence of native women has been confirmed among them.[14] The most recent excavations have detected several rural sacred areas around the city.[15]

Naxos' rôle as a bridgehead seems clear when we note Thucydides' information, that in the sixth year after founding it Thucles/Theocles departed to found Leontini and, soon afterwards, Catane. However the people of Catane chose as founder one Evarchus.

Leontini, the older of the two cities mentioned by Thucydides, is also that furthest from Naxos, and one of the few Greek colonies not on the coast (Fig. 3), although it enjoyed good communications via the navigable River Terias (Ps.-Skylax 13). The foundation within a few years of Leontini and Catane, which took place after the Corinthians had founded Syracuse, inaugurates a new page in the history of the Greek presence in Sicily. Until then, the main type of settlement seems to have had a basically commercial function, controlling key points along navigation routes. The places selected, both on the Sicilian and Italian coasts, clearly betray that function; the most significant example, even within the Euboean world, is Pithekoussai. But even on the island of Ischia, whose main function was trade and the transformation of raw materials, part of the population was devoted to agriculture and cattle-raising, as the recent finds at Punta Chiarito, in the southern part of the island, show.[16] Furthermore, calculations suggest a population for Pithekoussai in the second half of the 8th century of between 4,000 and 5,000.[17]

The foundation of Leontini, however, demonstrated a different type of establishment, as with Cumae in Italy. Cumae implied an increase in the size and strength of the Greek presence in Tyrrhenian Italy, although the Greeks had previously frequented the place.[18] It is difficult to know why the Euboeans (mainly Chalcidians, it seems) modified the previous model of establishing a presence in Sicily, which had required neither large physical investment nor great numbers of persons. If we did, we should know the causes of the true

[13] Lentini 1987, 416–22.

[14] Pelagatti 1980–81, 697–701; Domínguez 1989, 102–4; Leighton 1999, 246–7.

[15] Lentini 1993–94, 1012–5.

[16] Gialanella 1994, 169–204; De Caro and Gialanella 1998, 337–53.

[17] Morris 1996, 57. On Greeks in Italy, see the chapters by E. Greco and B. d'Agostino in the present volume.

[18] d'Agostino 1999a, 207–27; 1999b, 51–62.

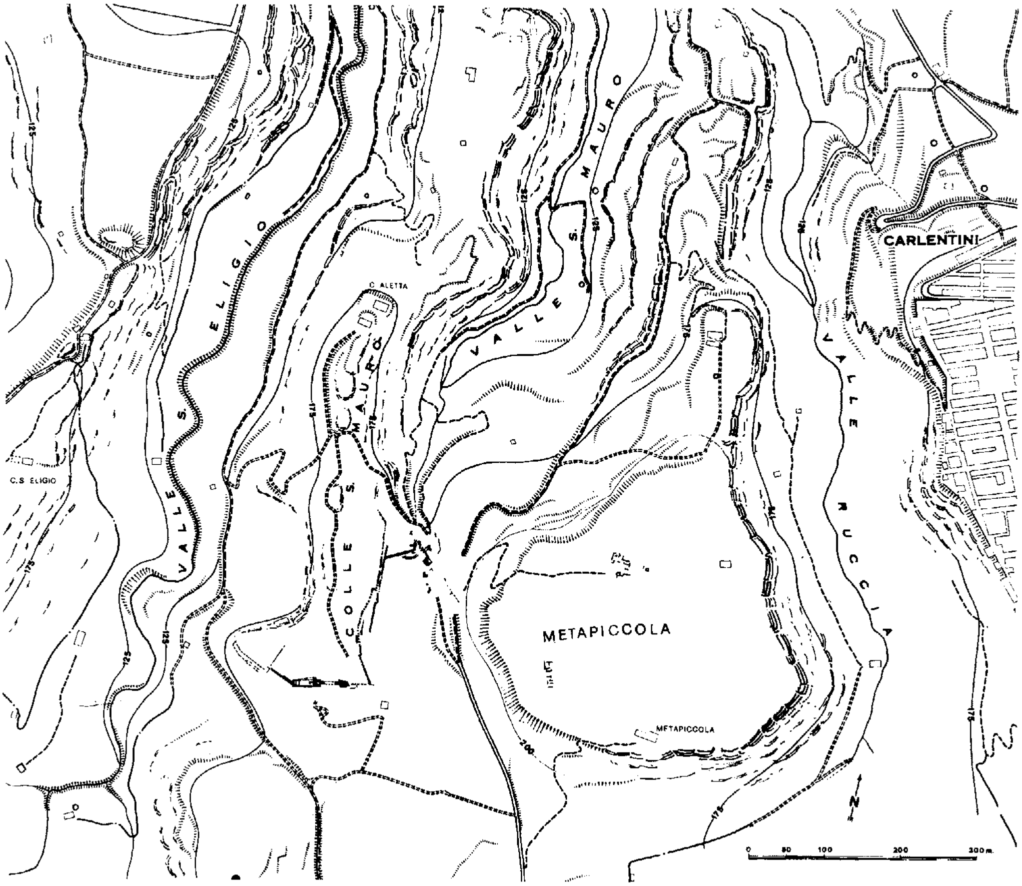

Fig. 3. Leontini. Topography of the site of the Greek city (after Gabba and Vallet 1980, pl. 9).

Greek colonisation, but this is a subject I shall not deal with here. However, we must not forget that, at least according to the course of events presented by Thucydides, the foundation of Syracuse may have had strong consequences on the general development of Greek involvement in Sicily during the second half of the 8th century.

Be that as it may, the foundation of Leontini was not free of difficulties, although the brief summary by Thucydides does not reveal them in detail. In fact, he says only that the Chalcidians expelled the Sicels who lived thereabouts after a war (Thucydides 6. 3. 3); however, when he turns to the foundation of Megara, he mentions the period of joint residence of Chalcidians and Megarians at Leontini, before the latter were expelled by the former (Thucydides 6. 4. 1). Strabo (6. 2. 2) also attests the relationship between Chalcidians and Megarians in Sicily in that period (as we have already seen). Polyaenus gives a more complete picture: he states that Theocles and the Chalcidians lived in Leontini together with the native Sicels, although they used the Megarians, led by Lamis, to expel the natives; later on, and after living together in the city for six months, the Chalcidians expelled the Megarians, allowing them to live for one winter in Trotilon (Polyaenus *Strat.* 5. 5). The existence of a pact between the Chalcidians and Sicels is quite likely.[19]

The city of Leontini controlled the southern edge of the plain of Catane, which constituted, furthermore, the most important portion of its territory—the *Leontina pedia* mentioned by Polybius (7. 6. 4). This suggests that the Chalcidians were seeking either to control the whole of that wide plain or, at least, to establish their presence in it, just as Syracuse had been settled and (perhaps) its Corinthian colonists had begun to show an interest in the region. The rivalries, in those years, between Corinthians and Euboeans can also be observed in the expulsion of the Eretrian colonists of the island of Corcyra; indeed Strabo (6. 2. 4) says that both Syracuse and Corcyra were founded at more or less the same time and that both Archias, the founder of Syracuse, and Chersicrates, the founder of Corcyra, had left Corinth to take part of the same expedition. Although Strabo does not mention it, we know thanks to Plutarch that the host of Chersicrates (called by the author Charicrates) was responsible of the

[19] Nenci and Cataldi 1983, 595–6.

expulsion of the Eretrians from Corcyra (Plutarch *Mor.* 293 a8–b7).[20] However, we have no data until several centuries after their foundation, about rivalries between the Euboean foundation, Leontini, and the Corinthian foundation, Syracuse.[21]

From an archaeological point of view we know little about the earliest city at Leontini, although the evidence seems to confirm a period of cohabitation, or at least coexistence, between Greeks and natives, of perhaps a greater duration than the written sources suggest.[22] The Greek city may have been sited at Colle San Mauro (mainly in its southern part) and the native settlement, probably on the adjacent Metapicola hill. As time passed, the city came to include both hills and eventually, in the valley between, the *agora* and the main political buildings of the Greek city would be placed (Polybius 7. 6). The date of foundation traditionally assigned to Leontini is 729 B.C.; the same also to Catane. The archaeological evidence is compatible with this chronology.[23]

With the foundation of Catane, seemingly very near in date to that Leontini, the Chalcidians established a dominant position in the plain of Catane, one of the most fertile areas of all Sicily. Once the southern edge of the plain had been secured with the foundation of Leontini, it is reasonable to suppose that Catane was established to reinforce that control.[24] From Thucydides' account we must assume that the foundation of Leontini and Catane, both of them arising from Naxos, was carried out within a single movement, perhaps to make way for new immigrants arriving in Sicily, among them people from diverse origins, as the traditions related to the foundations of Naxos and Leontini suggest. We do not know why Catane chose (or perhaps better 'created') Evarchus as founder; however it is not difficult to suggest that, as Theocles perhaps remained at Leontini, the Chalcidians established at Catane needed a different leader, one personally involved in the organisation of the new city.

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[20] Parker 1997, 55–7.

[21] Berger 1991, 129–42.

[22] Orsi 1900, 62–98; Lagona 1973, 64–5; Rizza 1959, 78–86; 1962, 3–27; 1978, 26–37; 1981, 313–7; Frasca 1996, 142–3.

[23] Rizza 1981, 313–7.

[24] Rizza 1981, 313. On the territories of Leontini and Catane, see De Angelis 2000b, 128–30; on the control carried out by the Greeks of the plain, in which Catane was to be settled, see Branciforti 1999, 243.

Catane occupies a coastal site adjoining an ancient gulf, which today has almost vanished (Fig. 4). The city had an important harbour (Thucydides 6. 71. 2).[25] From this position, it controlled the northern part of the plain of Catane, bounded on the north by Mount Etna and on the south by the River Symaethus, which, at least during the 5th century, was the border between this city and Leontini (Thucydides 6. 65. 2). This river was one of the main routes penetrating the Sicilian interior, perhaps used by the two neighbouring *poleis* in their important expansion inland.[26] The early interest of Catane in its immediate territory is suggested by some recent finds in Valverde, on the southern approaches to Mount Etna, and contemporary with the foundation of Catane.[27] The topography of the ancient city has been almost totally lost through the destruction caused by the various eruptions of Etna and by the development of the modern city; the oldest necropoleis are not known. Some excavations carried out in the city have detected levels of the second half of the 8th century, which would confirm the foundation date suggested by Thucydides (about 729 B.C.).[28]

The first-generation Euboean colonies should be completed with Zancle and, probably, Mylae. Thucydides (6. 4. 5) gives some important information about the origin of the first, but no precise date. According to him, the first Greek establishment was by a group of pirates coming from Cumae. The importance of the Straits of Messina in the routes which carried the Euboeans from the Aegean to the Tyrrhenian is obvious; the Euboean presence at Zancle and in its Italian neighbour Rhegion is closely related to the trade (and pirate) routes leading to the Bay of Naples,[29] perhaps in the same way as Naxos. In this scheme, the main beneficiaries of the existence of a friendly, fraternal establishment on the Straits were, of course, the Euboeans settled in Pithekoussai and Cumae; consequently, the tradition present in Thucydides shows the originary dependency of the Euboean establishment at Zancle on the needs of Cumae. The depiction of these first settlers as pirates may be the result of the philo-Syracusan tradition that Thucydides seems to use, if it is true that

[25] Lagona 1996, 223–30.
[26] Procelli 1989, 679–89.
[27] Wilson 1996, 75.
[28] Rizza 1981, 316; 1996, 11–8.
[29] Vallet 1958; 1981, 111–25; 1988, 161–71; Ampolo 1986, 55–9.

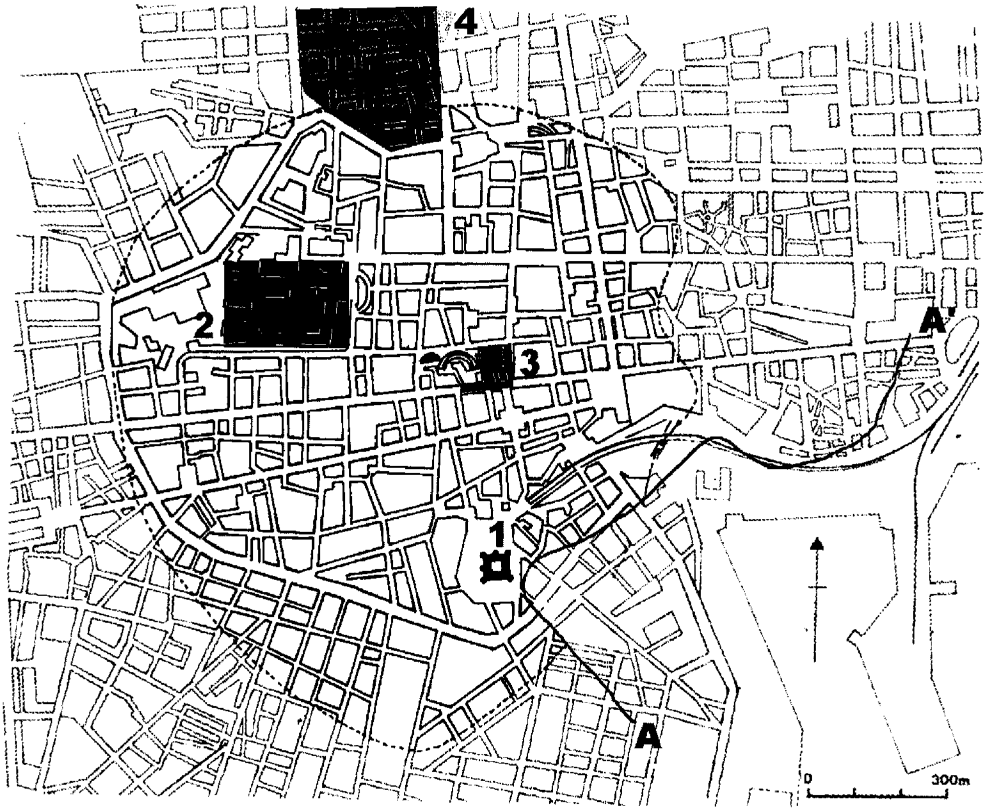

Fig. 4. Catane. The location in the modern city of the main remains of the Greek city. Author's elaboration after several sources. A–A'. Ancient coastline; 1. Castello Ursino, sited in ancient times by the coast; 2. Former Benedictine monastery (*acropolis?*); 3. Votive *stips* in San Francesco square (7th–5th centuries B.C.); 4. Hellenistic (and older?) necropolis.

his source for this part of his work is, as seems likely, Antiochus of Syracuse. The pioneer character of this first Euboean (Eretrian?) settlement in Zancle seems also to have left traces in the different traditions.[30]

The so-called 'second foundation' of Zancle must definitely be related to contemporary developments at Naxos. Both centres had acted for a time as single points of coastal control for Euboean navigation but, from a certain date, more people began to arrive in Sicily, both at Naxos, whence new expeditions leading to the foundations of Leontini and Catane would depart, and Zancle, where they would increase the population and also contribute to the foundation of neighbouring Mylae. Furthermore, the relationship between Naxos and Zancle is stressed by Strabo (6. 2. 3) and Ps.-Skymnos (283–286), especially the latter, who includes Zancle (together with Leontini and Catane) within the Naxian colonies. The new ('second') (re-)foundation of Zancle was of a more solid nature because Thucydides insists that those just arrived, coming from Chalcis and other parts of Euboea, 'divided jointly among them' the land. Certainly, the leader of the people from Cumae who settled there was Perieres, one of the two oikists mentioned by Thucydides: the other, Crataemenes was the leader of the people just arrived from Euboea. However, neither of them would be considered as the *oikist* of the city, according to Callimachus (*Aet.* frag. 43, ll. 58–83); he says that in public ceremonies the founder of the city was invoked without his name being pronounced. Pausanias (4. 23. 7), although with some mistakes, reconstructs the foundation of Zancle in a clearer way:

> Zancle was originally occupied by pirates, who fortified nothing but their harbour, as a base for brigandage and sea-raiding. Their captains (*hegemones*) were Crataemenes of Samos and Perieres of Chalcis. Later Perieres and Crataemenes decided to bring other Greeks as settlers.
>
> (Penguin translation)

The difference, with respect to Thucydides' story, is that Perieres had not arrived directly from Chalcis but represented the Chalcidian element already established, together with the Cumaeans, in the strategic site of Zancle. Of additional interest is the view of Zancle

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[30] Antonelli 1996, 315–25.

as a 'pirates' nest', in which only the area of the harbour would be fortified, thus stressing the interest that this place had for Euboean trading enterprise. The name itself, perhaps deriving from that given by the natives to the harbour area, with a characteristic shape of a sickle (*zanklon*, it seems, in the Sicel language), suggests the close relationship between the pre-urban establishment and the harbour area.

Investigation of the site of Zancle show that the city, at least until 5th century, occupied a narrow extension, to the south of the peninsula (Fig. 5).[31] Pottery finds show that Greek presence there began in the second half of the 8th century. The types of pottery present are similar to those known in neighbouring centres, especially Rhegion, Mylae, Metaurus and Naxos, which suggests common economic and trade interests.[32]

There is not much agreement about the chronology of the foundations of Zancle.[33] However, there is evidence (Euboean cups) to suggest a Greek presence in Zancle before the foundation of most of the colonies we are discussing. Similar pottery, so far considered as the oldest Greek imports in Sicily, does not usually appear in colonial cities, but, for the most part in native sites (such as the necropolis at Villasmundo). That would indicate, perhaps, the existence of a pre-urban settlement there. We would not be far wrong to fix the foundation of Zancle at about the same time as that of Naxos; in consequence, the establishment of the Cumaean 'pirates' would, of necessity, be earlier.

Also related to Zancle are the foundations of such cities as Rhegion, Metaurus and Mylae. I shall deal here only with the last, which is on Sicily. As we have seen, Greek imports at Zancle show great similarities with those known in the other places mentioned so far, although in the case of Mylae the finds come from the necropolis.[34] The relationship of Mylae to Euboean designs for control of the Straits of Messina has been mentioned many times, as has the possible function of this dependent centre (Diodorus 12. 54 considers it just a *phrourion* in the 5th century) as supplier of corn and food to Zancle, whose territory was always small.[35] Ps.-Skymnos (286–288)

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[31] Scibona 1986, 433–58.
[32] Bacci 1978, 100–3; 1986, 247–74; 1998, 387–92; Sabbione 1986, 221–36.
[33] Consolo Langher 1996b, 379–91.
[34] Sabbione 1986, 221–36.
[35] Dunbabin 1948a, 211–2; Vallet 1988, 166–7. See, however, De Angelis 2000b, 131.

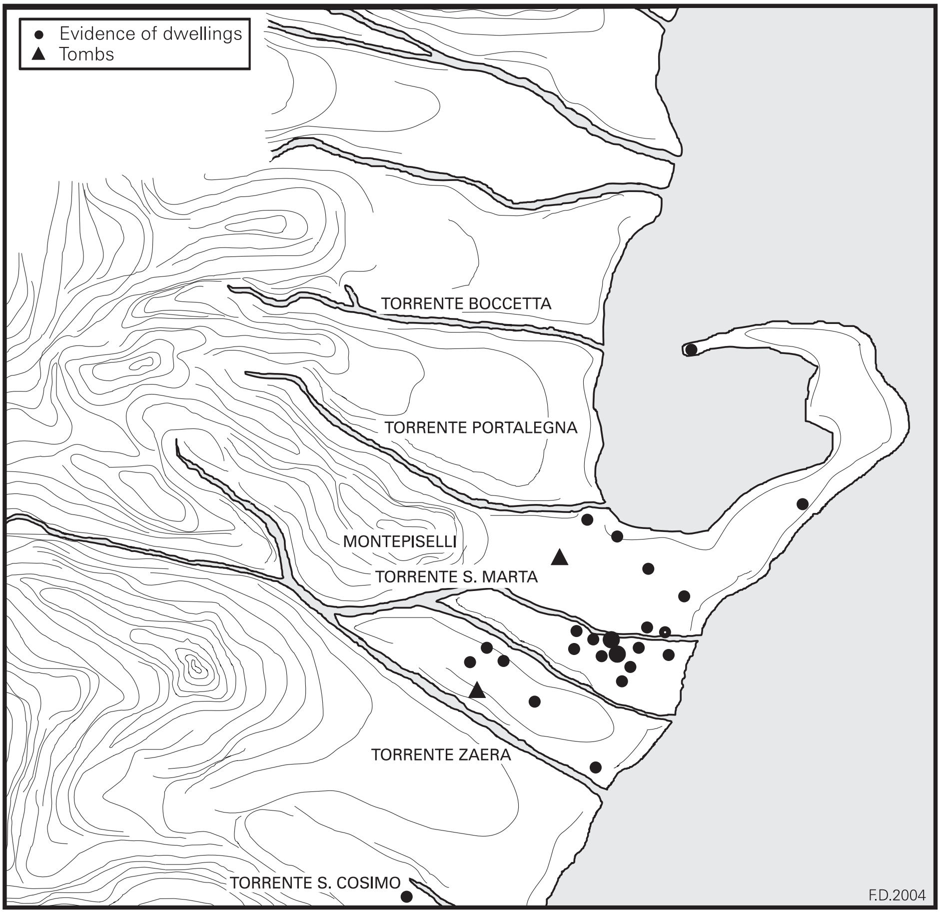

Fig. 5. Zancle. General topography (after Bacci 1998, fig. 1).

relates Mylae and the yet unidentified Euboea[36] to Chalcidian colonisation, and Strabo, when referring to the establishment of Himera, says that it was founded by the Zanclaeans at Mylae (Strabo 6. 2. 6). The foundation had to take place very soon after that of Zancle itself, as Greek pottery found in the necropolis and the traditions summarised by Eusebius (*Chron. Sub Ol.* 16. 1) suggest. According to him, it could be dated to about 716 B.C., if we accept that this Christian author is using the name Chersonesus for Mylae.[37] The city was placed on the Milazzo promontory, but it commanded a very rich and fertile plain, crossed by several rivers.[38]

The Euboean cities so far considered were established in Sicily during the last third of the 8th century. However, we have seen that in some cases (Naxos, Zancle), the rise of the *poleis* was the result of a period, of varying duration, of what are usually called 'precolonial' contacts; sometimes, the term 'precolonisation' has been also used. Regardless of the inadequacy of such a term,[39] we have, indeed, some archaeological evidence (in addition to the references in written sources) which suggests the existence of contacts between Greeks and the coast of Sicily before the establishment of the first *poleis*. It is quite possible that Greeks from Euboea (or from their Tyrrhenian establishments) explored the coasts of eastern Sicily during the second half of the 8th century, during their travels of prospecting, exploration and trade.

Apart from some pottery discovered at Zancle (chevron skyphoi and Euboean cups in general), the main place where this process has been analysed is in the native necropolis of Villasmundo, in the valley of the River Marcellino (only some 8km from where Megara Hyblaea would be founded), where several tombs contain Greek pottery (skyphoi decorated with pendant semicircles, skyphoi of Euboean-Cycladic type with chevron decoration), which may be dated in the first half of the 8th century, while other pottery (Aetos 666 kotyle or Thapsos cups) may be contemporary with the foundation of the

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[36] Camassa 1989, 391–7. On the possibility of its identification as Licodia Euboea, as has been traditionally thought, see, most recently, Wilson 1996, 75. However, Frasca (1997, 407–17) suggests identifying it with Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone.

[37] Sabbione 1986, 222–5, 229–31.

[38] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1992, 115–40. On recent explorations in the territories of Zancle and Mylae, see Bacci 1999, 253–5.

[39] Domínguez 1994, 19–48; Alvar 1997, 19–33.

colonies (Fig. 6).[40] The presence, in a place which is not on the coast, of a series of Greek imports of the 8th century, from both before and after the foundation of the colonies, must be interpreted as the result of travels of exploration with basically commercial ends. Similar finds in other places (such as Castello San Filippo, near Catane)[41] may suggest that the process is more widespread than a first view might suggest.

The information acquired by these different agents (Euboean, Megarian, Corinthian) was used wisely when it became necessary to establish cities that needed to make a profit from the agricultural resources of those regions with which previously they had maintained only commercial relationships. Strabo's account (6. 2. 2) of the travels of Theocles to Sicily, shows clearly the transition from the first phase to the second.

Corinthian Colonisation: Syracuse

The foundation of Syracuse, the year after the foundation of Naxos (733 B.C.), meant the presence of a new ethnic component in Sicily. Although we must not ignore Corinthian interest in the South Italian and Tyrrhenian markets, Greeks from Euboea had, in general, led the process until then; however, when the Euboeans began establishing durable settlements in Sicily, so too did the Corinthians. In spite of the succession established by Thucydides in the dates of the Sicilian foundations, other authors, such as Strabo are slightly less precise; for him, the foundation of Syracuse had taken place 'about the same time that Naxos and Megara were colonised' (Strabo 6. 2. 4). Strabo also introduces a tradition which considers as contemporary the Delphic consultation and the foundation of Syracuse and Croton, although this is most probably a later forgery. Perhaps more reasonable is the relationship established by some authors, among them also Strabo (6. 2. 4), between the foundation of Syracuse and the Corinthian establishment in Corcyra, after the expulsion of its previous colonists, the Eretrians.

[40] Voza 1978b, 104–10; 1982b, 169–71; 1986, 560; Albanese Procelli 1996b, 168–9; 1997b, 515–8; Leighton 1999, 224–5.

[41] Wilson 1996, 75.

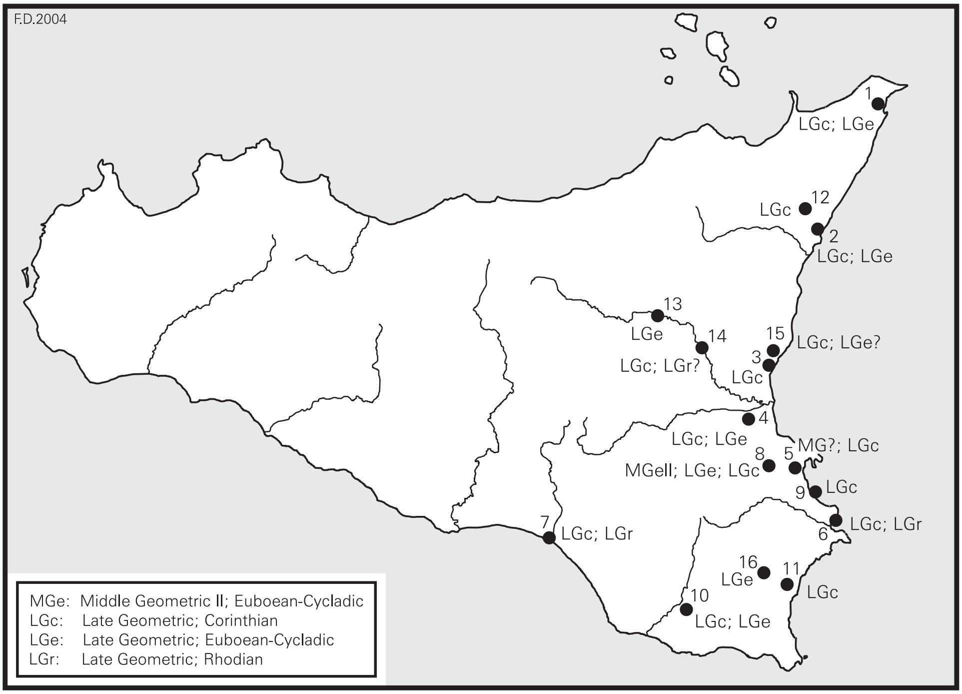

Fig. 6. The oldest Greek imports in Sicily (after Albanese Procelli 1997b, pl. II). 1. Messina (LGc: Thapsos cup; LGe: chevron skyphos); 2. Naxos (LGc: Thapsos cup; LGe); 3. Catania (LGc: Thapsos cup); 4. Leontinoi (LGc: Thapsos cup; LGe); 5. Mégara Hyblaea (MG?; LGc: Aetos 666 kotylai; Thapsos cup); 6. Siracusa, city (LGc: Aetos 666 kotyle; Thapsos cup; LGr) and territory (?) (LGc: Thapsos cup); 7. Gela (LGc: Thapsos cup; LGr); 8. Villasmundo (MGe II: chevron skyphos; LGe: pendent semicircle skyphos; kyathoi; LGc: Aetos 666 kotyle; Thapsos cup); 9. Thapsos (LGc: Thapsos cup); 10. Modica (LGc: Aetos 666 kotyle; Thapsos cup; LGe: Cycladic cup); 11. Avola (LGc: Thapsos cup); 12. Cocolonazzo di Mola (LGc: kotyle); 13. Centuripe (LGe: kotyle); 14. Monte Castellazzo-Pietralunga (LGc: Aetos 666 kotyle; LGr: cup?); 15. Valverde (LGc: Thapsos cup; LGe?: kyathos); 16. Castelluccio (LGe: cup).

Plutarch (*Mor.* 772e–773b) mentions a story according to which Archias had left Corinth as the result of the murder of a youth who was his lover. Recently, this has been interpreted from the point of view of the tensions which would affect the community, forced to send some of its members on an uncertain overseas enterprise; these tensions would be expressed in the form of a metaphor.[42]

As well as the name of the *oikist*, Archias, whose name is also mentioned by Thucydides, Strabo gives some additional detail about the group who founded Syracuse; in fact, besides the people from Corinth, Archias would have added to his expedition a group of Dorians he met at Cape Zephyrion (capo Bruzzano). These Dorians were on the way back to their country after his participation in the foundation of Megara (Strabo 6. 2. 4; Ps.-Skymnos 278–280). We are not informed about who these Dorians were or why they had left Sicily; they returned eagerly to Sicily after Archias asked them to take part in his new foundation. In spite of the suspicious reference to Zephyrion, perhaps originating in the interest that Syracuse would have in Classical times in that part of Italy, we must not reject the tradition entirely and we may think that there is some element of truth in it. Anyway (as we have already mentioned and to which we shall return), the foundation of Megara was very troublesome, perhaps precisely because the objectives were not very clearly defined.

According to Thucydides, the first gesture of the colonists of Syracuse was to expel the natives who occupied the island of Ortygia (the island city); afterwards, they spread themselves along the mainland (the outer city), occupying and enclosing within walls that part of the city (Thucydides 6. 3. 2). The city became very prosperous because it had both excellent natural harbourage and an extraordinarily fertile territory (Strabo 6. 2. 4).

The foundation of Syracuse seems to have been a perfectly planned enterprise, led by the leading family of the city of the Isthmus, the Bacchiad aristocracy which, if we accept Strabo's reconstruction, had held power for 200 years, until overturned by Cypselus (*ca.* 657 B.C.) (Strabo 8. 6. 20). Thucydides calls Archias a Heraclid and Strabo also so describes Chersicrates, the person who would leave the joint expedition to found Corcyra. Here, perhaps, is one of the main

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[42] Dougherty 1993a, 178–98; 1993b, 31–44, 157–63.

differences with the contemporary activities of the Euboeans and the Megarians in Sicily: Corinthian colonisation seems to be the result of a perfectly planned action, while the Euboean action is more hesitant, with a gap of several years from the creation of the first bridgehead, Naxos, until the rise of the main foundations, Leontini and Catane. The action of the Megarians, in turn, is thoroughly timid, always dependent on partners who are more powerful and, lastly, on the protection of a lesser native ruler. Nothing of this kind is perceived in the Corinthian action.

Archaeology has confirmed that the first Corinthian settlement took place on the island of Ortygia and the first levels of the Greek city are immediately above the destruction levels of the previous native settlement, although probably not in all places (Fig. 7). The chronology suggested for the Corinthian settlement by Greek pottery (mainly Thapsos cups) is between the third and fourth quarters of the 8th century,[43] which fits well with the date suggested by Thucydides. The native settlement of huts occupied all the highest part of Ortygia[44] and although it seems to have been destroyed by the establishment of the Greek *polis*, probably the 'expulsion' of the natives may have not been as complete as Thucydides suggests.[45]

We know several houses of the earliest Greek city, for the most part little quadrangular structures (3.5 × 3.5m), ordered around small courts and arranged along narrow straight streets (2.5–3m). The date of the oldest houses is the last quarter of the 8th century, while the street seems to have been built in the early 7th century. However, the first houses are disposed according to some axis that has survived in certain areas of Ortygia until today.[46] The island was crossed north to south, by a street, perhaps of pre-Greek origin, which linked Ortygia with the mainland and whose outline has been revealed by excavation.[47] The type of house is very similar to that known in other contemporary Sicilian cities, such as Megara Hyblaea, although there seems to have existed in Syracuse a higher population, because the houses seem to have been built closer together.[48]

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[43] Pelagatti 1982a, 125–40.
[44] Pelagatti 1977, 119–33; Frasca 1983, 565–98.
[45] Domínguez 1989, 182–6.
[46] Doubts in Wilson 1996, 67.
[47] Voza 1993–94, 1286–7.
[48] Pelagatti 1977, 119–33; 1982b, 117–63.

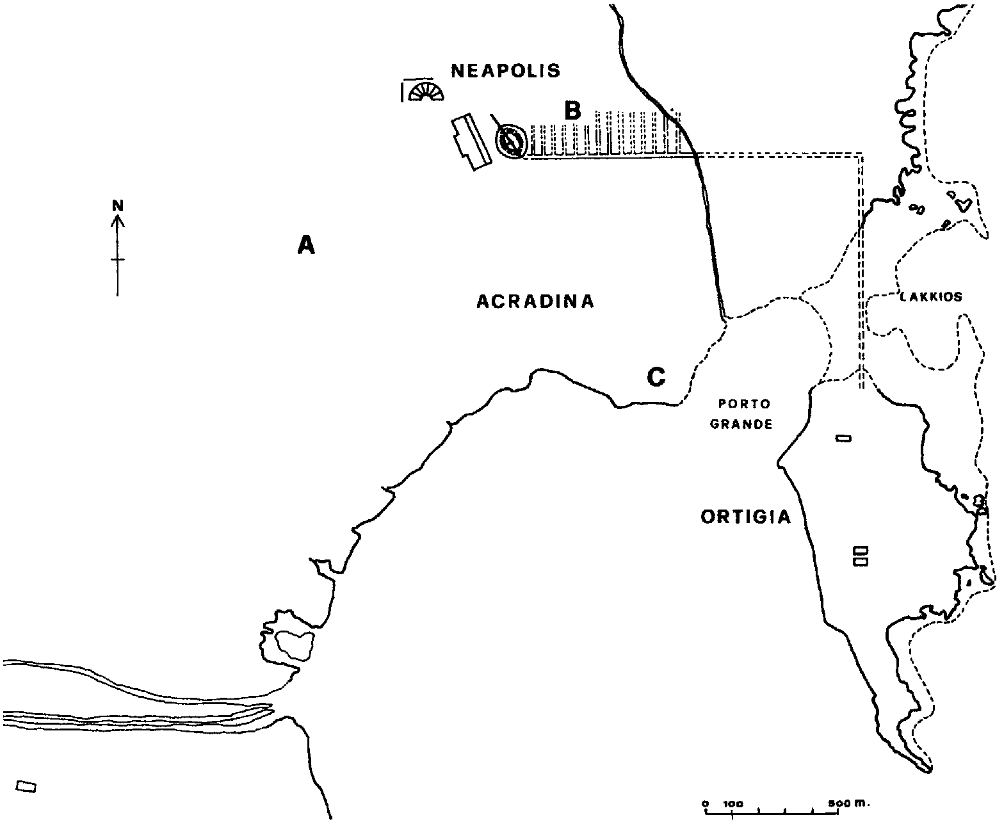

Fig. 7. General topography of Syracuse (after Voza 1982a, pl. I).
A. Fusco necropolis; B. Giardino Spagna; C. *Agora*.

It is also possible that the houses were concentrated around wells or springs and several empty areas may have existed between the various clusters; it has even been suggested that the city was organised *kata komas* in its first decades.[49] During the 7th century the city began its expansion on the mainland and a street seems to have linked Ortygia with the oldest necropolis of the city, Fusco, 1km westward of Acradina. This street may be that identified as the 'broad continuous street' (*via lata perpetua*) mentioned by Cicero in his description of Syracuse (*Verr.* 2. 4. 119).[50]

The Archaic necropoleis of Syracuse form a semicircle around the inhabited area; the oldest of them is Fusco, which was excavated by Orsi between 1892 and 1915.[51] Recent analysis carried out on the material coming from that necropolis suggests that during the last quarter of the 8th century the economic level of the inhabitants of Syracuse was not very high, although from the beginning of and throughout the 7th century, it increased dramatically—we know of several tombs which show an important level of wealth, a consequence of the increasing general level of prosperity caused by the city's inclusion within wide commercial networks.[52] Parts of the necropolis recently excavated, also dated to the 7th century, suggest the same.[53]

Syracuse would become, in time, one the most important cities not only of Sicily, but of the whole Greek world; this was the consequence, mainly, of the expansive politics marked by the foundation of new second-generation (secondary) colonies (sub-colonies), which I shall deal with later. However, as well as penetration inland to territories held by the natives and to the southern coast of Sicily during the 7th century, it seems that the city showed very soon a clear interest in the control of the entire coastal strip from the city southwards to Helorus, 30km distant. Helorus seems to have been founded in the later 8th century,[54] but Thucydides does not mention it among the Syracusan sub-colonies; however, this must be

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[49] Di Vita 1986, 383; 1996. 270–2.
[50] Voza 1982a, 165–7; 1989, 11–3.
[51] Lanza 1989, 111–20.
[52] Shepherd 1995, 52–6; Frederiksen 1999, 229–55.
[53] Basile 1993–94, 1319–22.
[54] Voza 1973b, 117–26; 1978a, 134–5; 1980, 544–53. On the territory of Syracuse, see Muggia 1997, 56–9; De Angelis 2000a, 109–15; 2000b, 122–4.

interpreted as a result of the close relationship that Helorus always maintained with Syracuse, because of its proximity.

Communication between Syracuse and its first sub-colony was secured through the Helorine way, mentioned several times by Thucydides (6. 66. 3; 6. 70. 4), which was used by the Athenians during their tragic retreat in 413 B.C. (Thucydides 7. 80. 5). The antiquity of the Syracusan establishment at Helorus suggests that the main area of expansion of the city would be southwards; in fact, Syracusan expansion to the north would be hindered by the presence of Megara and, further away, by Leontini.[55] At the same time, this early foundation attests to the quick growth of the city during its first decades.[56] I shall return later to Syracusan sub-colonies.

Megarian Colonisation: Megara Hyblaea

As we have seen, the foundation of Megara Hyblaea appears to have been one of the most complex of all the first wave of Sicilian colonies. Furthermore, the different sources do not agree on all the details, which complicates the issue further.[57] It seems, however, beyond all doubt, that a host coming from Megara and led by Lamis, left the city more or less 'about the same time' that the Chalcidians were founding Naxos and the Corinthians Syracuse (Thucydides 6. 4. 1; Strabo 6. 4. 2). It also seems certain that Megarians and Chalcidians lived together for a time in Leontini (Thucydides 6. 4. 1 ; Polyaenus *Strat.* 5. 5), and some authors even thought that Chalcidians and Megarians left Greece together (Strabo 6. 2. 2; Ps.-Skymnos 274–277 = Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 137). It is possible that before or after their cohabitation with the Chalcidians at Leontini, the Megarians settled for a time at Trotilon, by the River Pantacias (before: Thucydides 6. 4. 1; after: Polyaenus *Strat.* 5. 5). Anyway, after the unsuccessful joint experience with the Chalcidians of Leontini (Ps.-Skymnos 276 talks about a *stasis*), the Megarians settled in Thapsos, where Lamis died (Thucydides 6. 4. 1). They were eventually expelled from Thapsos, although we do not know who was responsible (the recently arrived

[55] Voza 1982a, 165–7; Domínguez 1989, 196–9.
[56] Di Vita 1996, 272.
[57] Graham 1988, 304–21.

Corinthians?); this would have forced some individuals to join the Corinthians who were founding Syracuse (Strabo 6. 2. 4). It is now that the native king, Hyblon, gave part of his territory for the settlement (Thucydides 6. 4. 1).

As Thucydides gives very precise information, saying that the Megarians lived in that place for 245 years before the tyrant Gelon occupied and destroyed the city (483 B.C.), the foundation of Megara Hyblaea must have taken place in 728 B.C. If anything is relatively clear amidst the very complex stories relating to the foundation of Megara, it is the lack of a clear political design among the Megarians, which provoked several years of hesitation before finding a definite place to settle. The outcome was influenced by the attitude of a philhellene local ruler. There have been numerous attempts to identify where he might have resided and what his interest in helping the Megarians was;[58] it is usually thought that his initiative may ultimately have failed, because it seems beyond doubt that Syracuse came to occupy the lands previously in the hands of the Sicels. Megara was always a small city, placed between two more powerful neighbours, Leontini to the north and Syracuse to the south. Even when the Megarian colonists had not yet found a definite place of settlement, those from Leontini let them occupy Trotilon for one winter, deprived of their weapons. This suggests that Trotilon was within Leontini's sphere of influence. At the same time, the expulsion from Thapsos, 12km north of Syracuse, perhaps implies an early interest by the Corinthian colonists in that coastal area. Some Greek objects dated to the late 8th century found within a native tomb at Thapsos are usually interpreted as proof of the short stay of the Greeks in the Magnisi peninsula, but there is no evidence to consider it the 'grave of Lamis'.[59]

Finally, the Megarians established themselves on a calcareous plateau by the sea, only 20km to the north of Syracuse, where there are no remains of previous native settlement. The oldest Greek pottery found there attests the date given by Thucydides.[60]

Megara Hyblaea is one the best-known Sicilian colonies from an archaeological point of view, thanks to the excavation carried out

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[58] Bernabò Brea 1968, 161–86; Graham 1988, 312–7.
[59] Orsi 1895, 103–4; Graham 1988, 309–10; Holloway 1991, 49–50.
[60] Villard 1982, 181–5.

there, especially in the area of the Archaic *agora* (Fig. 8). This revealed that during the installation of the colonists in the 8th century, several straight streets 3m wide were laid out in a north-south direction, intersected by transverse streets to create *insulae* 25m long. Near the *agora*, the streets are aligned at an angle of 21^0 to the previous pattern, thus creating a triangular area that would become the Archaic *agora*. At least three more orientations have been identified in the Archaic layout; these are usually interpreted as corresponding to the five villages or *komai* which had formed the *polis* of Megara in Greece (usually known as Megara Nisaea).[61] The street pattern created urban plots (about 121–135m^2), which at first appear very sparsely occupied, with square houses of 4 × 4m. During the 7th century the houses were enlarged up to three rooms, leading to a small court, but always respecting the general layout created in the later 8th century.[62] During the 7th century, especially its second half, the city began a programme of construction of large buildings,[63] taking particular care to ensure that the size of plots was similar (although this was not always achieved).[64] The town-planning of Megara Hyblaea is strong evidence for the egalitarian spirit which infused the first Greek colonies, and applied also to the strict differentation between public and private space. It seems as if a good part of the surface enclosed within the 6th-century city-wall was already included in the first settlement.[65]

As usual, the necropoleis surround the city and are placed beyond the urban limits, arranged, it would seem, around the axes of the main routes leaving the city. Few tombs are known from the earliest phase of the city (late 8th-early 7th century); those of later periods are more abundant. They show different rituals and different levels of wealth. The southern necropolis seems to have been the earliest.[66]

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61 Bérard 1983, 634–40.

62 Vallet, Villard and Auberson 1976; 1983; Vallet 1978, 23–5; 1983a, 641–7; Cordsen 1995, 105–6; Villard 1999, 133–40.

63 De Angelis 1994, 100–1.

64 Tréziny 1999, 141–83.

65 Vallet, Villard and Auberson 1970, 1102–13; Vallet 1973, 83–94; 1982, 173–81.

66 Cebeillac-Gervasoni 1975, 3–36; 1976–77, 587–97; Gras 1975, 37–53; Shepherd 1995, 56–60. A new area of necropoleis, placed to the south-west of the city, has been detected by Vallet 1992, 505–11.

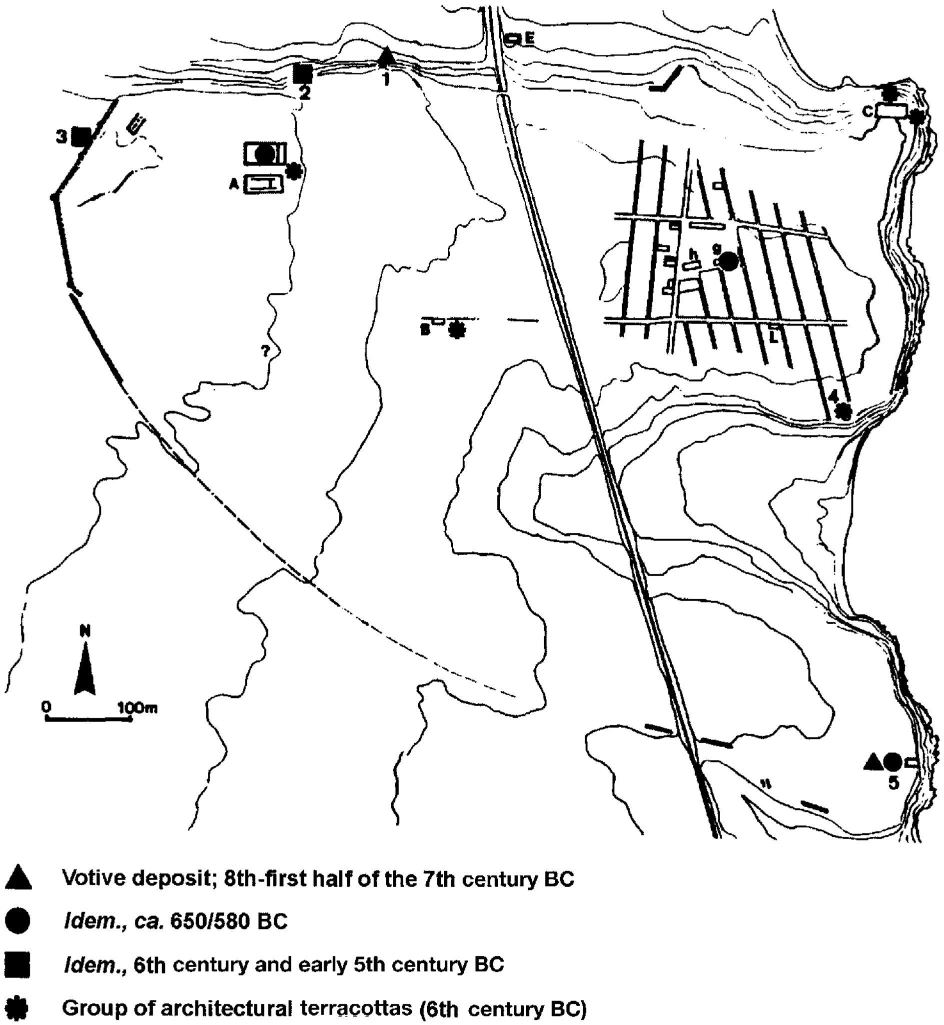

Fig. 8. General plan of Megara Hyblea, showing the main cultic areas (after de Polignac 1999, fig. 1).

Megara Hyblaea possessed a larger territory than its population warranted, and they never made extensive use of it.[67] It has also been suggested that it might have served as a 'buffer-state' between Leontini and Syracuse.[68]

The Colonisation of the Dorians: Gela

Gela was the last of the first generation colonies to be founded in Sicily, in 688 B.C., 45 years after Syracuse (Thucydides 6. 4. 3). Thus, we move to a different time from that considered so far. Furthermore, the area chosen by its colonists, the southern coast of Sicily, and their origin in the insular Dorian world, make Gela a somewhat peculiar case.

Thucydides (6. 4. 3) informs us that before the proper foundation of Gela, a fortified precint called Lindioi existed, which would become the *acropolis* of the city. This strongly suggests that a small Rhodian settlement (more precisely of Rhodians from Lindus?) existed, hard by Cape Soprano and controlling the mouth of the River Gela ('Cold' river?).[69] Some ancient authors such as Callimachus (*Aet.* frag. 43. 46–47) ascribe the foundation of Gela directly to the Lindians, and although the Cretan component is not forgotten, the most authors insist on the principal rôle of the Rhodians in the colonisation of Gela (Herodotus 7. 153).

Archaeological excavation has shown, both in the eastern part of the hill, where later would arise the *acropolis* of the city of Gela, and in other points of the future Greek city, a period of apparent occupation between the second half-late 8th and the beginnings of the 7th century.[70] After a fashion this confirms the traditions transmitted by Thucydides. It shows that a group of Rhodians (and people of other origins?) had established a base of operations at that point of the Sicilian southern coast. Perhaps the motive was trade or control of an important watering point for ships following the coast *en route* to the western tip of the island. This is, anyway, the first presence of East Greeks in the central Mediterranean and we surely

[67] De Angelis 1994, 95–100.
[68] Berger 1991, 129–42.
[69] Wentker 1956, 129–39.
[70] De Miro and Fiorentini 1983, 55–64; Fischer-Hansen 1996, 332–4.

must look for an important economic development in Lindus at this time to be able to explain these new interests.

The change of status to a full-blown colony may have been a consequence of some kind of problem at Lindus: certainly some traditions suggest that the Lindians were also founding Phaselis, on the coast of Asia Minor, at the same time as Gela (Philostephanus *apud Athen., Deipn.* 7. 297 f). A *scholium* to Pindar (*ad Ol.* 2. 15) affirms that, as result of a *stasis*, some Rhodians had to leave their country and, after fighting the barbarians living thereabouts, founded Gela. It is possible that this information does not really clarify the facts but there is an additional element. The historian Artemon of Pergamum (*FGrHist* 569 F 1, *apud Schol. Pind. Ol.* 2. 16) mentions the difficulties faced by the colonists during the different phases of the foundation, but says also that both *oikists* had to look for new participants in the Peloponnese. We know also that, besides Rhodians, Cretans and Peloponnesians(?), there was at least one individual from Telos, Deinomenes(?), the ancestor of the tyrant Gelon (Herodotus 7. 153; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 2. 27), and he might not have been the only individual from there.[71]

From the foregoing, we may conclude that the Lindians established a trading post in southern Sicily in the late 8th century; a generation later, and consequent upon some difficulties in their city (a civil conflict or whatever), some of the Lindians had to leave their home. To increase their opportunities, they had to join people coming from elsewhere in Rhodes and a small group of Cretans, perhaps with a leader of their own. They might also have accepted others from the regions surrounding Rhodes (among them some individual from Telos) who wished to join them, and perhaps picked up others in the Peloponnese. This great diversity of origins perhaps justifies the explanation given by Thucydides (6. 4. 4), when he assures us that the *nomima* of the new city would be Dorian. He only gives this information when he is dealing with mixed foundations, such as Himera (6. 5. 1) or Acragas (6. 4. 5).

The place chosen for the establishment was (naturally) the mouth of the River Gela where there was already one (or several) small nucleus of Rhodians. The name of one of the *oikists*, Antiphemus of Rhodes, as well as the cult devoted to him after his death, is attested

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[71] On this individual and his descendant, Telines, see Harrell 1998, 28–74.

both by a great number of sources and by a votive inscription found on the foot of an Attic kylix dated to the 6th or 5th centuries, with a dedication to Antiphemus (*SGDI* 3^2 5215).[72] The first years of the city were very hard, at least to judge from the campaigns that the *oikist* himself had to lead against the neighbouring native Sicans, placed in the *polisma* of Omphake, which would eventually be destroyed and plundered (Pausanias 8. 46. 2).

The city of Gela occupied a long hill (Fig. 9), parallel to the coast, whose eastern part, where one of the tiny Lindian settlements had been, acted as the *acropolis*.[73] There had existed, since 7th century, the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, as well as two other temples and a large number of tiny cult places or *naiskoi*, spread across the whole eastern part of the hill and perhaps related to the act of foundation. It has been also suggested that they were part 'of a preconceived urban structure'.[74] The 7th-century pottery is, for the most part, of Corinthian manufacture, as is usual in the rest of Sicily,[75] which would show that Gela entered immediately into the distribution networks of this pottery, but among the oldest material are some Late Geometric North Ionian cups.[76] This shows the double commercial orientation of the Archaic city, linked to the Corinthian-Syracusan trade but also with a Rhodian connexion. At the same time, typical Cretan products, quite scarce in the rest of Sicily, have been identified at Gela,[77] and Cretan influences have also been observed quite frequently in other spheres of the culture (including religion).[78] The Archaic necropolis was located to the west of the city and some tombs with material dating to the late 8th century are known.[79] Around the city, an important set of extra-urban sanctuaries is known; among them, the most remarkable is the Thesmophorion at Bitalemi, by the mouth of the River Gela.[80]

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72 Graham 1983, 21–2; Malkin 1987b, 194–5, 259; Dubois 1989, 159–60 (no. 135).
73 De Miro and Fiorentini 1978, 90–9.
74 Fischer-Hansen 1996, 322–32.
75 Orlandini 1978, 93–8.
76 De Miro and Fiorentini 1983, 74–83.
77 De Miro and Fiorentini 1983, 67–8, 80–2.
78 De Miro 1974, 202–7.
79 De Miro and Fiorentini 1983, 71; Fiorentini 1985, 32–5.
80 Orlandini 1968, 20–66; Fiorentini 1985, 26–32; De Miro 1986, 567–8; Holloway 1991, 55–60.

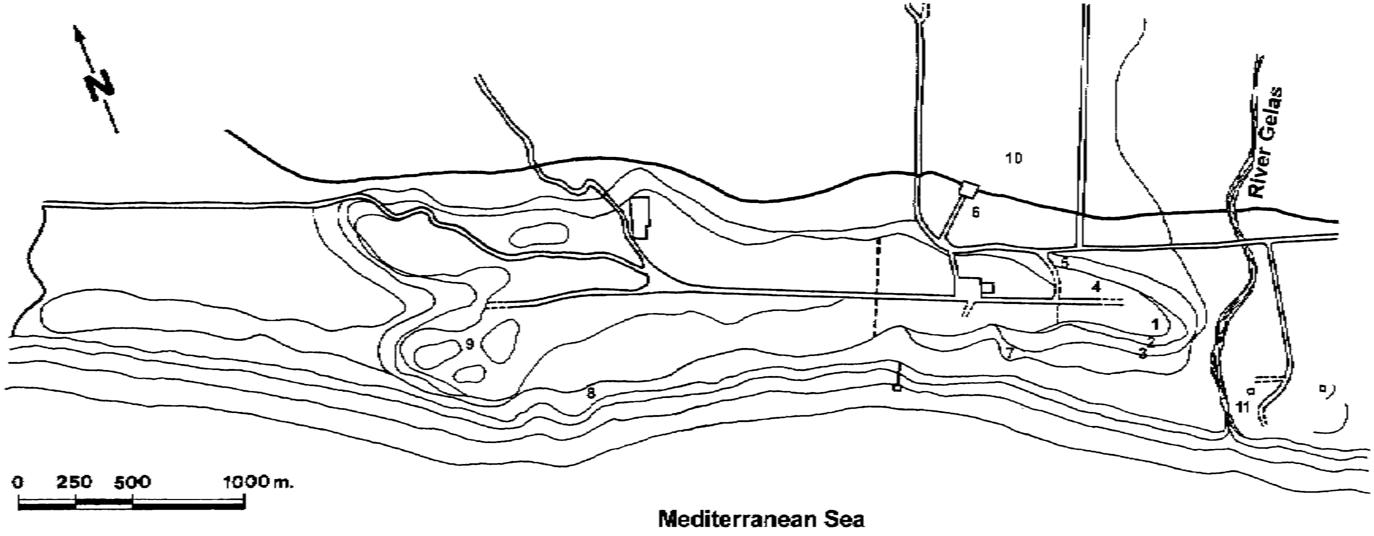

Fig. 9. General topography of Gela (after Gabba and Vallet 1980, pl. 7). 1. Doric temple; 2. *Stips* of the Athenaion; 3. Votive deposit; 4. Sanctuary by Molino di Pietro; 5. *Naiskos* at Carrubazza; 6. *Naiskos* in Via Fiume; 7. Sanctuary of Predio Sola; 8. Sanctuary by Villa Iacona; 9. Capo Soprano; 10. Sanctuary in Madonna dell'Alemanna; 11. Sanctuary of Bitalemi.

Recent excavation has discovered the harbour area of Gela, to the south of the *acropolis*, as well as an area of housing (late 7th-early 6th century) to the north of it. The orientation of the streets in both areas seems to have been the same. These new finds show that the Archaic city was larger than previously thought.[81]

Thus, the foundation of Gela, preceded by a previous period of occupation by peoples coming from Lindus, introduces a new component in Sicily. This, essentially East Greek, would not lose contacts with its area of origin and, later on, would be responsible for an increase of this East Greek presence, but of Dorian origin, in other parts of Sicily.

The Second-Generation Colonies

Gela brings to an end the first series of Greek colonies founded in Sicily. During the last third of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 7th century, colonies of Chalcis, Corinth, Megara, Rhodes and Crete were established. Each, according to the opportunities, developed its urban area, with public spaces and sanctuaries and, at the same time, began a process of expansion toward the lands previously held by the natives. The pattern of the relationships between these cities and the native world was extremely varied;[82] however, a common feature was that all cities created an agricultural territory as well as an area of influence, of greater or lesser importance, which ended up affecting the native environment. The development of trade in Greek products, which had already begun to arrive in native centres in the 7th century (sometimes earlier), is a clear mark of that interaction inaugurated by the foundation of the Greek cities.

This economic activity brought rapid advances to the conditions of life in the colonies, many of which had begun, from the 7th century, the development of an urbanism, which continued during the 6th century.[83] Their public and religious buildings, city-walls, paved streets, etc. show the levels of wealth reached.

However, from the 7th century, in a process that continued to the late 6th century, the first generation colonies usually became

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[81] Gela 1980, 560–71; Fiorentini 1985, 22. On the latest excavation, see Wilson 1996, 98–9.

[82] Domínguez 1989, *passim*.

[83] Di Vita 1981, 63–79; 1986, 359–414; 1990, 343–63; 1996, 263–308.

mother cities of other new colonies in turn. But they had no need to seek distant countries to take their surplus population; Sicily itself was the destination. This did not always encourage the widening of the mother city's horizons beyond its own borders; indeed, sometimes there was to be strife between the new colony and its far from remote mother city.

The main difference between this new process and that which had led to the foundation of the first generation colonies is that the Greeks established in Sicily ended up knowing the island extraordinarily well, both its economic capacities and the eventual difficulties which the creation of sub-colonies might bring about. Undoubtedly, all Greek cities were always needing to increase their territories, but in Greece itself this implied fighting Greek neighbours; in the colonial world, the expansion was at the expense of the natives, who, in the Greek view, were inferiors. This circumstance justified (*a posteriori*) conquest and expulsion.[84] Even civilising and conquering heroes such as Heracles sometimes removed impediments to legitimate the appropriation of territory.[85]

Consequently, the process begun in the 7th century involved all those cities founded during the 8th century. Furthermore, there would be two colonial enterprises introducing new elements into Sicily—Cnidians and Spartans; although with unequal success.

Syracusan Colonisation: Acrae, Casmenae and Camarina

Syracuse founded three colonies in Sicily (besides Helorus): Acrae, Casmenae and Camarina. According to Thucydides (6. 5. 2), Acrae had been founded about 663 B.C. (70 years after Syracuse), Casmenae about 643 B.C. (20 years after Acrae) and Camarina about 598 B.C. (135 years after Syracuse).

Undoubtedly, each of them reflected different interests of their mother city, but essentially within the same politics, especially in the case of the first two (which I shall deal with first). We have the name of an oikist for neither, which has usually been considered as proof of their close relationship to their mother city. Perhaps they were

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[84] Nenci and Cataldi 1983, 581–605.
[85] Giangiulio 1983, 785–846; Capdeville 1999, 29–99.

not independent.[86] Contrary to the general practice for Sicily (the exception is Leontini), and unlike the remainining sub-colonies analysed here (including the third Syracusan foundation, Camarina), they were established inland, not on the coast. Thus, we are probably contemplating centres whose main function was to secure efficient control of the territory, not for their own benefit but for that of their mother city, Syracuse.[87] The two cities were established on the upper reaches of the main rivers which bordered Syracusan territory, the Anapo to the north and the Helorus (modern Tellaro) to the south.[88] It is quite probable, therefore, that Acrae and Casmenae served as frontier posts, reinforcing the Syracusan presence in an area that was very important to its interests.[89]

The foundation, in the first place, of Acrae (Fig. 10), which commands the course of the Anapo, suggests that this river acted as the main route of penetration. The establishment of Casmenae was probably effected through the valley of the Tellaro river, at whose mouth Helorus lay. This could explain the long time (20 years) between the foundations, despite their relative proximity (12km).[90] We must not forget that the area of influence of Casmenae also included the River Irminio, which perhaps marked one of the borders of the territory of the future city of Camarina.

Acrae (on the site of modern Palazzolo Acreide) occupied a plateau that commanded the valleys of the Anapo and the Tellaro. The entire region was occupied by natives. We know very little about the structure of the city during the Archaic period—most known buildings (*bouleuterion*, temple of Aphrodite) are of later date; however, it is possible that the town planning corresponded to that of the Archaic period.[91] Some tombs dated to the 7th century and later have been excavated in the necropolis at Pinita, which seems to have been used previously by the natives.[92]

Slightly better known is the situation in Casmenae (modern Monte Casale) (Fig. 11). The city was sited on a wide plateau which

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[86] Dunbabin 1948a, 105, 109; *cf.* Graham 1983, 92–3.
[87] Di Vita 1987, 78–80.
[88] Collin Bouffier 1987, 666–8.
[89] Finley 1979, 21.
[90] Domínguez 1989, 200–3.
[91] Fischer-Hansen 1996, 335–6.
[92] Bernabò Brea 1956, 114–23; Voza 1973a, 127–8; *Akrai* 1980, 496–507.

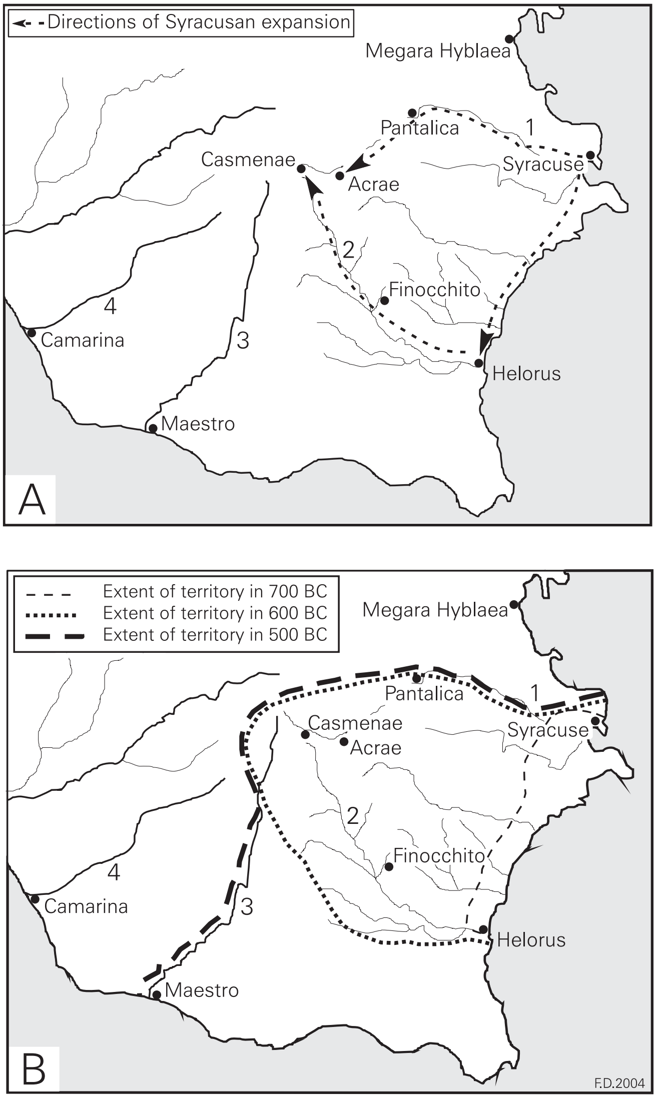

Fig. 10. The expansion and the territory of Syracuse. A. Directions of the expansion of Syracuse towards the interior (after Domínguez 1989, fig. 68). B. The three phases in the growth of Archaic Syracuse's territory (after De Angelis 2000a, fig. 55). 1. River Anapo; 2. River Tellaro; 3. River Irminio; 4. River Ippari.

commands the sources of the Anapo and Irminio rivers, and very near to the source of the Tellaro. Excavation has revealed an urban layout comprising a series of parallel streets running from north-west to south-east (this is to say across the narrow part of the plateau). No street crossing the settlement from east to west has been found. This planning is considered as proper for the 7th century, but it was maintained during the 6th century.[93] T.J. Dunbabin considered that the oldest material, found in the houses, could be dated to the late 7th century and that the Archaic temple might be even earlier.[94] It was placed in the western part part of the city, which perhaps acted as *acropolis*. In the temple a votive *stips* with hundreds of weapons was found, which has been explained as the result of a strong military component in the city.[95] The impregnability of Casmenae, thanks mainly to its situation, is confirmed by Herodotus (7. 155) when he records that the Syracusan *gamoroi* took refuge there after their expulsion from Syracuse. From Casmenae, Gelon would reintroduce them to Syracuse in 485 B.C. The regularity of the layout has enabled the number of houses in the city to be calculated, as well as the number of inhabitants (about 7,528) and some authors have seen it as a rigid 'military' planning by Syracuse.[96] We know some tombs in the Casmenae necropolis, south-west of the city, that date to the first half of the 6th century.[97]

The third Syracusan colony, Camarina, was founded in about 598 B.C. In this case we do know the names of the two *oikists*: Dasco and Menecolus. This most probably suggests that we are dealing with a true *ktisis* of a true Greek *polis*, although it is doubftul, judging from the war against Syracuse (see below) that it was completely independent.[98] On the other hand, the existence of two *oikists* may point to the existence of two main groups of colonists one of them, at least, or Syracusan origin. We do not know if the other could be Corinthian, as Dunbabin has suggested.[99] Camarina was founded on

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[93] Di Vita 1961, 69–77; Voza 1973c, 129–32; *Casmene* 1980, 528–36.
[94] Dunbabin 1948a, 101.
[95] Domínguez 1989, 214.
[96] Di Vita 1986, 387; 1996, 276–8.
[97] *Casmene* 1980, 528–36.
[98] On the dependence of Camarina with respect to Syracuse, see most recently Manganaro 1999, 116–7.
[99] Dunbabin 1948a, 105.

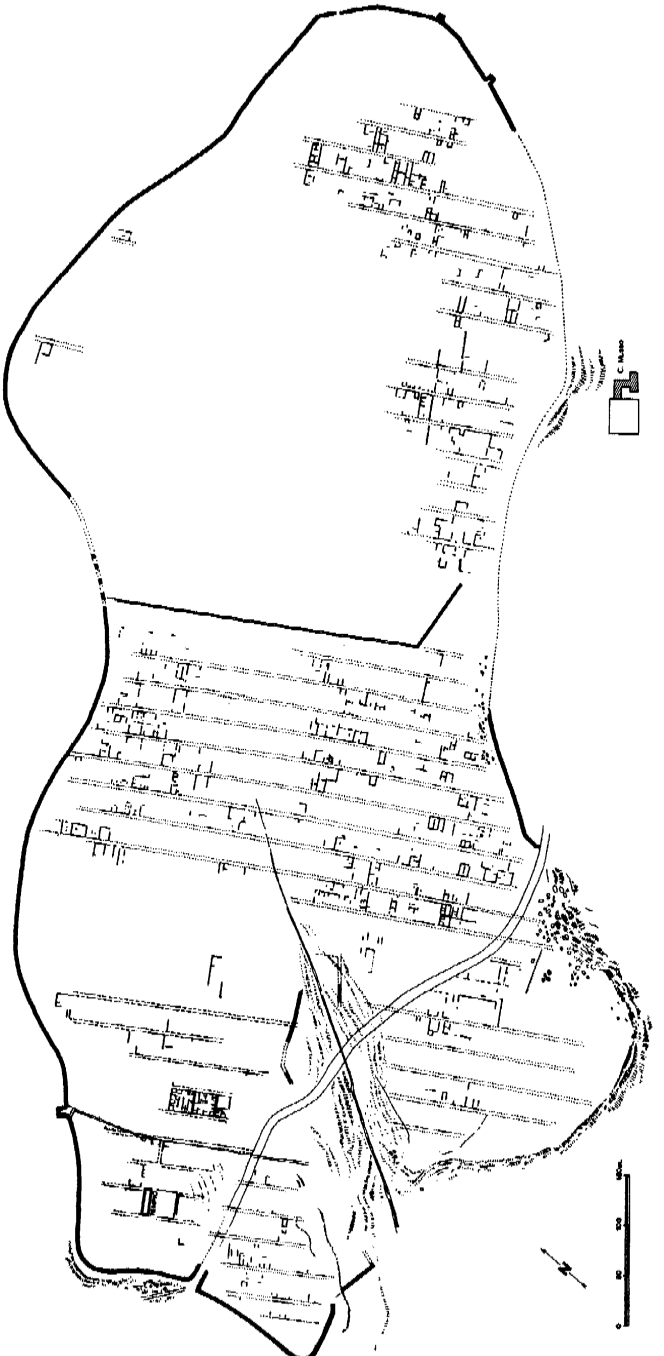

Fig. 11. Plan of Casmenae (after Gabba and Vallet 1980, pl. 4).

the southern coast of Sicily, whereas the other two colonies and the first Syracusan foundation, Helorus, were directed to the eastern coast. The actual motives for this foundation are not well known but we must not forget two very important facts. On the one hand, the new city very quickly developed a political orientation absolutely opposite to that of its mother city. This brought about severe retaliation in *ca.* 553 B.C., when it revolted against Syracuse and allied itself with the Sicels (Ps.-Skymnos 295–296; Thucydides 6. 5. 3; Philistus *FGrHist* 556 F 5).[100] On the other hand, in the years before the foundation of Camarina, there were political troubles within Syracuse; thus, for instance, we know of the exile of a part of its citizenry (the so-called Myletidae), who would take part in the foundation of Himera, as Thucydides (6. 5. 1) stresses. The foundation of Himera must be placed in about 649/48 B.C. (Diodorus 13. 62. 4). Thus, it is possible that the foundation of Camarina, as well as reflecting the increased interest of Syracuse in the southern coast of the island, might also have solved some internal political troubles. In fact, Camarina was to be a neighbour of the powerful Gela, which eventually would also cause it some problems (Thucydides 6. 5. 3).[101] It is not improbable that the foundation of Camarina was designed to prevent Geloan expansion both along the coast and in the interior of Sicily; expansion dangerous for Syracuse and its outposts Acrae and Casmenae.[102]

The interests of Camarina (and perhaps of Syracuse) in the maritime trade along the southern coast of Sicily, may be observed in several places: on the one hand, in a series of harbour structures found in near the mouth of the River Hipparis, at least in part datable to Archaic period,[103] on the other, in what seems to be an *emporion*, placed in the mouth of the River Irminio, at the site called Maestro. There, structures dated to the early 6th century have been discovered, and show the strong commercial interest represented by this territory.[104] In addition, epigraphic evidence of the second half

[100] Di Stefano 1988–89, 89–105.
[101] Sinatra 1998, 41–52.
[102] Di Vita 1997, 367–8.
[103] Fischer-Hansen 1996, 344–5.
[104] Di Stefano 1987a, 129–40; 1987b, 188–96; Some scholars, however, suggest that it must have been an *emporion* not of Camarina but of Syracuse: Gras 1993, 107.

of the 6th century, in which the purchase of a certain quantity of corn is mentioned, helps confirm the commercial character of the place.[105] Some shipwrecks and other structures found in the surrounding area (Punta Bracceto) point to the same conclusion.[106]

On the other hand, the River Irminio, linked the coast with the interior where Acrae was situated, and we know from Philistus (*FGrHist* 556 F 5) that the *casus belli* in the war between Syracuse and Camarina, in which the latter was supported by other Greeks and Sicels, was the crossing by the Camarinians of the River Irminio.[107] Although we still lack sufficient evidence to understand fully what lay behind the foundation of Camarina, there are numerous and very diverse strands, such as the territorial expansion of Syracuse, the control of coastal points of trade interest but also of key importance in the protection of the territory, the creation of centres to reinforce Syracusan control over the southern coast of Sicily, etc.[108]

Camarina was founded at the mouth of the River Hyparis (today Ippari), commanding one of the most important plains in southern Sicily, which would constitute the backbone of its territory, in spite of the dense occupation by the natives (Fig. 12). However, Camarina maintained very close and intense relations with the Sicels during the Archaic period. The archaeological evidence so far found in the city and in the necropolis, dated to the late 7th and the early 6th century, seems to confirm Thucydides' observations. The high percentage of Corinthian transport amphorae found may reinforce the old hypothesis of a Corinthian provenance for some of the founding colonists,[109] but it is difficult to relate the commonest types of amphora in a city to the origin(s) of its inhabitants.[110] From the first, Camarina enjoyed a regular layout, which remained stable through the different phases of the life of the city. During the first half of the 6th century, a city wall was constructed, enclosing 150ha.[111]

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[105] Cordano 1997, 349–54.

[106] Di Stefano 1993–94a, 111–33; Boetto 1997, 327–32.

[107] Manni 1987, 71–2; Di Vita 1997, 368–70.

[108] Di Stefano 1987b, 129–201. On the territory of Camarina, see Muggia 1997, 98; De Angelis 2000b, 124–6.

[109] Pelagatti 1985, 295; Di Stefano 1993–94b, 1373–5.

[110] Certainly, the Corinthian amphora is the most common transport amphora in the different cities of Archaic Sicily, including those of Chalcidian origin such as Naxos or Himera: Albanese Procelli 1996a, 121–3; 2000, 479.

[111] Pelagatti 1976a, 122–32; *Camarina* 1980, 508–27.

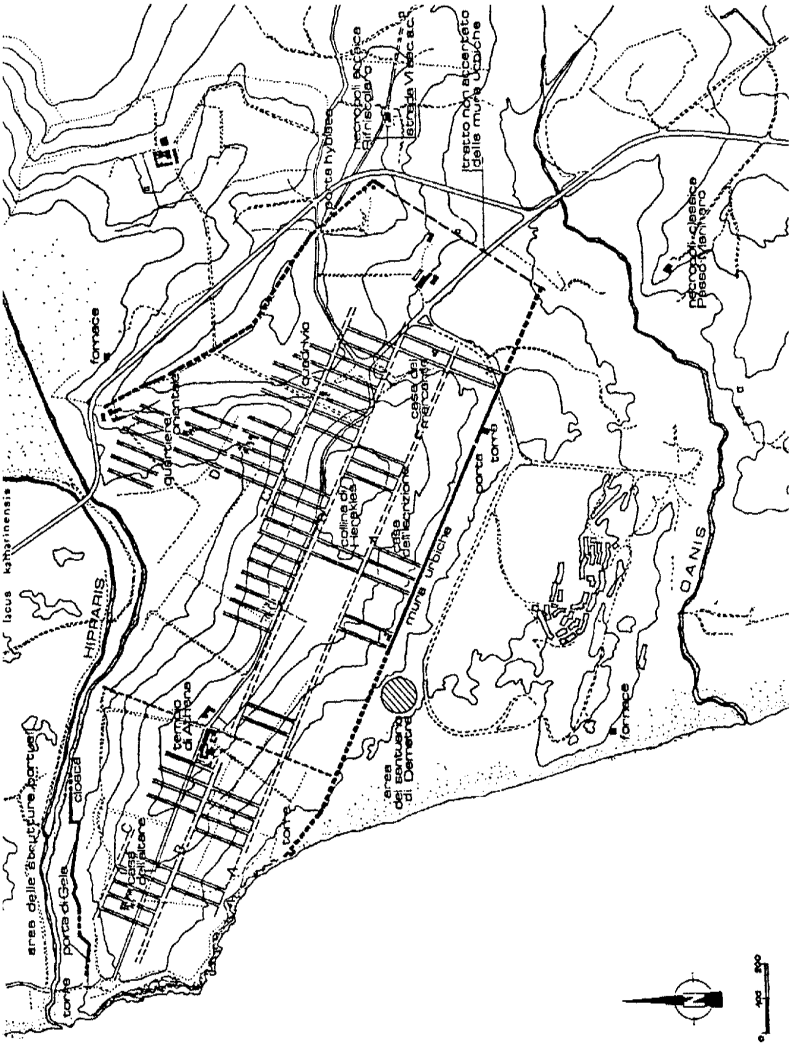

Fig. 12. Plan of Camarina (after Pelagatti 1976a).

The *agora* of the city is also known: it occupied a space kept free from buildings from the beginning of the Greek establishment.[112] Some sacred areas are also known, such as the temple of Athena, where an important collection of more of 150 lead letters datable to *ca.* 561 B.C. has been discovered.[113]

The Archaic necropolis is placed to the east, just outside the city-walls, adjoining the route to the interior of the island (Rifriscolaro-Dieci Salme). Some tombs dated to about 600 B.C. are known, perhaps corresponding to the first generation of colonists.[114] Overall, several thousands tombs pertaining to the Camarinian necropoleis are known, a good part (more than 2,000) of the Archaic period.[115]

Chalcidian Colonisation: Himera

Himera, except for Mylae the only Archaic Greek colony on the northern coast of Sicily, shows, in Thucydides' account (6. 5. 1), a number of features of interest. In the first place, the existence of three *oikists*, which is quite uncommon. This is usually interpreted as the result of there being different groups of colonists, also mentioned by Thucydides.[116] A greater problem is to try to link a particular group to a particular *oikist*, a matter which has received different interpretations,[117] although I shall not enter in them.

The second element of interest, related to the previous one, is the presence of at least two, and perhaps three, different groups of colonists in this foundation. On the one hand, the Chalcidians from Zancle, the founders of the colony; on the other, the so-called Myletidae, coming from Syracuse and expelled from that city as the consequence of a *stasis*, in which they had been the losing party. Undoubtedly, these Syracusans joined the colony at the very outset: they might even have arrived in territory controlled by the Chalcidians before the foundation itself. J. Bérard had already suggested that

[112] Pelagatti 1984–85, 679–94; Di Stefano 1993–94b, 1367–9.
[113] Cordano 1992.
[114] Doro Garetto and Masali 1976–77, 598–606.
[115] Pelagatti 1973, 139–50; 1976b, 37–49; Doro Garetto and Masali 1976, 51–9; Manni Piraino 1987, 89–120; Di Stefano 1998, 219–22.
[116] Bérard 1957, 241–2.
[117] Domínguez 1989, 333–4.

these refugees had originally been settled in Mylae, whence their name.[118] In addition, the relationship between Mylae and Himera was reported by Strabo (6. 2. 6), who considered Himera to be a colony of the Zancleans at Mylae. However, not all authors agree with this interpretation.[119] The existence of a third group, perhaps neither Chalcidian nor Syracusan, is suggested by the existence of the third *oikist* and by Thucydides' information.

As for the observations in Thucydides about the dialect spoken in Himera and its *nomima*, they are different in character. Certainly, the election of the *nomima*, which Thucydides mentions when he refers to mixed communities (see Gela above), is part of the characterisation, even of the ethnicity, which the colony wants to assume: it is a consequence of the consideration of the city as Chalcidian and which is related to the mention of Zancle as its mother city or to the inclusion of Himera in the catalogue of Chalcidian cities (for instance, Ps.-Skymnos 289–290). Consequently, this option corresponds to the very moment of the creation of the colony. However, the reference to the dialect is something that arose with time and through groups with diverse linguistic origins living together. Of course, this was not a deliberate act but the outcome of the usual mechanisms of linguistic contact and change. This mixing of dialects would not have been perceived during the first generation but it was something to be developed during the following centuries in the life of the city.

Thus, Himera would show a somewhat particular character: its double heritage, Dorian and Chalcidian, making it a privileged onlooker to the different conflicts of interests present in Sicily during the late 6th and the early 5th century.

Thucydides does not mention the date of foundation of Himera. This resembles the case of Selinus, where his information is also very vague and, in both instances, it is Diodorus who gives us the information. Diodorus says, in the account of his campaigns, that Hannibal son of Gisco destroyed Himera in 408 B.C., 240 years after its foundation (Diodorus 13. 62. 4), which gives us a date of foundation of 648 B.C. (and that Selinus was captured by Hannibal after 242 years of existence—Diodorus 13. 59. 4).

[118] Bérard 1957, 241.
[119] Asheri 1980a, 132.

On some occasions, certain parallels between Himera and Selinus have been pointed to: both were founded at about the same time and both were placed at the island's most westerly extremity, on its northern and southern coasts respectively. Some scholars have suggested, because of those circumstances, that the cities were part of a joint plan to limit and fight Punic expansionism.[120] I shall return later to the causes of the foundation of Selinus; I shall deal here with Himera.

The interest of the Chalcidians and, more precisely of Zancle, in the northern coast of Sicily is shown by the early foundation of Mylae. This city soon participated in the interests of the Chalcidians in the Straits of Messina, perhaps in the Aeolian Islands and in the Tyrrhenian Sea. The rest of the northern coast does not seem to have been especially suited to the establishment of Greek cities, judging by their absence. In addition to Himera, there were only two satisfactory points anywhere along that coast: Cale Acte (modern Caronia), midway between Himera and Mylae, where the Zancleans tried to found a colony of Ionians in about 494 B.C. (Herodotus 6. 22) and where, *ca.* 446 B.C., a mixed Greek-Sicel colony would be established (Diodorus 12. 8; 12. 29); and, Tyndari, where a Greek city was not founded until the early 4th century.

Perhaps the Zancleans attempted to found a colony at Cale Acte during the mid-7th century. If they did not, it might have been because their interests in the 7th century were not the same as the Syracusans, who were creating a network of establishments not far distant from Syracuse itself on the opposite side of the island. In my opinion, Zancle had different goals: it was interested both in giving lands to a series of heterogeneous populations concentrated in the city and at Mylae, and to form a good foundation for trade with the Tyrrhenian and, perhaps, the western Mediterranean, in the main by making contact with trading networks controlled by the Phoenicians in the western tip of the island. Thus, whilst agrarian considerations were undoubtedly important when deciding where to place a colony,[121] so were commercial ones (both maritime and terrestrial), and relations with the Phoenician-Punic world had also to be taken into account: we must not forget that Himera was founded

[120] Tusa 1982, 192–4; Cordano 1986a, 122–3.
[121] Belvedere 1978, 75–89; Bonacasa 1981, 327–8.

30km to the east of the Phoenician city of Soloeis,[122] located in the area of San Flavia, by the promontory of Sólanto.[123]

The oldest remains so far found at Himera come from the coastal area, a zone undoubtedly more exposed and less defensible than the hill, which would be occupied only 20 or 25 years later. It is also possible that the pattern of occupation of Himera is similar to that attested at Selinus.[124] This early trade orientation (which I suggested some years ago) seems to have been confirmed by recent finds, such as an important quantity of transport amphorae, which show the insertion of Himera within the wide network of commercial interchanges existing in the Tyrrhenian between the later 7th and the first half of the 6th century.[125]

Himera was founded in the central part of the Gulf of Termini Imerese, at the mouth of the River Northern Himera. Its site first comprised the coastal plain, and afterwards included the plateau to the south (Piano di Imera). Several kilometres to the west flows the River Torto, and the two rivers defined a rich coastal plain, bordered by hills, which provided an ideal terrain for establishing an agrarian territory, well suited to a variety of crops.[126] It seems that the first establishment took place around the harbour, in the lower part of the city (which would corroborate the date given by Diodorus), where some pottery has been found, partly manufactured at Himera itself and dated to the third quarter of the 7th century.[127] The oldest archaeological remains on the hill has been found in the sacred area established in the first years of the colony on the north-eastern part of the hill. They are dated to the last quarter of the 7th century (*ca.* 625 B.C.) and show, in spite of the hesitations of their excavators,[128] some characteristics of an *emporion*: some objects (a bronze statuette depicting Athena or Aphrodite Promachos, a faience figurine with an obscene subject) show very close parallels to similar objects found in the Greek *emporion* at Gravisca.[129]

[122] Domínguez 1989, 335–6.
[123] Greco 1997, 97–111.
[124] Domínguez 1989, 334; Vasallo 1997, 88.
[125] Vassallo 1997, 89–90; Vassallo *et al.* 1991, 96–108.
[126] Belvedere 1978, 77–9.
[127] Bonacasa 1997, 56, 58; Vassallo 1997, 85–8.
[128] Bonacasa 1981, 330–2; Allegro *et al.* 1991, 65–84.
[129] Torelli 1977, 398–458; Domínguez 1989, 356.

It seems that the city, once it had occupied the hill, comprised the whole plateau (Piano di Imera) from the beginning (Fig. 13). It also enjoyed an ordered and regular planning from the start, based on a series of streets running from north-east to south-west, intersected by a wide street running from north-west to south-east. Only some temples built in the north-eastern sacred area preserved the orientation of the Archaic city when, afterwards, the city modified completely its urban face.[130] It has been suggested that the occupation of the urban area was not very extensive, on the basis of the pattern already observed in other cities, such as Megara Hyblaea. The lower city would have been developed in relation to the harbour. The substitution of the second layout for the first has usually been placed between the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th century, although some scholars suggest that the change could have taken place between 580 and 560 B.C.[131]

Material of native origin, although not very abundant,[132] is known at several points of the Archaic city, which has led some scholars to suggest that there was an indigenous presence within the Greek city and to return to an old theory that one of the *oikists* of Himera, Saco, could have represented the native element in the foundation.[133]

As for the Archaic necropoleis, we know just some hundreds of tombs, mainly from the eastern cemetery (Pestavecchia), dated to the 6th century.[134] Some material dated to the mid-7th century has appeared which would indicate a Greek presence in the area at that time.[135] The material found in the Archaic necropoleis includes large pithoi and native amphorae used as funerary containers; they have usually been interpreted as witness to trade exchange between Greeks and natives living around the city.[136]

Already in the Archaic period Himera had created an important agricultural territory, the lands suited to cultivation delimited by the valleys of the Himera and Torto to the east and the west, and by

[130] Allegro *et al.* 1991, 65–7.
[131] *Imera* 1980, 572–5; Bonacasa 1981, 338–9; 1997, 57; Allegro 1997, 67–80.
[132] Bonacasa 1981, 339–49; Vassallo 1996, 200–1.
[133] Castellana 1980, 71–6; Manni 1971, 95.
[134] Gabrici 1936–37, 33–7; Allegro 1976, 597–625; Di Stefano 1976, 783–830; Vassallo *et al.* 1991, 89–112.
[135] Vassallo 1997, 87–8.
[136] Vassallo 1993–94, 1251; 1997, 89–90.

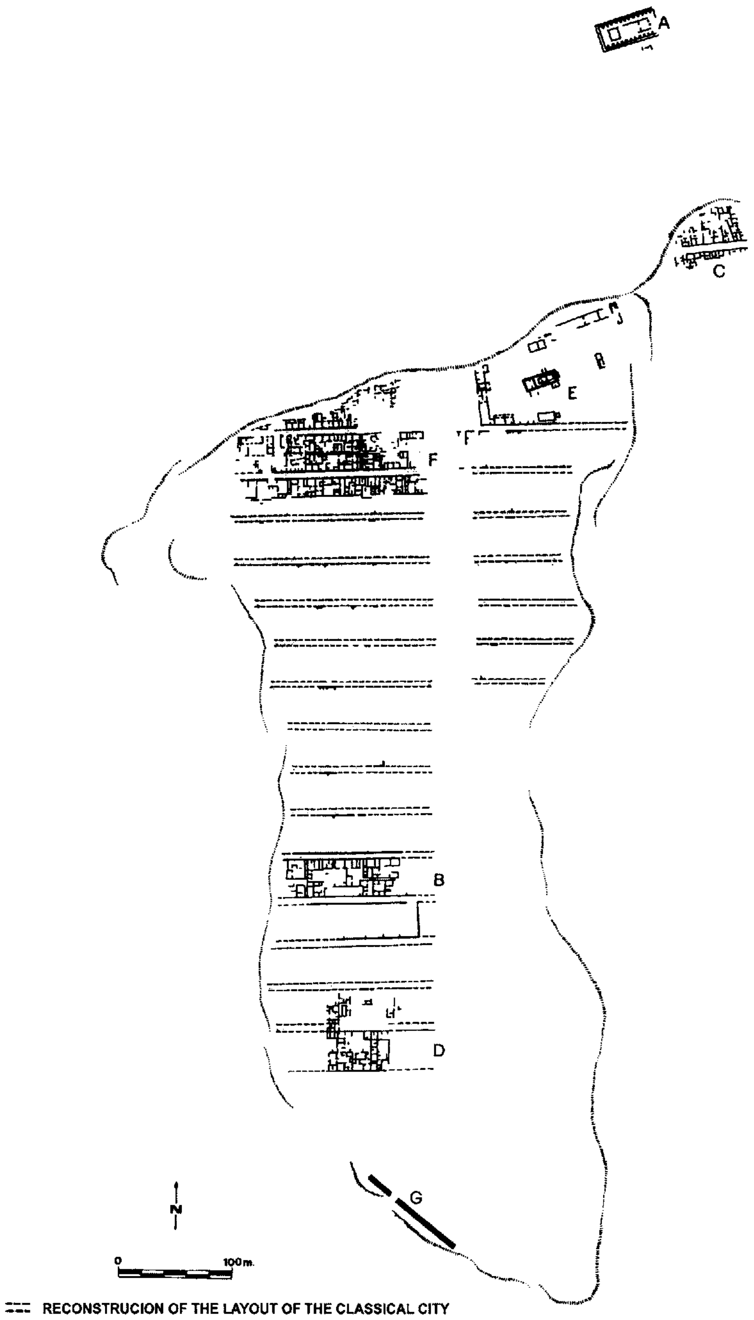

Fig. 13. Plan of Himera (after Gabba and Vallet 1980, pl. 8). A. Temple of the Victory; B. Houses; C. Houses in the Eastern quarter; D. Houses in the Southern quarter; E. Sacred area; F. Houses in the Northern quarter; G. City-wall.

a range of hills (400–500m high) to the south.[137] This territory, 1260km^2 in extent, constituted the *chora* proper of Himera. Surveys carried out in it, show the great interest of the city in controlling bordering regions: it is the most distant sites that are the first show remains of a Greek occupation during the 6th century, some clearly of a defensive character, others sacred.[138] Furthermore, Himera's interests in inland territories are perfectly attested; they were encouraged by the course of the River Himera, at whose mouth the city had been founded,[139] but also by those of several other rivers in the region (San Leonardo, Torto).[140] This broad territory was populated by important native settlements, still not very well known, which correspond to the area occupied by the Sican people.[141] It is possible that Himeraean expansion involved armed conflict with the natives, as an inscription dated to the first half of the 6th century, found in Samos, would suggest. In it a group of individuals (Samian mercenaries?) make an offering to the divinity (Leukaspis?, Hera Thespis?) in fulfilment of a vow 'when the Himeraeans suffered the assault of the Sicans'.[142]

The Acragantines would take advantage at different times (Phalaris, Theron) of the routes which led from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the southern coast of Sicily, to mark their power over the Chalcidian colony.

Megarian Colonisation: Selinus

A 'traditional' reading of Thucydides (6. 4. 2) is that Megarians founded Selinus about 100 years after Megara (in about 628 B.C.), having obliged Pamillus, the *oikist*, to come from the mother city, Megara Nisaea.[143] We have here, as perhaps in other cases (Zancle, Camarina?, Acragas?) an *oikist* arrived directly from the mother city to help its colony in the foundation of a new colony. Nevertheless,

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[137] Belvedere 1988a, 1–16.

[138] Belvedere 1988b, 152, 164–74, 177–85, 196–9. On the territory of Himera, see Muggia 1997, 86–9; De Angelis 2000b, 131–3.

[139] Belvedere 1986, 91–5.

[140] Belvedere 1997, 91–7.

[141] Vassallo 1996, 199–223.

[142] Dunst 1972, 100–6; Manganaro 1994, 120–6.

[143] See, however, Braccesi 1995, 339–44.

in the case of Selinus we are told the name of only one *oikist*, which suggests that there was only one contingent, namely that coming from Megara Nisaea. However, some scholars have suggested that the name of the other (eventual) founder could be found in the great bronze inscription from Selinus, dated to the mid-5th century, and containing a sacred law (Fig. 14).[144] Of course, we do not know if Megara Nisaea was forced to send overseas a part of its population in the last years of the 7th century, but this appears unlikely: we must not forget that this was the time when the city was governed by the tyrant Theagenes, whose policy seems to have been clearly expansive—witness the numerous conflicts with Athens in those years.[145] The weight given to to these circumstances varies according to the date we ascribe to the foundation of Selinus, a matter with which I shall deal later.

It is quite reasonable to think that the foundation of Selinus was a result of the interests of Megara Hyblaea itself and that, as a gesture of deference, the latter looked to her mother city for an *oikist*. Selinus, founded on the southern coast, was the westernmost Greek city in Sicily. Why it was founded and where raise several questions.

In the first place, it seems clear that one of the main reasons forcing some of the inhabitants of Megara Hyblaea to leave their country was the scarcity of Megarian territory, severely constricted by Leontini to the north and by Syracuse to the south, although it had a theoretical size of about $400km^2$.[146] We must understand the scarcity largely in terms of unequal access to to land of the Megarian population. As time passed, the distribution of land on (perhaps) an equal basis in the city's earliest years, gave way to the rise of a powerful landed aristocracy who prevented or obstructed access to it by later arrivals or disposessed individuals. The search for the land was, of course, a decisive reason.[147] The people most disposed to leave their city were likely to be the ones experiencing the most difficulty obtaining access to land there, but it is difficult to think of the

[144] Jameson *et al.* 1993, 121, who suggest that the other founder could have been either Myskos or Euthydamus, both of whom seem to have been important individuals in the 5th-century city; see, however, an opposite opinion in Brugnone 1997a, 130, note 34.
[145] Legon 1981, 92–103.
[146] De Angelis 1994, 91–5; 2000b, 126–8.
[147] De Angelis 1994, 102–5.

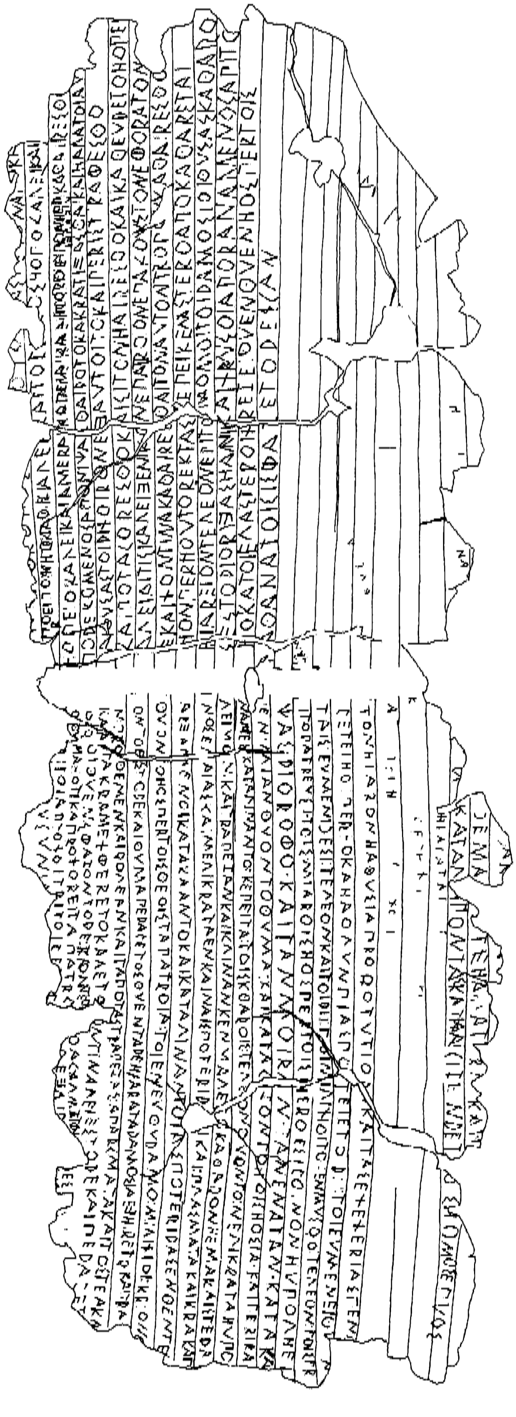

Fig. 14. A sacred law from Selinus; mid-5th century B.C. (after Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky 1993, Folding pls. 1 and 2).

voluntary departure of those affected by the situation. In my opinion, this could suggest the existence of some political tensions linked to the land question. The foundation of Selinus could have been an attempt to avoid these tensions through calling in a neutral element, a mediator, fresh from the mother city, Megara Nisaea. Political tensions did not disminish in Megara Hyblaea and at the time of its destruction by Gelon in 483 B.C., there continued to be tensions between aristocracy (the so-called *pacheis*) and the Megarian *demos* (Herodotus 7. 156).

In the second place, it is necessary to explain the foundation of Selinus so far from the mother city when other cities (such as Syracuse, even Zancle, and later Gela) were trying to use sub-colonies to create and reinforce their areas of strategic interest. I think that the site of Selinus was, by the later 7th century, the only one possible for a relatively small city, such as Megara Hyblaea. In fact, the south-eastern corner of Sicily was out of play because the Syracusans had already shown their interest in it, with foundations such as Helorus on the coast and Acrae and Casmenae inland, concluding, slightly after the foundation of Selinus, with that of Camarina. To the west of Camarina, Gela controlled an important part of the coast and had extended its interests not only towards the interior of the island but also to the coast to the west, where later on Acragas would be founded.[148] The northern coast would have been more troublesome for a Megarian establishment because of the strength of the Chalcidian rule around the Straits, and the scarcity of suitable sites. Thus, if the Megarian colonists who founded Selinus wanted to remain in Sicily, the place they chose was, in practice, the only one possible.

It has sometimes been suggested that the foundation of Selinus should be related to the eventual threat posed by the Phoenician-Punic world to the Greek world of Sicily, and it has even been said that Selinus and Himera would be part of the same buffer against the Punic.[149] This interpretation is not wholly satisfactory and we must consider several kinds of interests at work in the foundation of Selinus: trade, in relation both to the Phoenician world of Sicily and, mainly, to the natives of that region (Elymians);[150] a clear philo-Punic

[148] de la Genière 1977, 251–64.
[149] Tusa 1982, 192–4; Cordano 1986a, 122–3.
[150] Domínguez 1989, 373–8; Danner 1997, 156.

attitude, which would make Selinus take part in the traffic carried out by the Phoenicians in the Far West.[151] Finally, some scholars have suggested that Selinus could represent a similar model to its mother city, with the territory for the colony provided by the natives.[152] It is probable that all the previous interpretations have some truth to them, some others too. Indeed, what seems quite probable is the weight of Selinus as the last point of the Greek trade in southern Sicily; at the same time, we must not forget its important agrarian territory and the great extent of its *chora*.[153] Nevertheless, it was not until later, during the 6th century, that the city would exhibit fully its rôle as a great cultural crossroads.[154]

Another matter still the subject of debate is the foundation date. According to the tradition represented by Thucydides (see above) the foundation of Selinus had to be placed at about 628 B.C., but Diodorus (13. 59), mentioning the city's conquest and destruction by Hannibal (son of Gisco) in 409 B.C., states that it had been inhabited for the previous 242 years. This gives a foundation date of 650 B.C. One scholar has suggested that Thucydides' text mentions two moments, the first represented by Pamillus, which would have come from Megara Hyblaea, and which would correspond to 650 B.C., and the second, in which the (anonymous) *oikist* coming from Megara Nisaea had taken part, which would correspond to 628 B.C.[155] This hypothesis, which substantially modifies the traditional vision, resolves the problems posed by the traditional reading of Thucydides, in which the initiative for the whole process seems to have been in the hands of Megara Nisaea.

Excavation has shown the actuality of Greek presence in the area from the middle of the 7th century, at least. Certainly, excavations of the necropoleis (Buffa and, above all, Manuzza) and some in the inhabited area seem to confirm the presence of the nucleus of a Greek population already settled in Selinus by the mid-7th century.[156] The earliest remains of houses, apparently close to those of the native inhabitants, can be dated to the last quarter of the 7th century.

[151] Di Vita 1997, 374–9; see also Wilson 1996, 64.
[152] Graham 1982, 168.
[153] Parisi Presicce 1984, 56–9; De Angelis 2000b, 133–5.
[154] Mafodda 1995, 1333–43.
[155] Braccesi 1995, 339–44.
[156] Rallo 1982, 203–18.

Occupation was, perhaps, sparse until the beginnings of the 6th century, when the whole urban area was organised on a regular layout, which would endure until the destruction of 409 B.C.[157]

The city was founded on a hill by the sea (Manuzza to the north, and the area usually known as the '*acropolis*' to the south), bordered by the Rivers Cottone and Modione (ancient Selinus), whose mouths also served as the city's harbours (Fig. 15).[158] Important sanctuaries rose beyond both rivers, the so-called 'sacred area of the eastern hill', to the east of the city, and the sanctuary of Malophoros to the west. Furthermore, some sacred and civic areas were laid out in the *acropolis* hill. In the *acropolis* the cults of the city gods had their site; the heavenly gods were worshipped on the eastern hill, while the earthly gods were honoured in the western area.[159] The development of these sacred areas took place very early on: the sanctuary of Malophoros was already active during the last quarter of the 7th century.[160]

The regular layout of the city was initiated in the early 6th century, undoubtedly in accordance with an already defined or implicit axis, in existence since the beginning of the Greek presence there. In addition, the development of the south-eastern area of the *acropolis* began, as the seat of a series of important city sanctuaries, especially the so-called temple C. To this temple an important collection of metopes belong, which depict an iconographical programme related to the pretensions and aspirations of the Selinuntine aristocracy, who were responsible for the organisation of the city.[161] In fact, during the 6th century the city experienced an important process of monumentalisation, especially visible in the sacred area of the *acropolis* as well as on the eastern hill, which also implied the building of the city-wall and, perhaps, a trapezoidal *agora* in the area between the hills of the *acropolis* and Manuzza.[162]

The oldest necropolis of Selinus seems to have been that at Manuzza, to the north-east of the future *acropolis*: pottery of clearly

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157 *Selinunte* 1980, 636–53; Martin 1982, 183–8; Mertens 1997, 301–20.
158 Di Vita 1984, 9.
159 Di Vita 1984, 11–2, 51; Parisi Presicce 1984, 19–132.
160 Dehl-v Kaenel 1995, 417–9.
161 Tusa 1983; Marconi 1997, 121–34.
162 Di Vita 1984, 32–41; Rallo 1984, 81–91; Mertens and Drummer 1993–94, 1479–81; Østby 1995, 84–92; Danner 1997, 149–55; Mertens 1999, 185–93.

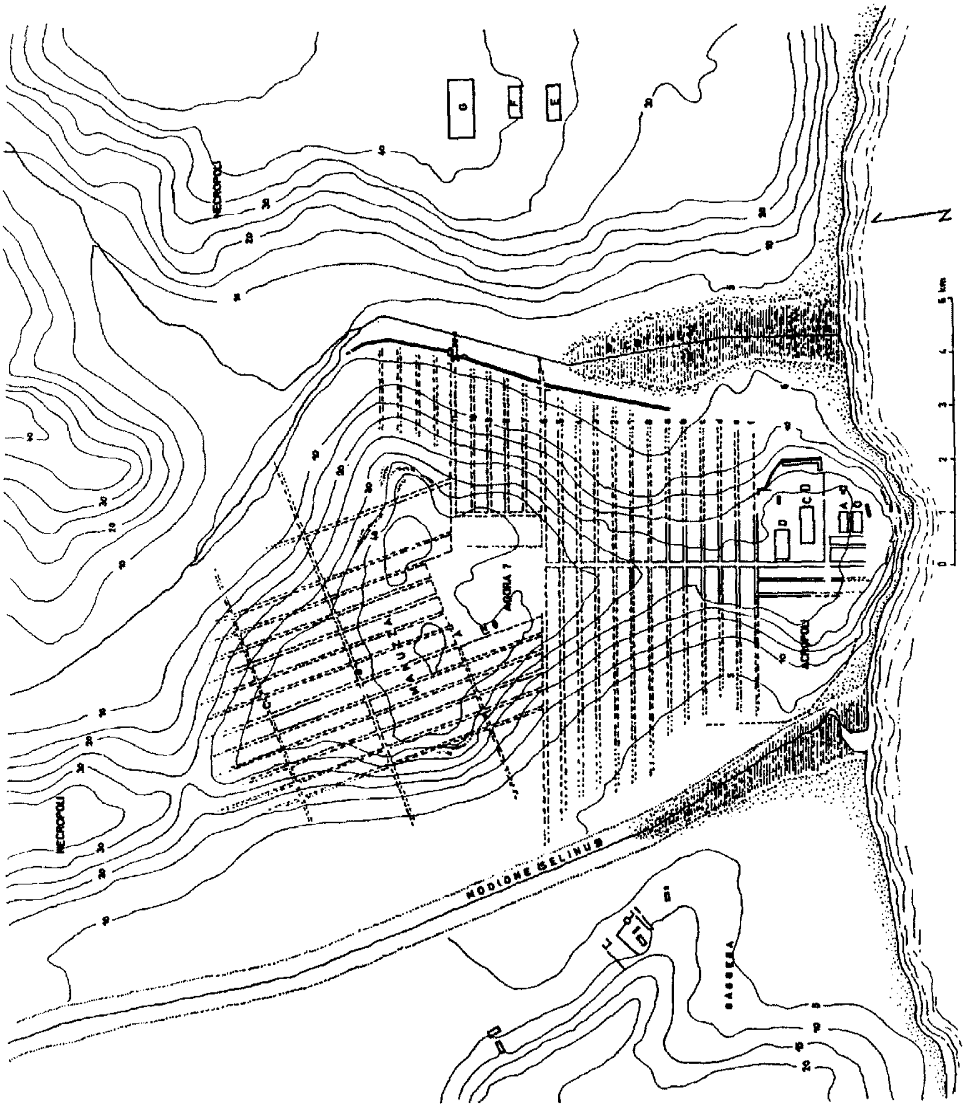

Fig. 15. Plan of Selinus (after Mertens 1999, fig. 1).

Megarian origin, dated to before the mid-7th century has been found in this necropolis, which suggests that here are the tombs of the first colonists. From the 6th century, the necropolis at Buffa, to the north-east of the Archaic city, was used and, finally, the area of Galera-Bagliazzo, to the north of the city. The western necropolis, Manicalunga, may have belonged to the city, although some scholars suggest that it might belong to some neighbouring settlement of rural character.[163] Some attempts have been made to establish differences in the economic circumstances of those buried from the study of the Attic pottery deposited in their tombs of the second half of the 6th and the 5th century.[164]

The relationships between Selinus and her mother city and Megara Nisaea, the mother of both, have been analysed on several occasions. It has been revealed how there are some elements that show a clear relationship, such as religion, and others, of a topographical or urban character seemingly common to all three.[165] However, it is difficult to know whether this is specific to Megara and its colonies or part of a wider phenomenon. The territory of Selinus is not well known, but it is possible that its area of influence was wide. We know this mainly from Thucydides, who remarks that there were conflicts between Selinus and the Elymian city of Segesta over lands shared between them (Thucydides 6. 6. 2). Furthermore, the discovery of an inscription devoted to Heracles (*ca.* 580 B.C.) written in the Selinuntine alphabet, at Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale, 25km distant from Selinus, suggests that the city had interests over a very wide area.[166] The existence of farms or dispersed villages across the territory seems certain for the later 6th century, as the find of a tiny rural necropolis in Erbe Bianche (Campobello di Mazara) suggests.[167] And within the territory of Selinus, several kilometres from the city, there were quarries from which the city procured stone—mainly the Cave di Cusa, already being worked during the 6th century.[168]

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[163] Rallo 1982, 216–7; Isler 1994, 165–8; Kustermann Graf 1991, 101–23; Leibundgut Wieland 1995, 189–218.

[164] Leibundgut Wieland and Kustermann Graf 1991, 121–9.

[165] Manni 1975, 174–95; *Chronique* 1983, 618–50; Antonetti 1997, 83–94.

[166] Piraino 1959, 159–73; Giangiulio 1983, 796–7; Dubois 1989, 84–5 (no. 84). Other recent finds also confirm the early expansion of Selinus: Nenci 1999, 216–7.

[167] Wilson 1996, 121.

[168] Nenci 1979, 1415–25; Peschlow-Bindokat 1990.

Selinuntine Colonisation: Heracleia Minoa

The oldest reference to Heracleia Minoa as a Selinuntine colony appears in Herodotus (5. 46. 2); when describing the retreat of Dorieus' companions after their defeat before the Phoenicians and Segestans, he says that the only of the surviving chief, Euryleon, 'took Minoa, colony of the Selinuntines'. As this episode took place in the late 6th–early 5th century, the city must have been founded by Selinus before then. Archaeological remains also suggest a foundation date in the middle of first half of the 6th century, perhaps to prevent the expansion of Acragas to the west;[169] certainly, Minoa was midway between Acragas and Selinus, which were linked through the *Selinuntia hodos*.[170] Sited at the mouth of the River Platani (ancient Halykos), Heracleia Minoa controlled an important route penetrating inland. From an archaeological perspective, the best-known period is the 4th century.[171] It is only recently that remains have been found of an Archaic necropolis, which seems to have begun in the mid-6th century.[172]

Soon after the episode involving the Spartan Euryleon, Acragas occupied Heracleia Minoa and incorporated it into its territory, as the Lindian Chronicle (*FGrHist* 532 F 1 no. 30) suggests. At the beginning of the 5th century, the tyrant Theron of Acragas 'discovers' the bones of Minos there and returned them to Crete (Diodorus 4. 79). The name of Heracleia could correspond either to this time or to that when the city was under the control of Euryleon.[173] The name Minoa, which seems to have been the original, always evokes in the sources very strong memories related to the myth of Minos.[174]

Geloan Colonisation: Acragas

Thucydides (6. 4. 5) places the foundation of Acragas about 108 years after that of Gela, which would be about 580 B.C. A very

[169] De Miro 1962, 145–6.
[170] Bejor 1975, 1277. On the possible course of this route in the area to the west of Acragas, see Di Bella and Santagati 1998, 79.
[171] *Eraclea Minoa* 1980, 554–9.
[172] Wilson 1996, 93.
[173] Domínguez 1989, 417–8.
[174] Basso 1989, 234–8; Dunbabin 1948b, 1–18; Sammartano 1989, 201–29; Bianchetti 1993–94, 181–91.

similar date (*ca.* 576 B.C.), although coming from a different tradition, is suggested by Pindar (*Ol.* 2. 93–96),[175] as well as by archaeological evidence.[176] As is usual in other colonial foundations, the existence of two *oikists* must be interpreted as a consequence of the existence of, at least, two groups of colonists of different origin. The Geloan origin of one seems clear, that being the city which took the initiative in colonising Acragas. On the origin of the other group, several possibilities have been advanced: Cretans, Rhodians from Camirus, Rhodians integrated within Gela, Rhodians arrived directly from Rhodes, etc.[177] On the basis of our present knowledge, I think that we may confidently accept a Rhodian origin: even the archaeological evidence confirms the presence of Rhodians in the first phase of the city's existence.[178]

However, some ancient authors insisted upon an exclusively Rhodian origin of Acragas (Polybius 9. 27. 8). A middle course is that of Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F 92), who recognised a Geloan origin, but pointed out that some individuals, such as the ancestor of the 5th century tyrant Theron, had arrived directly from Rhodes, without passing through Gela. This has been correctly interpreted as an element of propaganda developed by that tyrant to break any relationship between Acragas and its mother city, Gela.[179] However, both traditions show the presence, from the very beginning, of people coming directly from Rhodes. Some scholars have suggested, perhaps rightly, that the occasion for the arrival of those Rhodians to Sicily could be related to the joint Cnidian-Rhodian enterprise led by Pentathlos, which sought to found a Greek city in western Sicily, but ended in complete failure.[180]

The existence of a mixed groups among the Acragantine colonists, as well as the Geloan character of the foundation, is stressed by the reference in Thucydides to the *nomima* received by the new city which were those from Gela. As we have seen in other cases, Thucydides always referred to this important fact when underlining the ethno-

[175] Musti 1992, 27–31.
[176] De Waele 1971, 88–97.
[177] Domínguez 1989, 425–6; Musti 1992, 31–8.
[178] De Miro 1988, 243–5.
[179] Buongiovanni 1985, 493–9. On the religious relationships between Rhodes, Gela and Acragas, see also Shepherd 2000, 60–7.
[180] Merante 1967, 88–108; Baghin 1991, 7–17.

cultural affiliation assumed by a city of mixed origin. The weight of the Rhodian element had to be important, as the presence of certain cults in Acragas which were absent in Gela shows, for instance that of Zeus Atabyrius.[181] Nor should we ignore the presence at the outset of people of other origins, but related to the Dorian world. One of the traditions, which refers to Phalaris, undoubtedly one of the first colonists, makes him come from Astypalaea (Ps.-Phalaris *Ep.* 4. 35).

Acragas was founded on land bordered by the Rivers Acragas (modern San Biagio), which gave the city its name, and Hypsas (modern Drago), 3km from the sea (Polybius 9. 27. 2–7) and 65km to the east of Gela. There are many reasons why Gela founded this colony, among them to reinforce the area to its west, a region where the city seems to have had important interests from the beginning. The geographical proximity suggests that Gela wanted to create an area firmly under its control, probably in the same way as Syracuse.[182] However, the immediate development of Acragas, perhaps influenced by its Rhodian element, which more preoccupied by other interests, very soon changed the new city's orientation.[183] Some finds of possible Geloan origin in the area of Sant'Angelo Muxaro, 19km to the north-west of Acragas, have been interpreted as linked to the policy Gela pursued towards the natives or that region before the foundation of its sub-colony.[184]

The site chosen for the foundation of the city, as Polybius (9. 27. 7) describes it, was a wide and high plateau, bordered by cliffs and, for a good part of its perimeter, by the Rivers Acragas and Hypsas (Fig. 16).[185] To the north, separated by a valley, another summit existed, the Athena hill (Diodorus 13. 85), acting as the *acropolis* and housing temples dedicated to Athena and Zeus Atabyrius (Polybius 9. 27. 7). To the south, over the edge of the plateau, most of the temples were built.[186] It seems that this entire large area was included within the urban precinct from the beginning, when also the first regular layout can be traced. In the mid-6th century this planning

181 Baghin 1991, 11.
182 De Miro 1962, 122–52; Domínguez 1989, 427–8.
183 Baghin 1991, 15–6.
184 Leighton 1999, 260.
185 De Waele 1971, 5–7.
186 T. Van Compernolle 1989, 44–70.

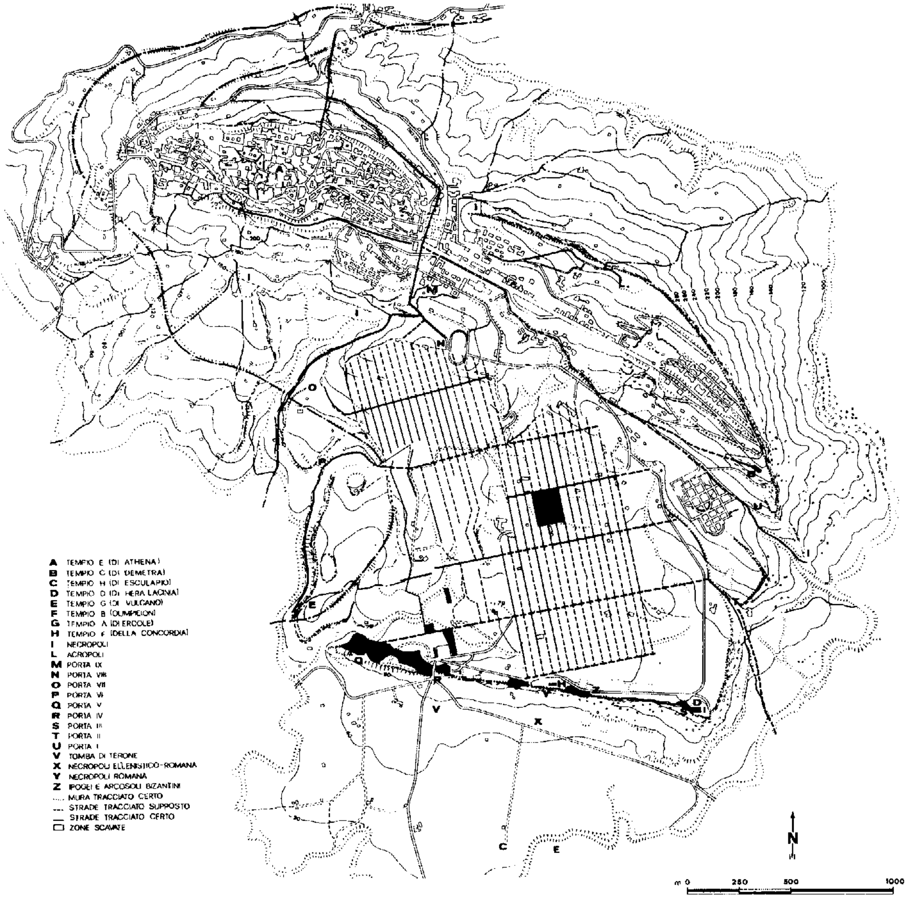

Fig. 16. Plan of Acragas (after Gabba and Vallet 1980, pl. 1).

received more consistent development.[187] Although the details of buildings in Archaic Acragas are not very well known, a number of late-6th-century houses have been excavated, some of the *pastas* type.[188]

The very rich necropoleis of Acragas were plundered long ago.[189] As usual, they were placed around the city, along the main routes of communication linking Acragas to the rest of Sicily. Another necropolis (Montelusa) was placed very near the sea, at the mouth of the River Acragas, and clearly related to the city's *emporion* (Strabo 6. 2. 1; 6. 2. 5). Its origins are dated to the first quarter of the 6th century, which makes it contemporary with the foundation of the city. Some vases manufactured in Rhodes have been found in it. The necropoleis underwent important development from the second half of the 6th century and many were used without interruption until the destruction of the city by the Carthaginians in 408 B.C.[190] The city was greatly renowned for its prosperity (*eudaimonia*) (Diodorus 13. 81)[191] as well as for its high population (Diodorus 13. 84; Diogenes Laertius 8. 63).[192]

The rise of a tyranny, that of Phalaris (572–566 B.C.), is very closely related to the foundation of the city itself. The traditions about all aspects of the history of Phalaris are quite abundant, although they are strongly biased against him, in good part by the adverse propaganda generated by the circle of the 5th-century tyrant, Theron.[193] Beyond the means used by Phalaris to obtain power (Polyaenus *Strat.* 5. 1), the main issue is why the tyranny arose only ten years after the foundation of Acragas. While some scholars place the emphasis on internal strife, originating in the city's ethnic diversity,[194] for others the cause was external factors, mainly Phoenician and native pressures on the new city.[195] Finally, others try to connect Acragantine expansionism, certainly damaging to the interests of Gela, with tensions within Acragas between colonists of Geloan

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[187] *Agrigento* 1980, 484–95; De Miro 1984, 81–5; 1988, 235–6.
[188] Cordsen 1995, 115–7.
[189] Fiorentini 1988, 41–62.
[190] De Miro 1988, 235–52; 1989.
[191] Torelli 1991, 189–98.
[192] De Waele 1980, 747–60.
[193] Bianchetti 1987, *passim*; Murray 1992, 47–60.
[194] Braccesi 1998b, 6–7.
[195] Bianchetti 1987, 40–1.

origin and those of Rhodian stock.[196] Therefore, in this context, perhaps it is not wrong to think of Phalaris as a sort of middleman, an *aisymnetes*.[197] Be that as it may, Phalaris was responsible for the first great expansion of Acragas into the Sicilian interior, occupying part of the area which was previously Geloan,[198] and even showing an Acragantine interest in the Tyrrhenian coast, thereby threatening the independence of Himera.[199]

Through this expansionist policy, Acragas came to control the mouths of rivers which penetrate inland, but it seems to have had only a slight interest in the coastal areas to the west of the city, as recent surveys carried out in that territory have shown.[200]

The Last Colonial Foundations: Failures and Successes

In this section, I shall deal with two attempts to found Greek colonies in western Sicily that resulted in complete failure, although with different consequences. I shall deal first with the attempt by Pentathlus of Cnidus and, in second place, with that of Dorieus of Sparta.

Pentathlos, the Cnidians and the Foundation of Lipara

About Pentathlos' activities, which would conclude with the foundation of the Greek city of Lipara, our main sources are Diodorus (5. 9), who perhaps bases himself upon Timaeus[201] and Pausanias, who follows Antiochus of Syracuse, as he admits. According to Diodorus, a host of Cnidians and Rhodians decided to found a colony in the Aeolian Islands, tired of the increasing pressure of the 'king of Asia'. Furthermore, they made their decision when they noticed that the islands, inhabited by descendants of Aeolus, were becoming gradually depopulated. The leader of the expedition was Pentathlos, a Heraclid; the time of the expedition is fixed in the

[196] Luraghi 1994, 34–5.
[197] Braccesi 1988, 10; 1998b, 11–2.
[198] Miccichè 1989, 25–67.
[199] De Miro 1956, 263–73; Bianchetti 1987, 69–98; Bonacasa 1992, 135–7; Luraghi 1994, 24–8; Braccesi 1998b, 7–11.
[200] Di Bella and Santagati 1998, 78–81. On the territory of Acragas, see Muggia 1997, 98–102.
[201] Baghin 1991, 14–5.

50th Olympiad (580–576 B.C.). When they arrived at Lilybaeum, they intervened in a war between Selinus and Segesta, to help the Greek city. However, once defeated and after Pentathlos' death, the survivors named three of his kinsmen as their chiefs and headed towards the Aeolian Islands where, with the support of the natives, they founded the city of Lipara.

Pausanias, in turn, claims that the Cnidians (in his story the Rhodians do not appear) founded a city on Cape Pachinus (in the south-eastern corner of Sicily); the defeat was caused by the Elymians and Phoenicians, and that when they retreated, the Cnidians occupied the islands and, after expelling their inhabitants, founded the city.

The two stories show interesting departures, which it is necessary to explain. In the first place, on the issue of the Rhodians, a joint Rhodian-Cnidian expedition is not improbable: both shared the same geographical space and relationships of every kind. However, those from Lipara always saw themselves as colonists from Cnidus, as Thucydides (3. 88. 2), Pausanias and epigraphic evidence show.[202] It is not improbable that either before or after the defeat by the Elymians (and the Phoenicians), the Rhodians (part, if not all) would choose a different destiny from the Cnidians. In this sense, it has been suggested on several occasions that these Rhodians joined at the outset the people from Gela who were then founding Acragas.[203]

In the second place, the reference to Cape Pachynus and the foundation there of a city does not appear in Diodorus' story but it is not improbable that both the Rhodians and Cnidians may have disembarked there at first and even that they might have tried to settle there. However, the likely pressure of Syracuse and Camarina (then just founded) could have forced the new arrivals to leave a region which Syracuse reserved for herself. Perhaps at this moment the separation of the Rhodians and Cnidians took place.[204]

The divergences between the accounts of the conflict given by Diodorus and Pausanias are not absolutely incompatible. Indeed, both traditions can easily be combined if we think that the help given by the Cnidians to the Selinuntines in their fight against the

[202] Bousquet 1943, 40–8; Colonna 1984, 557–78.
[203] Merante 1967, 88–104; Baghin 1991, 7–17.
[204] Merante 1967, 88–104; Domínguez 1988, 89–90.

Elymians from Segesta could have had a counterpart in help from Selinus to the Cnidians to establish themselves at Lilybaeum. However, a Greek colony in Lilybaeum directly threatened Motya. In consequence, the Phoenicians were forced to support Segesta against the Cnidian-Selinuntine coalition. It seems that both authors, Diodorus and Pausanias, selected those parts of the conflict they wished to stress.[205]

While in Diodorus' account the foundation of Lipara took place with the collaboration of the natives, in that of Pausanias (Antiochus of Syracuse), we may observe a curious fact: the author has not clearly decided whether the islands were uninhabited or whether the Cnidians had expelled the natives before founding their city. In this case, the explanation may be revealed by a general analysis of Antiochus' view on the Greek colonisation in Sicily. Clearly, he preferred a view according to which a necessary prerequisite to the founding of a colony is the expulsion of the previous inhabitants. On several occasions, this view contrasts with other traditions that refer to varying periods of coexistence between Greeks and natives. Thus, I suggest that Antiochus' account is absolutely appropriate to a time, such as that in which he wrote, when his city, Syracuse, was subject to strong pan-Siceliot propaganda (for instance, Thucydides 4. 59–64).[206] Archaeology, helps us little to identify those eventual natives living in Lipara before the arrival of the Cnidians.[207] Furthermore, there is no archaeological evidence for a supposed Cnidian presence on the largest island before the foundation of the colony in the 50th Olympiad.[208]

In my opinion, Cnidian objectives must be set against the general background of the East Greek world during the last years of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th century. Oriental pressure (Lydia) and aristocratic political regimes favour the departure of peoples in search of better ways of life. Undoubtedly, the search for new lands was an important objective, but in cities with a strong commercial tradition, such as Cnidus, trade factors could also have played an important rôle. Cnidus had been involved in long-distance

205 Domínguez 1988, 90–1.
206 Domínguez 1989, 642–3; *cf.* Sammartano 1996, 51–3.
207 Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1960, XXVII; Cavalier 1999, 293.
208 Braccesi 1996, 33–6.

trade since the later 7th century at least, as the Cnidian foundation of Black Corcyra shows (Ps.-Skymnos 428; Strabo 7. 5. 5; Pliny *NH* 3. 152). This foundation took place three generations before Polycrates (Plutarch *Mor.* 860 B.C.). In addition, we can mention the participation of Cnidus (as well as Rhodes) in the *emporion* at Naukratis (Herodotus 2. 178). It is possible that Cnidus was seeking a base in the central Mediterranean as a political priority. Fifteen years later (*ca.* 565 B.C.), other East Greeks, such as the Phocaeans, would found another city in the central Mediterranean, Alalia, although on this occasion on the island of Corsica.

The foundation of Lipara was not to be an easy adventure. Diodorus (5. 9) mentions that Etruscan resistance to the Greek establishment in the archipelago was immediate, provoking rapid Cnidian organisation to secure their position on the islands whilst they established a means of getting food. From Diodorus' text, we may trace the stages of this process:

- Division of the population in two groups: one devoted to the naval defence and the other to tilling the soil. In order for the system to function, it was necessary to make the land and remaining goods common property, as well as to develop a system of the communal eating (*syssitia*).
- Secondly, distribute the lands in Lipara by lot, but retain common property elsewhere.
- Finally, all land is distributed for periods of 20 years; after which it had again to be distributed by lot.

The views on the 'communist' system established in Lipara have been many and various, both in general interpretation and in the different phases that this process experienced.[209] I have analysed these opinions elsewhere.[210] From my point of view, the true foundation of the city could have taken place only in the mid-6th century, when the Cnidians had secured their stay in the islands after defeating the Etruscans in some naval battle, and after the allotment of lands on the main island—certainly the decisive fact from the point of view of the creation of a political community. It is possible that this event

[209] Buck 1959, 35–9; Figueira 1984, 179–206; Merante 1967, 88–104; Gras 1985, 515–22.

[210] Domínguez 1988, 84–100; 1989, 485–95.

had been ratified through the creation of political cults in the *acropolis* of Lipara.[211] We know that Hephaistus and Aeolus were especially honoured in this *polis* (Diodorus 20. 101).

The victories of the Liparians over the Etruscans became very well known (Diodorus 5. 9; Strabo 6. 2. 10), and Pausanias (10. 16. 7) relates some of the circumstances. The sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi received offerings from the Cnidians at Lipara as thanksgivings for their victories. Abundance and wealth of offerings speak about the important rôle played by the city in the control of the routes leading to the Straits of Messina.[212]

The city of Lipara was founded on a promontory on the eastern coast of the main island (Lipari), which continues to be occupied today; consequently, it has revealed very little archaeological evidence for the Archaic period, mainly some architectural terracottas and, especially, the *bothros* on the *acropolis*, 7m deep and full of votive offerings, pottery, terracottas and animal bones (cows, pigs, sheep, goats and molluscs). The material is dated from the mid-6th century to the first quarter of the 5th century and the entire ensemble was dedicated to Aeolus. The *bothros* was closed by a lid on which a lion was represented. Some of the pottery, although perhaps of local manufacture, shows very clear similarities with Cnidian pottery. In a votive pit near the *bothros* some pottery has been found which may be dated to the first half of the 6th century. A city wall encircling the city was built about 500 B.C.[213]

The necropolis was to the west of the city, occupying a very wide area. More than 2,000 tombs of Greek and Roman times have been so far excavated. The oldest are not very plentiful; they dated from the mid-6th century, although there is some sparse older material. The tombs with terracotta sarcophagi, of clear East Greek origin, are especially remarkable.[214] The presence of objects of Egyptian origin, such as a faience aryballos with the *cartouche* of Pharaoh Apries (585–570 B.C.), as well as some other material, show the relationship

[211] Domínguez 1988, 95–7.
[212] Bousquet 1943, 40–8; Rota 1973, 143–58; Colonna 1984, 557–78, Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1991, 101–9.
[213] Bernabò Brea 1954, 35–50; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1977, 86–91; *Lipari* 1980, 590–9; Cavalier 1999, 298–302. The *bothros* and its contents have at last been published: Bernabò Brea *et al.* 1998.
[214] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 197–204; Cavalier 1985, 26, 89; 1999, 300.

which Cnidians at Lipara had maintained with Egypt. Regrettably, all these objects come from old collections and lack archaeological context.[215]

Diodorus (5. 9. 5) informs us that, in the final phase of their installation, the Liparians distributed the lands of the lesser islands, repeating the distribution by lot every 20 years. In turn, Thucydides (3. 88. 2–3) assures us that in the 5th century, although the population lived in Lipara, they cultivated the islands of Didyme (Salina), Strongyle (Stromboli) and Hiera (Vulcano); similar information is given by Pausanias (10. 11. 3). From an archaeological point of view, it seems that the occupation of the minor islands was not very intensive and, on some of them, there is no evidence of a Greek presence before the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th century: it seems to have been more intense during the 5th and 4th centuries.[216]

Dorieus and his failed Heracleia

The adventure of Dorieus is narrated in considerable detail by Herodotus (5. 42–47), who tells of his various incidents in Libya and Italy before his arrival in Sicily. Diodorus (4. 23) gives some complementary detail of great interest and, in another context, Herodotus has some information pertinent to the final failure of Dorieus' enterprise (7. 158). I shall deal here only with the stay of Anaxandridas' son in Sicily and the task carried out there. Dorieus' interest in Sicily was the result of advice given him by Anticares of Eleon according to which he would have to found a city called Heracleia in Sicily, in the region of Eryx (Herodotus 5. 43). However, after seeking the advice of the Delphic Oracle (Herodotus 5. 43) and making offerings in other sanctuaries of Apollo,[217] and before arriving in Sicily, he was involved in the fight between Sybaris and Croton, which led to the former's destruction (Herodotus 5. 44–45). Although I shall not enter into detail, the Spartan intervention may be considered either as the outcome of a deliberate Spartan policy with respect to the

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[215] Domínguez 1988, 98–9; Cavalier 1999, 296–7.
[216] Cavalier 1999, 295–6.
[217] Stibbe 1998, 73–4.

western Mediterranean[218] or as a result of Spartan desire to solve tensions within its society through colonisation of a 'traditional' kind.[219]

Herodotus' account of the activities of Dorieus in Sicily is, however, rather sketchy; he informs us that other Spartans joined Dorieus as co-founders (*synoikistai*), Thessalus, Paraebates, Celeas and Euryleon (5. 46). They were joined by one Philip of Croton, with a trireme and a group of men paid for by himself (5. 47).

Herodotus (5. 46) states that the entire expedition died in a battle, after being defeated by the Phoenicians and Segestans, but he gives no further detail because he is more interested in the moral of the story.[220] In a different context, Diodorus includes the expedition of Dorieus within the results of the conquering activity of Heracles. Dorieus, a descendant of Heracles, would have occupied a land of his own, because Heracles had already conquered it during his travels, and he founded the city of Heracleia. It is clear that both in this enterprise and perhaps also in that of Pentathlos, there is implicit an important vein of the Heracleian tradition, widely analysed by many scholars, which seeks to justify Greek aspirations to occupy territories previously held by the natives.[221] Once founded, Heracleia grew quickly until the Carthaginians, fearing that it could bring about a Heracleian hegemony, attacked it with a great army and destroyed it (Diodorus 4. 23). In the prophecy of Anticares of Eleon given to Dorieus (Herodotus 5. 43) this result is also implicit.[222]

Thus, although Herodotus' story does not mention directly the foundation of a city, Diodorus' report considers it a true fact, but he ascribes its destruction to Carthage some time after its foundation, while Herodotus mentions only that the Segestans and Phoenicians defeated the Greeks in battle.[223] However, in a different context, Gelon of Syracuse affirms that he carried out a war against the Carthaginians and Segestans to revenge Dorieus, as well as to free some *emporia*, which perhaps had fallen into their hands (Herodotus 7. 158. 2).[224] In this entire episode there are some facts that remain

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[218] Braccesi 1999, 55.
[219] Domínguez 1989, 562.
[220] Miller 1997, 122–8.
[221] See, most recently, Capdeville 1999, 31–50.
[222] Malkin 1994, 203–6.
[223] Braccesi 1999, 42–5.
[224] Maddoli 1982, 245–52.

obscure: in the first place, the Spartan expedition goes to the region of Eryx, which in Diodorus' story would be well disposed toward the Spartans and where perhaps Dorieus would defend the interests of the Greeks of Sicily.[225] However, the adverse reaction is led by Segesta, helped by the Phoenicians. The intervention of Carthage seems to have taken place later, as Herodotus seems to suggest (7. 158. 2), but Carthage is not the only party responsible for the destruction of Heracleia, as Diodorus relates. Certainly, the great Carthaginian intervention in Sicily took place in 480 B.C. (Herodotus 7. 165–166), after three years of preparation (Diodorus 11. 1. 4–5), but we have no real evidence of conflicts between Greeks and Carthaginians in Sicily before that time.

Furthermore, there is the problem of the chronology of Dorieus, still debated.[226] It seems certain that the city of Heracleia was founded in the territory of Eryx, which perhaps Segesta considered to be a threat, as did the Phoenicians of Sicily. Their actions convinced the Carthaginians to intervene, helping Segesta against the Greeks, whose city would be destroyed. Some years later, perhaps when Gelon began his rise to the power, he could have used the affair of Dorieus to intervene in western Sicily. The Carthaginian reaction, encouraged by internal strife in Himera, led to the invasion of 480, concluding in the Battle of Himera (*cf.* Justinus 4. 2. 6–7; 19. 1. 9–12).[227]

In any case, the failure of Dorieus implied also the failure of the last Greek attempt in the Archaic period to establish a Greek city in the most westerly tip of Sicily. The use of the legend of Heracles as coloniser of Sicily[228] was severely diminished by Dorieus' failure. However, others such as Gelon would continue using Heracles to justify new expansive desires, although now directed from Sicily itself.

The Political, Economic and Cultural Development of the Greek Cities of Sicily

During the last third of the 8th century, when most of the first-generation Greek colonies were founded, but especially during the 7th century, the Greek cities of Sicily began to interact among them-

[225] Braccesi 1998a, 33–40.
[226] Merante 1970, 272–94.
[227] Domínguez 1989, 552–63.
[228] Malkin 1994, 211–8.

selves and with the indigenous world. Each city had as a priority the creation of its own political and economic territory, its *chora*, but also the creation of an area of influence, varying in size according to the city's interests and capabilities. These dynamics may have caused conflicts between Greek cities and with the native world, but also brought about non-violent forms of contact which would create a political and cultural space highly innovative in many respects.

The Political Structures of the Greek Cities of Sicily

The foundation of the Greek colonies in Sicily produced new political entities in which the first colonists formed the inner circle, regardless of whether we accept the existence of an organised movement or think that early colonisation was predominantly a 'private enterprise'[229] in which a leading rôle was accorded to the *oikist*.[230] Perhaps for a while, later arrivals may have been integrated into the narrow circle, who had a share in the plots of land initially laid out, both in the city and in its rural territory.[231] It is not easy, however, to know whether the initial distribution benefited only those present at the moment of the foundation or if there were more plots of land avalaible to those who would arrive in the next few years. In my opinion, the latter possibility might be true on account of the slow increase in the population of many cities, although the occupation and planning of the urban centre and the territory took place at the foundation.

The scarce data available on the way of life during the first years of many first-generation colonies suggest a situation of a certain modesty: houses of small size, an urban panorama quite sparse, levels of comfort certainly low, etc. However, in the cities, sanctuaries and necropoleis we can see how early contacts with the rest of the Greek world commence, which points to the existence of commodities to trade and the ensuing development of commercial traffic, undoubtedly advantageous for the Sicilian cities.[232] The beginning of construction of large monuments in the cities of Sicily from the 7th

[229] Osborne 1998, 251–69.
[230] Holloway 1991, 48–9.
[231] Fischer-Hansen 1996, 349–51.
[232] Finley 1979, 35–6.

century is a sign of the accumulation of wealth: the surplus was invested in the embellishment of the city with monuments and public buildings, as well as the development of the private house and the acquisition of higher levels of comfort. With respect to the dwellings, it has recently been suggested that a certain type of house, called *pastas*, may have represented the prototype house for people of a certain level within the Archaic city.[233]

In recent times, the extra-urban sanctuaries have been used to investigate the mechanisms deployed by *poleis* to assert their control over territory, within the process of elaboration of their own political identity.[234] The number known is slowly increasing, although for Sicily the recent overviews such as we have for Magna Graecia are lacking,[235] with the information dispersed through many publications.[236] Although issues about their origin (Greek or local) have long been discussed, especially for the extra-urban sanctuaries of Magna Graecia and Sicily,[237] current opinion considers them, at least the oldest, to have resulted from the conscious act by the *oikist* himself, who would have had control of this aspect of the distribution of the space of the future *polis*.[238] As F. de Polignac has put it,

> the articulation of a path between mediation and sovereignty, between border contacts and manifestations of authority, which is an essential feature of the genesis of extra-urban sanctuaries in the Greek world, retains a fundamental place in colonial cities.[239]

However, in the colonial world, sanctuaries accompanied and, sometimes, prefigured the claims of the city over the territory[240] but they could also be used (if we follow well known examples in Magna Graecia) to integrate the 'Hellenised' local élites.[241]

Another consequence of the politics of appropriation and maintenance of political territory, is the creation of areas of privileged

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[233] Cordsen 1995, 103–21.
[234] See, in this direction, de Polignac 1994.
[235] Edlund 1987; Osanna 1992; Leone 1998.
[236] A brief overview can be seen in Parisi Presicce 1984, 60–8, 78–81, 90–1. On the cult places of Demeter, see Hinz 1998.
[237] Vallet 1967, 67–142; historiographical overview in Asheri 1988, 1–15. On Dunbabin's influential posture in the debate, see De Angelis 1998, 539–49.
[238] Malkin 1987a, 331–52; 1987b; 1993, 225–34.
[239] de Polignac 1994, 17; see also de Polignac 1991, 97–105.
[240] Parisi Presicce 1984, 99–102.
[241] See, for instance, Greco 1999, 240.

rule carried out by some of the cities of Sicily, both of Chalcidian stock (Leontini) and of Dorian origin (Syracuse, Gela).[242] Perhaps the city of Syracuse exhibited the most complex system because the foundation of sub-colonies (Helorus, Acrae, Casmenae, Camarina) secured for the Corinthian colony control and dominion over the entire south-eastern corner of island. However, other cities, such as Gela, also took important steps in the creation of a wide territory, with interests in different areas of Sicily. In fact, both control of the best maritime approaches and rule over the lands of the interior would become the main keys to the political and economic growth of the Siceliot cities.

The cities of Sicily accepted the model current in the rest of Greece, that of an aristocratic regime, where a select group of families (varying in size from case to case) shared political and judicial powers, which gave them social and economic pre-eminence in their respective cities. It is known that, even in the 5th century, the aristocratic groups of some Sicilian cities continued using names which mentioned the characteristics of their power, such as the *gamoroi* of Syracuse, who held the land,[243] or the *pacheis* of Megara Hyblaea, a term which refered to the personal welfare of members of that group.

Beyond this information, we know little of the internal affairs of Sicilian cities in the Archaic period, although we can suppose that there was rivalry between different families to acquire a greater share of power within the system. This is shown, for instance, by Herodotus' account of Telines (one of the ancestors of the tyrant Gelon) who convinced a part of the population, exiled in nearby Maktorion after their defeat in a *stasis*, to return to Gela (Herodotus 7. 153). This procured him an honour, a privilege (*geras*) undoubtedly important, of becoming the hierophant of Demeter and Core (Herodotus 7. 153–154).

During the Archaic period, these conflicts between aristocratic families were quite frequent, as the existence of other such groups, the Myletidae of Syracuse, shows. The Myletidae, as we have previously seen, took part in the foundation of Himera in the mid-7th century (Thucydides 6. 5. 1), having been defeated in a *stasis* and expelled

[242] De Miro 1986, 571.
[243] Ghinatti 1996, 54–60.

from Syracuse. These internal troubles in the Sicilian *poleis* can be related to the tensions caused by their markedly expansionist policies. Certainly, the acquisition of new territories, the establishment of new alliances with the natives, the increase in the wealth of a group of the inhabitants of the Greek cities, benefited only a part of society, perhaps even only a part of the aristocracy. The outcome was to increase *stasis* that, in some cases, led to the expulsion of the defeated, and in time to the rise of tyrannies. Although it is difficult to know for certain, it is possible that in the beginning of some of the second-generation colonies' internal conflicts may have existed between the inhabitants of the mother cities that, occasionally, could even transform the old aristocracies into oligarchic regimes.

The existence of oligarchic regimes in Sicily was certainly well known in Greek tradition: Aristotle considered that many of the ancient tyrannies in Sicily originated in oligarchies, altough he only mentions those of Panaetius of Leontini and Cleandrus of Gela (Aristotle *Pol.* 1316 a 36–37). Certainly, the existence of those oligarchic groups could favour the emergence of regimes of a personal type.[244] Panaetius of Leontini seems to have inaugurated the list of Archaic Sicilian tyrants in the late 7th century,[245] followed by Theron of Selinus and, afterwards, Pythagoras,[246] by Phalaris of Acragas,[247] Cleandrus, Hippocrates and Gelon of Gela,[248] Terillus of Himera[249] and Theron of Acragas.[250] All that, of course, before the Classical type of tyranny in Sicily, represented by Gelon and Hieron of Syracuse.[251] It was in the final years of the 6th century and the first half of the 5th century that the political relationships between the cities of Sicily arrived at their first great development and when all the Greek cities of the island perhaps began to develop that idea of a Sicilian identity which, in 424 B.C. the Syracusan Hermocrates would proclaim in the Congress of Gela (Thucydides 4. 64). It is precisely the abundance of coin hoards dated to the first half of the 5th century, especially that found at Randazzo, which show the

[244] Sartori 1997, 52–3.
[245] Luraghi 1994, 11–20.
[246] Luraghi 1994, 51–8; Braccesi 1998b, 14–8.
[247] Bianchetti 1987; Luraghi 1994, 21–49; Braccesi 1998b, 5–12.
[248] Luraghi 1994, 119–86; Braccesi 1998b, 21–39.
[249] Braccesi 1998b, 18–20.
[250] Luraghi 1994, 231–72; Braccesi 1998b, 51–65.
[251] Luraghi 1994, 273–373; Braccesi 1998b, 31–49.

important monetary circulation existing then between the Greek cities of the island.[252] In my opinion, it is a proof not only of the economic, but also of the political and ideological integration, which I have previously mentioned.

It would seem that, although the oldest tyrannies are perhaps similar to those arising in the same period in Greece proper, some scholars agree in stressing the specifically Sicilian features exhibited by the tyrannical regimes from the late 6th century, either from the ascent of Gelon or, even, from the time of his predecessor, Hippocrates.[253] These features undoubtedly result from the substantially different conditions in which the Sicilian cities had to exist, with mutual relations usually more fractious and a background of a non-Greek world which was simultaneously suffering the process of Hellenisation and developing its own identity, usually in contrast to the Greeks themselves. It is also necessary to add the Carthaginian threat, already present in a certain way during the 6th century, but clearly shown from the beginning of the 5th century.[254] One consequence of these tyrannies was a very significant change in the composition of the population of the cities, on account of the abundant movements and transfers of population undertaken by the tyrants.[255]

The political troubles of the Sicilian cities in the Classical period, after the overthrow of the tyrannies, are usually complex, with resettlement of populations, return of exiles and new political structures. Sometimes, the sources give information about these changes;[256] occasionally, there is epigraphical evidence about the transformations experienced by some cities, such as Camarina[257] or Selinus,[258] after periods of tyrannical rule.

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[252] Arnold-Biucchi 1990. On the Greek coinage of Sicily, see the general overview by Stazio 1986, 79–122. See also Caccamo Caltabiano 1999, 295–311.

[253] Luraghi 1994, 376–9; Braccesi 1998b, VIII–X.

[254] Sartori 1992, 77–93.

[255] On this topic see, in general, Demand 1990; on Sicilian cases, see Berger 1992; Vattuone 1994, 81–113. Possible epigraphical evidence of one of those treaties comes from Himera and it seems to be related to the expulsion of some of the Zanclaeans, mentioned by Herodotus (6. 23–24): Brugnone 1997b, 262–305.

[256] Asheri 1980b, 143–58; 1990, 483–501; Consolo Langher 1988–89, 229–63; Berger 1992.

[257] Cordano 1992; Murray 1997, 493–504; Helly 1997, 365–406.

[258] Asheri 1979, 479–97; Dubois 1989, 32–7 (no. 28); Jameson *et al.* 1993, 122–3.

The Greek Cities of Sicily and the Natives

The issue of the expansion of the Greek cities of Sicily has been dealt with extensively in the study of these cities. Back in the 1950s and 1960s, the journal *Kokalos* published a series of articles[259] which continue to be the starting point for all study of the Greek penetration of the native territory of the interior.

As we have seen, a native involvement, greater or lesser according to the circumstance, may be traced in almost all the Sicilian foundations.[260] In some, the written sources tell of the basic rôle played by the natives in the foundation of the colony (*e.g.* Megara Hyblaea); in others the traditions are contradictory, some asserting that rôle and others denying it (*e.g.* Leontini and Lipara). In yet others, the predominant tradition of the expulsion of the natives (Syracuse) may be coloured by the light of the archaeological evidence.[261] Be that as it may, it seems undeniable that the native question had to be considered when establishing colonies. Furthermore, the creation by the *polis* of an area of political and economic dominance necessarily took place to the detriment of the territory's previous owners,[262] irrespective of any agreements for appropriation of such land by the Greeks. The Greek literary tradition interprets the implicit violence in this in several ways: developing the theory of empty territories before the Greek arrival,[263] of legitimate occupation (in this case given ideological support by myths), or resorting to the single justification of military victory.[264]

It is undeniable that Greek cities exerted strong economic pressure over areas beyond the confines of their *chorai.* This derived, in part, from sheer economic weight. In fact, the very efficient mechanisms of international trade, which, as the archaeological evidence shows, maintained all the Greek cities of Sicily from the moment of their foundation, caused every kind of manufactured goods from every part of the Mediterranean to flow through them (Fig. 17).[265]

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[259] Di Vita 1956, 177–205; Vallet 1962, 30–51; Orlandini 1962, 69–121; De Miro 1962, 122–52; Tusa 1962, 153–66.

[260] Domínguez 1989, 641–6; Leighton 1999, 234–7.

[261] Nenci and Cataldi 1983, 581–605.

[262] Boardman 1999, 189.

[263] Cusumano 1995, 67–91.

[264] Moggi 1983, 998.

[265] See, for instance, the observations by Dehl-v Kaenel (1994, 346–66) on the trade in Corinthian pottery during the 7th century and the earliest part of the 6th century; *cf.*, however, some criticism of this model in Cook 1999.

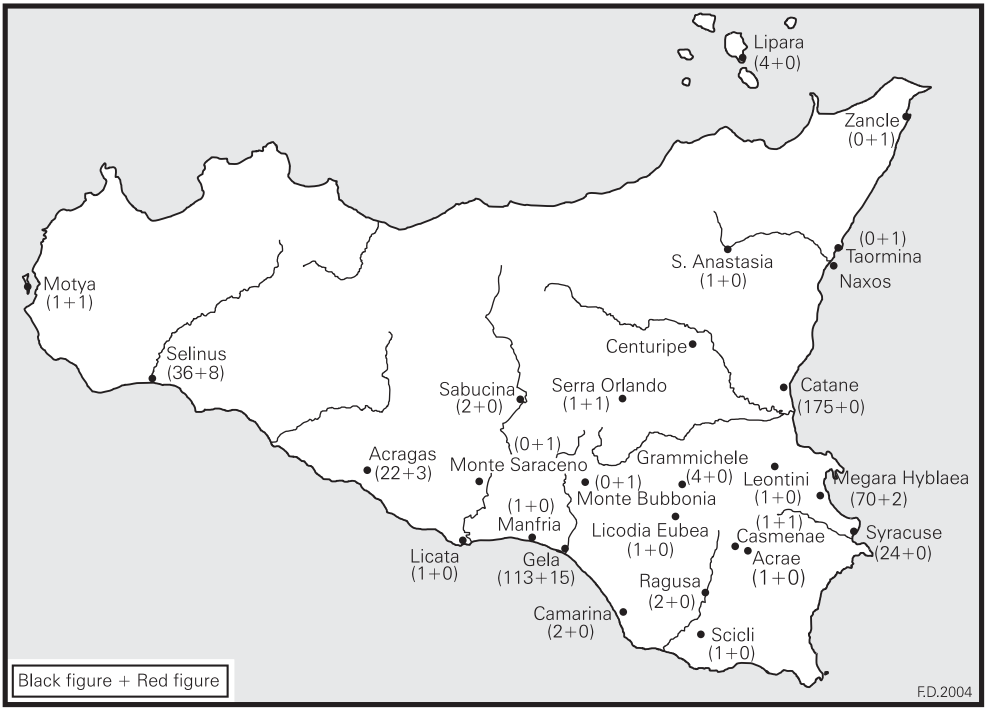

Fig. 17. Attic pottery of the 6th century in Sicily (after Giudice 1991, figs. 1, 3, 5, 7 and 8. The figures for Catane come from Giudice 1996).

Besides their use in the daily life of Greek cities and in the funerary rituals of their citizens, such goods were also used as an economic inducement to the populations living in the vicinity of the cities. The native élites, as well as other non-Greek societies, claimed these goods, together with the products manufactured in the Greek cities themselves, in circumstances of social and economic competition in which ownership of Greek products became a matter of prestige. The distribution of Greek pottery through the interior of Sicily lets us trace these economic relationships[266] and observe the important rôle played in this traffic by products such as wine and the vessels suitable for its consumption.[267]

Greek cities required a wide range of goods (Fig. 18) which they did not (could not?) produce, or produced only in small quantities, such as honey, textiles, animal products, wood, minerals,[268] herbs, and medicinal and edible plants,[269] even slaves.[270] Thus, we are faced with a group of places which demanded a great quantity of products and had at their disposal the means to pay for them, including products such as wine and olive-oil (which were traded with the native interior of Sicily from the later 7th century, as finds of Greek amphorae show).[271] Who carried out this trade with the interior? For many scholars the answer is Greeks,[272] although latterly the possible intervention of the natives has also been discussed.[273]

Non-Greek areas in the environs of Greek cities became their true economic satellites. This may even have extended to the introduction of new ways of production and new agricultural techniques in order to satisfy the cities' needs. At the same time, such new ways of production could encourage the development of new productive strategies by the natives—as suggested, for instance, by the existence of new pottery shapes of non-Greek manufacture. Thus, in central and eastern Sicily (later 7th-early 6th century), the existence of native storage vessels, as well as the manufacture of a type of native amphora, although with Greek influence, supposedly devoted to the storage

[266] Roller 1991, 89–95; Albanese Procelli 1991a, 97–111; Giudice 1991, 199–210.
[267] Albanese Procelli 1991a, 105; Hodos 2000, 41–54.
[268] Leighton 1999, 244.
[269] Tamburello 1993, 173–92.
[270] Mafodda 1998, 21–3.
[271] Albanese Procelli 1991a, 107–11; 1996a, 91–137; 1997a, 3–25; 2000, 479–85.
[272] La Rosa 1989, 92.
[273] Albanese Procelli 1997a, 18–9.

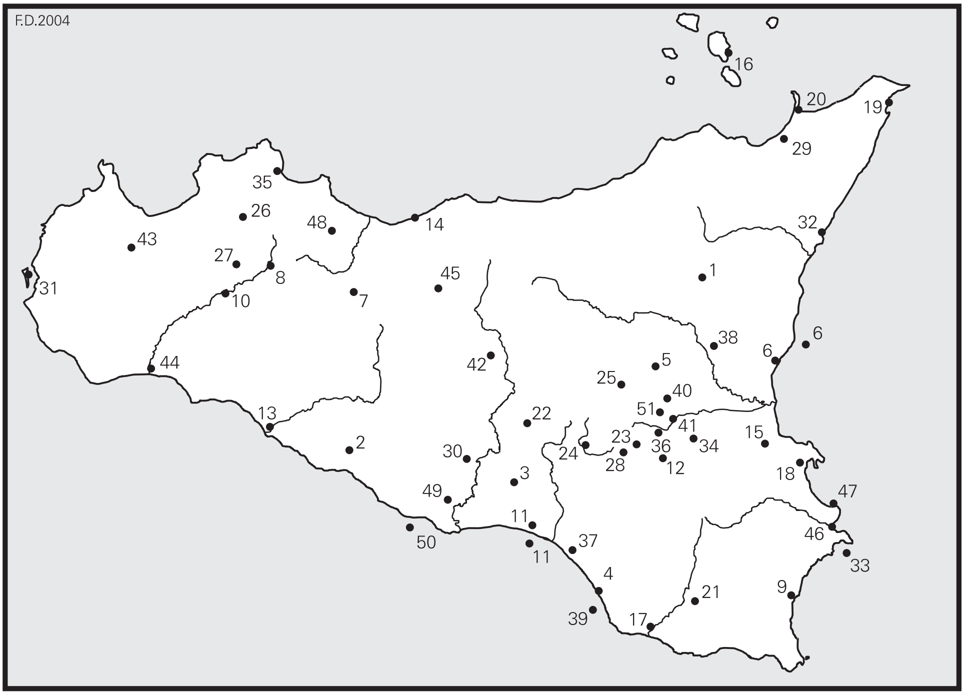

Fig. 18. Distribution of Archaic trade amphorae in Sicily (after Albanese Procelli 1996a, fig. 1). 1. Adrano (Mendolito, S. Domenica). 2. Acragas. 3. Butera (city; Milingiana; Priorato). 4. Camarina. 5. Castel di Iudica. 6. Catane (city; underwater discoveries: Acicastello-Acitrezza; Capo Mulini). 7. Colle Madore, Lercara Friddi. 8. Corleone. 9. Helorus. 10. Entella. 11. Gela (city; shipwreck). 12. Grammichele—Terravecchia. 13. Heracleia Minoa. 14. Himera. 15. Leontini. 16. Lipari. 17. Maestro. 18. Megara Hyblaea. 19. Zancle. 20. Mylae. 21. Modica. 22. Montagna di Marzo. 23. Monte Balchino. 24. Monte Bubbonia. 25. Morgantina—Cittadella. 26. Monte Iato. 27. Monte Maranfusa. 28. Monte S. Mauro. 29. Monte S. Onofrio. 30. Monte Saraceno. 31. Motya. 32. Naxos. 33. Ognina (shipwreck and underwater discoveries). 34. Rocchicella—Palikè. 35. Palermo. 36. Piano Casazzi. 37. Piano Pizzo. 38. Poira, Paternò. 39. Punta Braccetto (shipwreck). 40. Ramacca (Montagna, Perriere, Poggio Forche). 41. Palagonia (Acquamara, S. Damiano). 42. Sabucina. 43. Segesta. 44. Selinus. 45. Serra di Puccia. 46. Syracuse (city; underwater discoveries). 47. Stentinello. 48. Baucina. 49. Portella di Corso, Licata. 50. Torre di Gaffe, Licata (underwater discoveries). 51. Tre Portelle, Mineo.

and transport of some liquid, perhaps hydromel. This type of amphora does not appear in the Greek cities.[274] Sometimes the Greek cities took on an aggressive posture, which was mirrored in the native world by the rise of defence works.[275]

At the same time, the Greeks sought control of those areas of production basic to their economic development, to secure them against eventual threats from the non-Greek world and the pressure exerted by other (usually adjacent) Greek cities. How they did this varied: on the one hand, establishment of sub-colonies and military outposts to secure the main routes of communication; on the other, by inclusion of important native territories within a sphere of mutual interest, grounded on establishing agreements, alliances and (sometimes) pacts of mutual security, among which we could include matrimonial agreements of the type of the *epigamia*, and even the inclusion of native territories in spaces of shared rights and laws. Perhaps the legal texts found at Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone (Fig. 19) may suggest the inclusion of this centre within the area of interest of the Chalcidian cities,[276] as opposed to the influence exerted previously by Gela. In fact, Monte San Mauro was at the limit of the Geloan area of influence, but the legal texts found there, which relate to homicide and date to the later 6th century, show a clear Chalcidian imprint, including the type of alphabet and the Ionian dialect in which they are written.[277] Even the interpretation of it as a status symbol[278] does not conflict with its use as evidence that Monte San Mauro had entered the orbit of the Chalcidian cities, acting as their true south-western border.[279] Recently, the possible rôle of Monte San Mauro as a distribution centre for Greek products, which were previously stored there, has been discussed,[280] and it has even been suggested that it could have been a true Greek foundation, the unknown Chalcidian colony of Euboea.[281]

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[274] Albanese Procelli 1996a, 125–6. On the native pottery, see also Trombi 1999, 275–95.

[275] For the Chalcidian area, see this process in Procelli 1989, 682–3; Leighton 1999, 240; 2000, 39–40.

[276] Procelli 1989, 682.

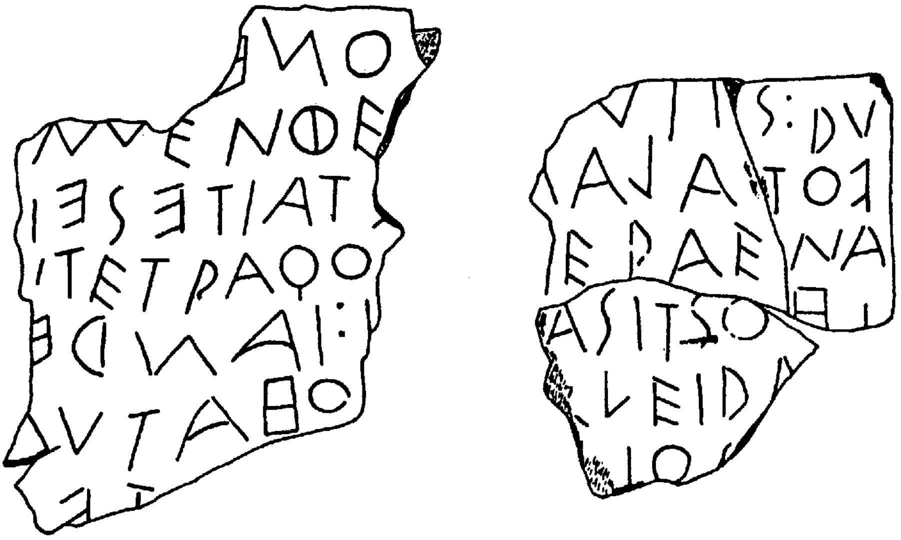
[277] Cordano 1986b, 33–60; Domínguez 1989, 298–304; Dubois 1989, 15–7 (no. 15).

[278] Morgan 1997, 114–5.

[279] Procelli 1989, 687.

[280] Albanese Procelli 1997a, 17–8.

[281] Frasca 1997, 407–17.



Fragment 1

[- - -] φονε̣ [- - -] ←
[- - - -] μενφε [- - -] →
[- - - -] ται τε̂ς ΕΙ [- - -] ←
[- - - -] τετραϙο [- - - -] →
[- - - -]: ἰὰν δὲ [- - - -] ←
[- - - -τ]α̣ῦτα ho [- - -] →
[- - - -] ΤΕ [- - - - -] ←

Fragment 5

[- - - -] ΥΙΙΣ : δύ- →
ϝο τάλαν̣[τα - - - -] ←
[- - -] ΕΡΑ ε̂να- →
ι hóστις ἂ[ν - - -] ←
[- - - Hε̄ρα]κλείδα̣ [- - -] →
[- - -] ΙΟΣ̣ [- - -] ←

Fig. 19. Fragments 1 and 5 of the Archaic laws of Monte San Mauro (after Dubois 1989, no. 15).

The various Greek cities, with their different methods and traditions, created different native 'cultural provinces'. This helps to explain the opposed interests among the different native regions in later times,[282] and provides a coherent means for understanding better how each city constructed its own area of dominance, allowing sketchy interpretations, which supposed that Chalcidian colonists pursued peaceful means whilst the Dorians used violence, to be abandoned.[283]

A phenomenon observable at Monte San Mauro but also known in a good part of native Sicily during the 6th century (earlier in some places), is the progressive appearance of a certain urbanism, as well as prestige (religious or political) buildings, even dwellings, which assume a Greek aspect (Fig. 20). This is the case, for instance, with a group of *pastas* houses discovered in Monte San Mauro during the 1980s, perhaps having a special significance within this important centre.[284] In other places, dwellings of Greek type, single or in groups, are also accompanied by the rise of a regular urbanism, which seems to copy or adapt Greek models. This influence may also be observed in the development of funerary rituals, although the implications there are deeper. A list of these centres is long and they are known, to a greater or lesser degree, in all the regions of Sicily exposed to the influence of Greek cities, irrespective of ethnic affiliation: such centres are present both in the part of Sicily inhabited by the Sicels and in those in which dwelt Sicans and Elymians.[285] The best known are Serra Orlando (Morgantina),[286] Monte Bubbonia,[287] Monte Saraceno,[288] Monte Sabucina,[289] Segesta[290] and Vassallaggi.[291]

Perhaps the important feature is the transformation from village-type (*komai*) to urban structures (*poleis*), as a text of Diodorus (5. 6) referring to the Sicans suggests.[292] In it Diodorus perhaps does not preclude the existence of a political organisation among the Sicans,

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[282] La Rosa 1989, 54; 1996, 524.

[283] See, for instance, Sjöqvist 1973, 36–7; against, Domínguez 1989, 177, 248.

[284] Domínguez 1989, 300–1; Cordsen 1995, 111–4; Leighton 2000, 36–7.

[285] Martin *et al.* 1980, 706–64.

[286] Domínguez 1989, 150–8.

[287] Domínguez 1989, 292–6.

[288] Domínguez 1989, 311–5; Calderone 1999, 203–12.

[289] De Miro 1983, 335–44; 1999, 187–93; Domínguez 1989, 316–24.

[290] Domínguez 1989, 390–400.

[291] Domínguez 1989, 448–52.

[292] Testa 1983, 1005–6. The existence of processes of centralisation is shown by Leighton (2000, 21–2) in other parts of Sicily.

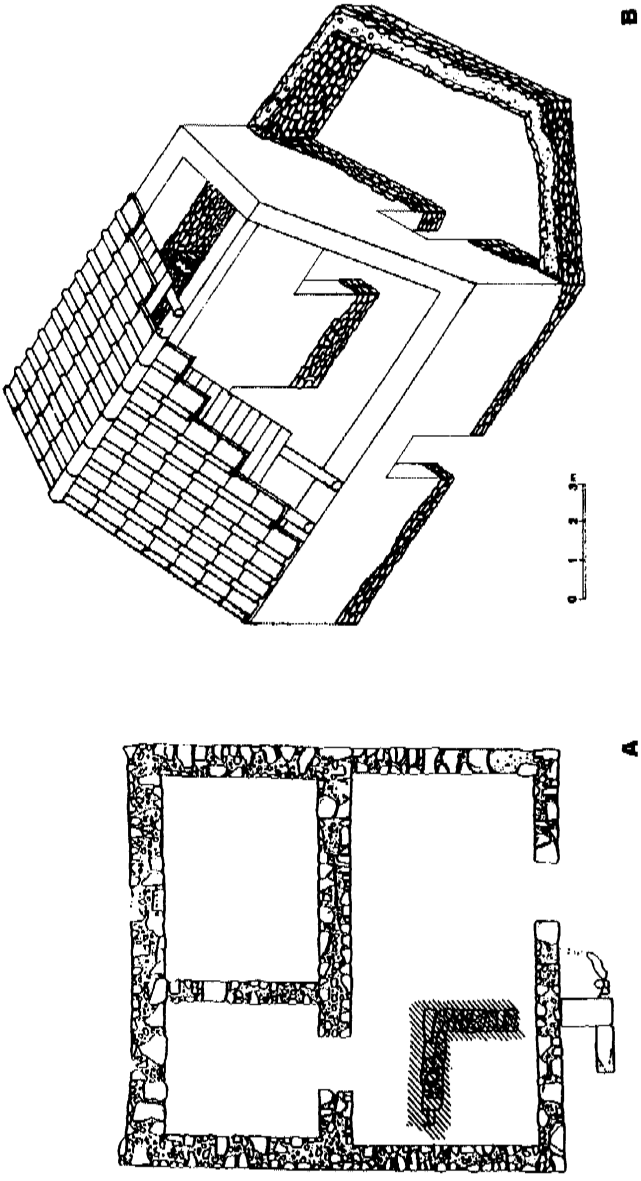

Fig. 20. Houses of Greek type (*pastas* houses) from Monte San Mauro. 6th century B.C. A. Plan of House 1; B. Reconstrucion of House 2 (after Cordsen 1995, figs. 6–7).

but only mentions the dispersed and slightly organised character of their ancient way of settlement.[293] The complexity of the territorial organisation of the native settlements, at least from the 6th century onwards, with an evident hierarchy among them, has been revealed recently through a survey carried out in the surroundings of Morgantina.[294]

An old debate about the 'Hellenisation' of these centres had as its main question the possibility that Greeks could have lived there, thus being responsible, in a certain way, for the various developments.[295] A typical case of the change in interpretation is represented by Serra Orlando (Morgantina) (Fig. 21), where the strong Hellenisation of the settlement and the necropoleis from the second quarter of the 6th century had been considered as a consequence of the arrival and establishment of Greeks in the region[296] living with the natives.[297] However, more recent studies prefer to emphasise the creation of a more complex and multicultural local society, where the stimuli brought by the Greeks had been adapted and reinterpreted within that non-Greek society.[298]

In any case, and although we accept that 'Hellenisation' as a term and concept

> usually applied to the transformation of the way of life of non-Greek residents in the Greek colonial sphere of influence, does not adequately account for the reciprocities of intercultural contact,[299]

we must certainly accept that Greek modes of expression, the formal and ideological language, the mixed concepts of religion and politics were responsible for the rise of a new ethnic consciousness among the non-Greek peoples of Sicily,[300] perhaps related to the rise

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[293] On the concept of *kome*, see Hansen 1995, 45–81; on the use of *polis* as a generic word for state, see Hansen 1997, 9–15.

[294] Thompson 1999, 389–91, 486–8.

[295] For instance, La Rosa 1989, 54.

[296] Sjöqvist 1962, 52–68; 1973, 68.

[297] Domínguez 1989, 151–2; Procelli 1989, 685.

[298] Lyons 1996a, 129–33; 1996b, 177–88; Antonaccio 1997, 180–8; Morgan 1997, 98–104.

[299] Lyons 1996a, 132.

[300] This was already observed by Finley (1979, 20) when he wrote: 'It is certain that Hellenization did not immediately destroy their self-consciousness as Sicels or their desire to remain free from overlordship from original Greek settlements.' Thompson (1999, 463) has also observed how 'Hellenization was not simply a process of becoming Greek but was, just as importantly, a process of becoming Sikel.' For a review of recent scholarship, see La Rosa 1999, 159–85.

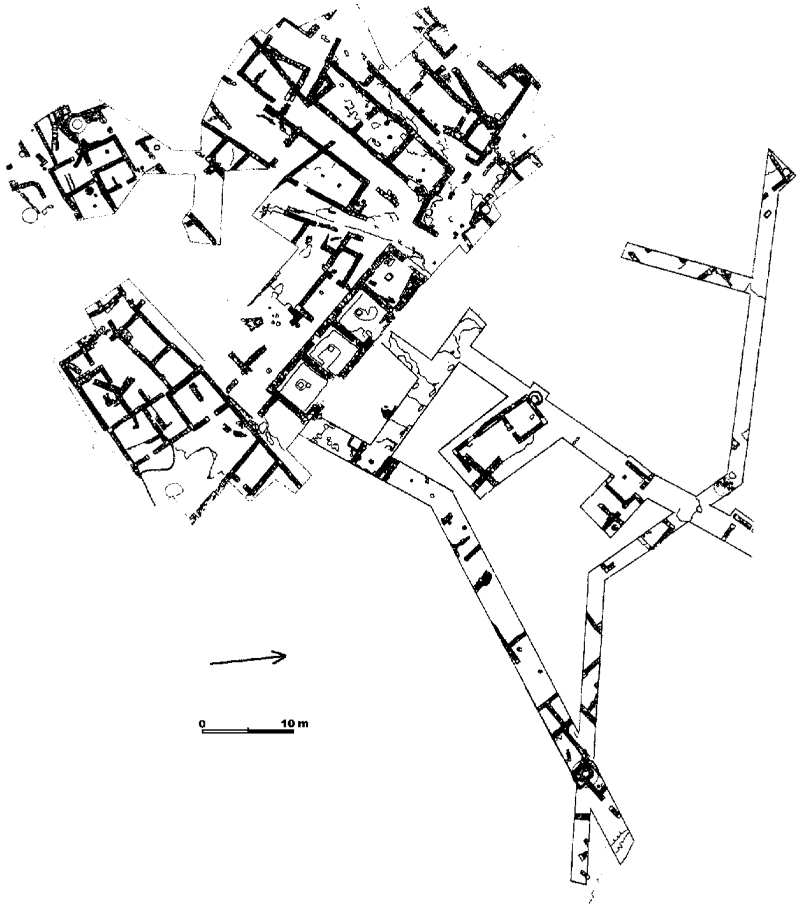

Fig. 21. Morgantina. Area III; plan of the upper plateau (after Antonaccio 1997, figs. 2–3).

or development of political structures of monarchic type.[301] This perspective is, perhaps, better than the one which tries to quantify mechanically how many Greek and native elements appear in a certain place in order to detect the identity of their bearers: that has been adequately criticised.[302] As R.R. Holloway has summarised it,

> one may say that between the extremes of Greek and Sicel there seems to have existed a middle ground of cities where both elements merged, but merged in different ways in different places.[303]

In the case of Morgantina, the presence of Greek speakers seems attested for the 6th century by the presence of graffiti written in Greek, both in the Archaic settlement and in the necropolis,[304] and we cannot discard the possibility of mixed marriages. That does not imply a hegemonic position for the Greeks but it can suggest, at least in this instance, Greek intervention in the creation of a new ethnic identity. If we widen the panorama to embrace to the rest of Sicily, I think that the rise of different non-Greek ethnicities was perceived, and even used, by the Greeks, as a mean of apprehending and controlling these native territories for their own benefit. A different matter is that this process, as time went on, could act against the Greeks themselves, as the episode of the Sicel revolt led by Ducetius in the mid-5th century might suggest.[305]

Consequently, the Greek penetration of the interior of Sicily has to be considered as a long process with several stages, each very different from the other from a qualitative and quantitative point of view. In it, we find actions of very different kinds taken in response to different needs. Thus, for instance, the need to consolidate an initial area of political and economic domination of a newly founded city explains the actions carried out by the *oikist* Antiphemus of Gela against the native centre of Omphake (Pausanias 8. 46. 2; 9. 40. 4), or those carried out by Phalaris against the indigenous surroundings of Acragas (Polyaenus 5. 1). In addition, the end of some native settlements neighbouring Greek cities, as may be the case with Pantalica,

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[301] La Rosa 1996, 532.

[302] Antonaccio 1997, 171–2. For a brief overview of the previous suggestions, see Thompson 1999, 464–9.

[303] Holloway 1991, 93.

[304] Antonaccio 1997, 167–93; Lyons 1996a, 145, 193; Antonaccio and Neils 1995, 261–77.

[305] Domínguez 1989, 563–9.

has usually been interpreted from that perspective.[306] At the same time, the increase of population in other centres (*e.g.* Morgantina) seems to have been the result of the displacement of native populations from areas of Sicily already occupied by Greeks.[307]

The creation of the economic and political territories of Greek cities introduced a certain transitory stability to the non-Greek world. The beginnings of the exploitation of these territories by Greeks meant the rise of an intensive agrarian economy, and the generally coastal location of the cities, meant their rapid absorption into the pattern of circulation of goods through the Mediterranean. Although perhaps not the consequence of predetermined action, it is true, as Strabo (6. 2. 4) observes, that

> the Greeks would permit none of them [the barbarians] to lay hold of the seaboard, but were not strong enough to keep them altogether away from the interior.
>
> (Loeb translation)

Undoubtedly, this fact made the Greek cities economic centres with a wide hinterland and reach, supplying the native interior with prestige goods and consumer items. In turn, the interior came to supply raw materials and, especially, services. We find in the written sources information about the basic agrarian character of the island's interior. Strabo mentions that although Hybla did not exist in his time, its name had been preserved thanks to the excellence of Hyblaean honey (6. 2. 2); he also praises the quality of the lands covered by volcanic ash for producing excellent wine and cattle, both in the territory of Catane and, in general, all the lands affected by the eruptions of Mount Etna (6. 2. 3), as well as the general wealth of the island (Strabo 6. 2. 7).

It is possible that the early interest of Catane in the far interior may explain the arrival in some native centres of great quantities of Greek prestige goods, such as the bronze tripods at Mendolito, amongst a great hoard of bronze (more than 900kg) dated to the 8th and 7th centuries.[308] Of course, the native response is also interesting because hoards such as those of Mendolito and Giarratana,

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[306] Orsi 1912, 301–408; Bernabò Brea 1990, 64–5, 101.
[307] Thompson 1999, 485.
[308] Albanese 1988–89, 125–41; 1989, 643–77; Albanese Procelli 1993, 109–207.

may imply processes of accumulation of wealth, perhaps related to civil or religious powers.[309]

A further step would imply Greek desire to establish a more direct control over these territories, partly to obtain the profits from their natural resources, partly to get a higher revenue by forcing the natives to pay tribute. Syracuse seems to have been the most efficient city in establishing such control, as the foundation of sub-colonies on the borders of the territory subject to its control indicates. However, such a policy does not seem to have been pursued widely elsewhere on the island and other cities may have used different tactics.

In addition to the trade existing between native centres and Greek cities, undeniable from an archaeological point of view, we may think of the presence of Greeks in the native centres. The existence of Greek graffiti in different places of Sicily,[310] as well as the development, from the mid-6th century, of indigenous writing clearly based on Greek alphabets,[311] may indicate the penetration of native territories by individual Greeks.

We have previously discussed, with respect to Morgantina, different interpretations of that eventual Greek presence. In most instances it was not hegemonical; consequently, we cannot consider these Greeks as spearheads of an imperialist policy directed from the Greek cities. However, it seems beyond doubt that the increased political and economic activity of the Greek cities in their hinterland may be explained with reference to the changes affecting the non-Greek world.[312] In fact, there was a clear desire by the native élites to adopt aspects of the economic model represented by the Greek cities, whilst many non-Greek communities were developing an intense multi-cultural character. The 6th century was the great period of Greek action in the native world of Sicily and it is then that we can seek, for the first time, the earliest manifestations of native cultures that were beginning to express their own political and ideological identity using mechanisms adapted from the Greeks. Thus, the non-Greek epigraphy of Sicily was used for the same purposes as Greeks deployed their own writing (Fig. 22). It gives us an interesting means to perceive how native uses and customs were adopting a Greek mode of

[309] Albanese Procelli 1995, 41.
[310] Dubois 1989, *passim*.
[311] Agostiniani 1991, 23–41; 1992, 125–57; 1997, 579–81.
[312] Boardman 1999, 190.

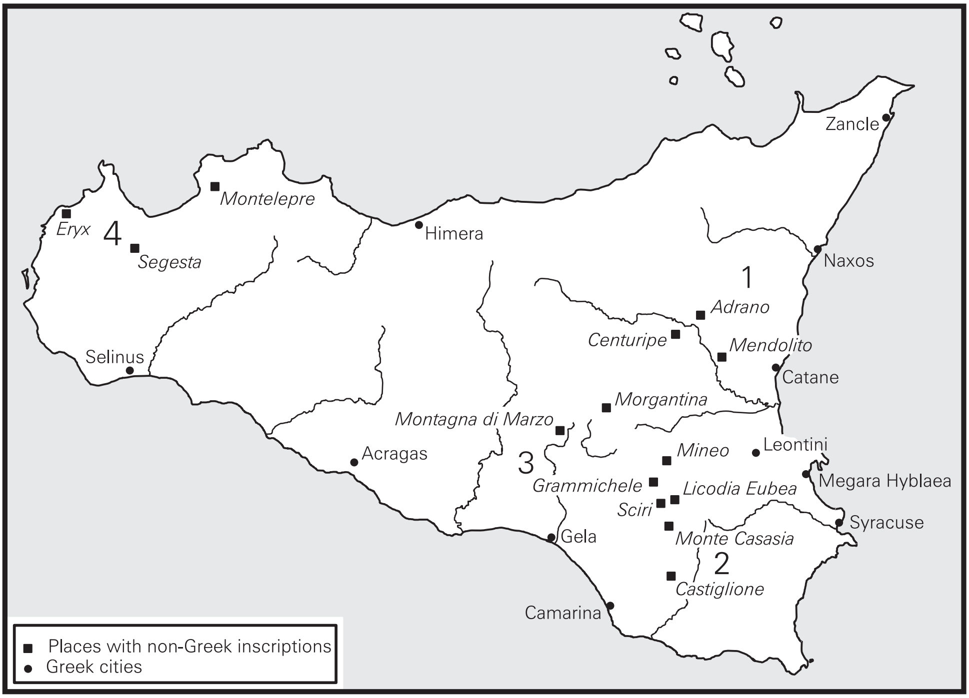

Fig. 22. Distribution of the non-Greek inscriptions from Sicily (after Agostiniani 1997, fig. 1, with additions). 1. Aetnean area; 2. Area of the Iblei; 3. Geloan area; 4. Elymian area.

expression, while Greek concepts were beginning to penetrate to the native world. Examples as interesting as the public inscription of Mendolito,[313] where terms referring to the community (*touto*) or others perhaps mentioning armed youth (*verega*),[314] show the use of Greek-inspired writing with a public projection to proclaim socio-political structures of a clearly non-Greek nature. Also inscriptions of probably private use, such as that on an askos of Centuripe,[315] or the painted text added before firing on a local amphora from Montagna di Marzo, show customs probably Greek but seen through native eyes. In fact, the inscription on the amphora seems to mention individuals with Greek names, but is written according to the rules of Sicel phonetics (*tamura* or *eurumakes*),[316] and the use to which it was put was drinking.[317] We might add some other epigraphical evidence showing possible bilingualism, with texts written in native tongues but with words of possible Greek type (*emi, tode*),[318] or the interesting case of the funerary epigraph of Comiso (6th century), written in Greek, where an individual relates how he has buried his parents, at least one of whom (the father) carries a Sicel name.[319]

Similar development perhaps took place also in native religion, a subject not very well known, although some of their gods, such as the Palici or Adrano,[320] whilst preserving features of their own, also suffer a process of Hellenisation, even of appropriation by the Greeks to integrate them into their own mythical universe.[321] This is especially evident in the case of the Palici, whose use by Aeschylus in the Aetnaeans (*ca.* 472 B.C.) may be interpreted either as a fusion of the Greek and the native[322] or, perhaps more correctly, as an expropriation by the Greeks of native traditions in order to justify

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313 Albanese Procelli 1991b, 546.

314 Zamboni 1978, 988; Prosdocimi 1995, 66–7.

315 Albanese Procelli 1991, 107.

316 *Montagna di Marzo* 1978, 3–62; Agostiniani 1991, 33–4.

317 Prosdocimi 1995, 68–73.

318 *Emi* in Elymian inscriptions: Agostiniani 1991, 40–1; 1992, 145. Also, in a graffito from Morgantina: Antonaccio and Neils 1995, 261–77; and in another from Castiglione di Ragusa: Wilson 1996, 74. *Tode* in a funerary inscription from Licodia Eubea: Agostiniani 1991, 41; 1992, no. 13.

319 Pugliese Carratelli 1942, 321–34; Dubois 1989, 140–1 (no. 127).

320 On the Palici, see Bello 1960, 71–97; Croon 1952, 116–29. On Adranus, see Cusumano 1990, 9–186; 994, 151–89; Morawiecki 1995, 29–50.

321 *Cf.* Manganaro 1997, 81–2.

322 Corbato 1996, 67.

Greek political domination in general and, more concretely, the dispossession of native lands carried out by Hieron during the foundation of his city Aetna in the territory of ancient Catane.[323]

As for the manifestations of the indigenous religion, these vary in the differents parts of Sicily; thus, in eastern Sicily (the area traditionally assigned to the Sicels) the native cult places are not very well known, although some votive deposits and some possible sacred building inspired by Greek models are certainly mentioned.[324] As for central/southern Sicily (the Sican area), some sacred buildings of great interest are known in places such as Sabucina and Polizzello. Those buildings reproduce the model of native huts (the so-called hut-shrines), although introducing architectural elements (and perhaps ritual practices) of Greek type.[325] Lastly, in the Elymian area (western Sicily) the case of Segesta is outstanding. Here, as well as the well-known unfinished Doric temple, dated to the later 5th century,[326] an Archaic sanctuary (contrada Mango) dated to the beginnings of the 6th century and apparently of purely Greek type is also known.[327] Recently, a series of bronze artefacts from that sanctuary, perhaps corresponding to a native votive deposit, has been published.[328]

The panorama outlined so far is proof of the increasing complexity of the Archaic world of Sicily, where new ideas arriving in the non-Greek world from Greek cities were immediatly echoed by the natives. This shows how the non-Greek world of Sicily had come within the area of economic interest of the Greek cities, perhaps even that of political interest. The inscription at Monte San Mauro (mentioned above), perhaps placed in a sacred or prestigious building,[329] could talk about the juridical aspect of the relationships between Greek cities and natives. The well-known cause of the disputes between the Greek city of Selinus and the Elymian city of Segesta, matters relating to marriage laws between the two (implying certainly the *epigamia*) (Thucydides 6. 6. 2) undoubtedly point in the

[323] Basta Donzelli 1996, 94–5.
[324] La Rosa 1989, 57–9.
[325] De Miro 1983, 335–44; 1999, 187–95; Mambella 1987, 13–24; La Rosa 1989, 62–4; Leighton 1999, 262–3.
[326] Mertens 1984.
[327] Tusa 1961, 31–40; 1992, 617–25.
[328] Di Noto 1997, 581–6.
[329] Spigo 1986, 1–32.

same direction.[330] Furthermore, the shelter given by the natives of Maktorion to the Greeks of Gela who fled their city in consequence of a *stasis* (Herodotus 7. 153) may reflect close relationships between both communities. Finally, the help given by the Sicels of south-eastern Sicily to Camarina in its fight against its mother city Syracuse (Philistus *FGrHist* 556 F 5) is remarkable when we consider that this part of Sicily had remained quite hostile to Greek influence for a good part of the 7th century.[331]

A final phase in the relationships between Greek cities and non-Greek communities during the Archaic period is that begun during the tyranny of Hippocrates of Gela. He directed his actions against Chalcidian territory, attacking Callipolis, Naxos, Zancle and Leontini, as well as 'numerous barbarian cities' (Herodotus 7. 154). One of the Sicel cities he conquered was Ergetion (Polyaenus 5. 6) and Hippocrates would die during the siege of the Sicel city of Hybla (Herodotus 7. 155), perhaps Hybla Heraea (Ragusa). The location of his campaigns would suggest that Hippocrates was interested in conquering the area surrounding the territories of Camarina and Syracuse.[332] The difference between the policies initiated by Hippocrates and those carried out previously by the Greek cities is great: Greek cities had carried out a process of control and influence over their environs within a dynamic of expanding frontiers.[333] However, the new policies of Hippocrates forced Gela to intervene in areas in which it had never before shown the slightest interest. Clearly, this was an imperialist policy[334] in which the tyrant even seems to have included the Sicels, using them as mercenaries and establishing alliances with them to obtain troops (*cf.* Polyaenus, who mentions mercenaries, *misthophoroi* and allies, *symmachoi*, among the Ergetians).[335] According to another scholar, the rise of Sicel mercenaries might have been the result of the evolution of the warrior aristocracies pre-

[330] We have known for a long time that the relationship between Segesta and Selinus was very close between the later 7th century and the later 5th century, notwithstanding the political conflicts attested between them; see de la Genière 1978, 33–49; 1997, 1029–38.

[331] Domínguez 1989, 547; Leighton 1999, 245–6.

[332] Luraghi 1994, 154–5.

[333] Vallet 1983b, 942–5.

[334] Luraghi 1994, 129–130.

[335] Luraghi 1994, 166–7; Tagliamonte 1994, 99–102; Mafodda 1998, 25–8; 1999, 313–9.

viously existing in Sicily, who had modified their way of life because of the action of the Greek cities.[336] At the same time, the usual changes of population carried out by the tyrants must have affected the native world.[337]

Henceforth, the deep interaction between natives and Greek cities, especially those which carried out an imperialist policy, such as Syracuse after its conquest by Gelon (Herodotus 7. 156), would be very intense. There were, however, to be moments of special tension such as the refoundation of Catane as Aetna by Hieron (476/5 B.C.) and the transfer there of 10,000 new colonists, 5,000 from the Peloponnese and the other 5,000 from Syracuse, as well as the enlargement of the territory of the new city compared with that held by Catane (Diodorus 11. 49). This seizure of territory from many native communities led, after the fall of the tyranny, to a fight by the Sicels, under Ducetius, to restore the old balance (Diodorus 11. 76),[338] although this became subsumed in a campaign, perhaps the most interesting of whose objectives was the creation of a *synteleia* or political and military alliance which, in Diodorus' words (11. 8) included all the Sicel *poleis* which were of the same race (*homoethneis*) except Hybla.

Related to this last, it is also probable that we must ascribe to Hellenic influence the creation of ethnic identities among the non-Greek peoples of Sicily, mainly Sicels, Sicans and Elymians, already perfectly delineated in Thucydides (6. 2. 2–5), who would have taken such data from the Syracusan historian Antiochus.[339] It is difficult, of course, to know how far Greek views on the formation of ethnic identities among the pre-Greek inhabitants of Sicily were accepted by these groups, if at all. At the same time, it is usually futile to seek to establish relationships between Greek myths and legends and archaeological evidence.[340] However, in some instances we can see

[336] La Rosa 1989, 90.

[337] Manganaro 1999, 118–9.

[338] Manganaro 1996, 32–3.

[339] On this subject, see a brief bibliographical selection in: Braccesi 1989, 107–14; 129–37; Fontana 1984; Lo Monte 1996, 67–90; Mele 1993–94, 71–109; Moggi 1997, 1159–72; Nenci 1987, 921–33; Tusa 1988–89, 47–70; R. Van Compernolle 1989, 73–98; Zevi 1999, 315–43. For a recent general overview, referring to the whole island, see Anello 1997, 539–57.

[340] Leighton 1999, 215–7. Serrati (2000, 9) has rightly observed that 'in terms of archaeology there appears to be very little difference between the indigenes of the island.'

how some native groups, for instance the Elymians, may have used their identity, in this case insistence on their Trojan origin (Thucydides 6. 2. 3), as a means of stressing their rivalries with the Greeks.[341]

What remains undisputed is the weight of the Greek influence on the elaboration of native material culture from the 8th and 7th centuries onwards,[342] and in some cases (for instance the Elymians) the inaccuracy of the views of ancient authors about their origins can be proved.[343] On Greek perceptions of the natives, I shall mention only one example. It seems that Ducetius, in his revolt, behaved almost as a Greek hero,[344] or perhaps in the way that a Greek would expect a Sicel to behave: imperfectly imitating a Greek, but not achieving final success.

In the last years of the 5th century, and during Athenian intervention in Sicily, the prominence of non-Greeks in the tactics of both fighting powers was, in my opinion, decisive, although some ancient authors seem to hide or diminish it.[345] It would imply the definitive integration of the native world of the island into the circle of interests of the Greek cities of Sicily. The military conflicts of the 4th century, with the complex involvement of many different components (Punic, Italic)[346] and the ensuing policy of Greek recolonisation, especially after Timoleon's time,[347] would dilute the non-Greek world of Sicily within a context which, from Agathocles onward, began to show its similarity to the new Hellenistic world which embraced the whole Mediterranean.[348]

[341] Nenci 1987, 921–33; Braccesi 1989, 107–14; Capdeville 1999, 45–6.
[342] Palermo 1996, 147–54.
[343] Spatafora 1996, 155–65.
[344] Galvagno 1991, 99–124.
[345] Domínguez 1989, 569–82.
[346] La Rosa 1989, 70–87; 1996, 529–30.
[347] Adamesteanu 1958, 31–68; Sordi 1961, 102–7; Talbert 1974, 192–4; Mossé 1999, 249–56.
[348] Consolo Langher 1980, 289–342; 1996a, 149–94.

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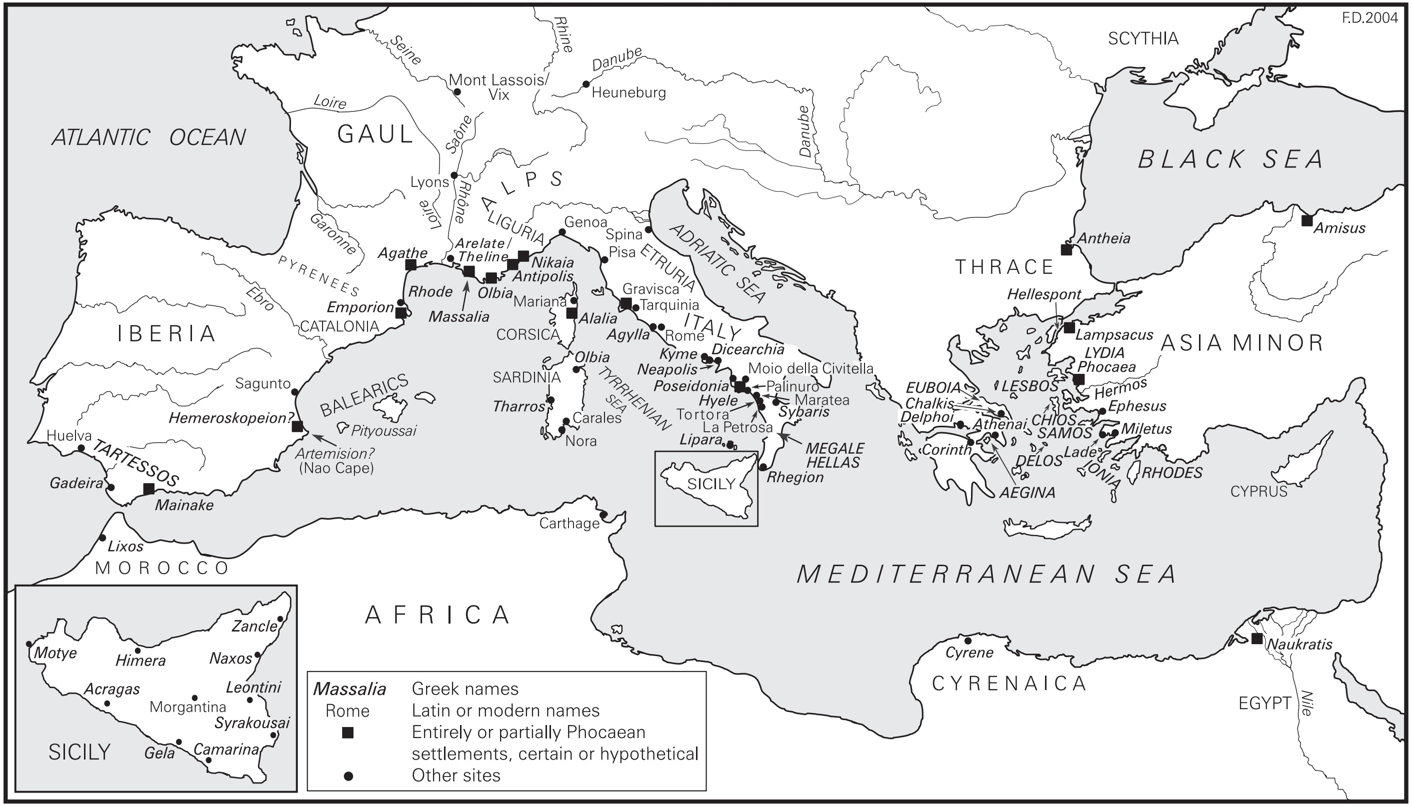

Fig. 1. 'Phocaean' Mediterranean.

PHOCAEAN COLONISATION*

Jean-Paul Morel

During the last few decades there has been a noticeable revival of interest in Phocaean expansion, for long somewhat neglected in the history of Greek colonisation.[1] This migration has many uncommon aspects, not least its late beginnings—in the West it really did not start until the 6th century, while many other colonial movements had begun in the 8th or 7th centuries. Arriving, as a result, in a Mediterranean which was already largely occupied, the Phocaeans were forced to establish themselves in more remote regions than other Greeks (Fig. 1). On the other hand, this expansion covered a particularly long period of time, until Marseilles fell under Roman domination in 49 B.C. This double peculiarity of lateness and duration explains why the Hellenistic period occupies an exceptional place in the history of Phocaean colonisation, which we can mention here only marginally.

Phocaea and the First Phocaean Expansion

On the whole, Phocaea, the metropolis of the Phocaeans, has been studied less than its main colonies. F. Sartiaux carried out short investigations there in 1914 and again in 1920. In 1953–55 E. Akurgal directed major excavations, published briefly. But the research carried out by Ö. Özyiğit since 1989 has enlarged our knowledge considerably.[2]

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* Translated by Nevena Georgieva.

Where no confusion is likely to arise, Spanish surnames are given in the shorter form here, but in full in the bibliography. For example, Sanmartí 1989 refers to the author Sanmartí i Grego (Editor).

[1] In particular, since a 'founder' colloquium in 1966: *Velia e i Focei in Occidente* 1966. For the state of the question, see Morel 1966; 1975; 1982; 1995a; Domínguez 1985; 1991; Hodge 1998.

[2] On the history of the excavation of Phocaea, see Morel-Deledalle 1995; Akurgal 1995, 33; Hermary in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 25–9.

Phocaea (the present Foça) was situated in the centre of the Aegean littoral of Asia Minor, in the area to the north of the Gulf of Smyrna, close to the coastal entrance to the valley of the Hermos, *i.e.* of rich Lydia (Strabo 13. 4. 5). Its origins are obscure (Athenians?—more likely Aeolians; before an 'Ionianisation' at the end of the 9th century?).[3] The relatively infertile territory and the presence of two ports flanking a peninsula destined it to a maritime fate (Justinus 43. 3. 5). A temple of Athena of the second quarter of the 6th century has been found there, with capitals of different types (Ionic, with leaves drooping, palm-like). Further finds are an other Ionic capital, similar to those of the Treasury of the Massaliotes at Delphi, cult niches (to Cybele?) cut into the rock, a stone *naiskos* which finds parallels at Massalia and at Elea/Hyele, an Archaic settlement, a theatre of the 340s–330s B.C., quarries and pottery workshops. Finally, the latest research has revealed a magnificently constructed city wall attributed to the 590s–580s B.C., reaching 4m thick. It is tempting to see it as the rampart built thanks to the generosity of the Tartessian king, Arganthonius (Herodotus 1. 163). The length of this wall (more than 5km) made the Archaic city one of the largest of its time.[4] The coins of Phocaea were of undeniably Ionian style, but numerous influences on the art of the West (Phocaean colonies, Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula and, above all, Etruria) have been attributed to it without any deep or extensive knowledge of the city's own art.[5]

Phocaea belonged to the Ionian League. It venerated the Ephesian Artemis, the Pan-Ionian goddess, whose cult it propagated in the West.[6] It participated together with other Ionians in different joint foundations, such as Naukratis in the Nile Delta (Herodotus 2. 178) and, probably, Gravisca in Etruria (see below).

The first Phocaean colony appears to have been Lampsacus (Lapseki), established in Asia Minor on the Hellespont in the territory of the

[3] Sources and references in Keil 1941; Graf 1985, 402; *Phocée et la fondation de Marseille* 1995. See also Pierobon-Benoit 1995, 406–7.

[4] On the finds from Phocaea and on the city in general, see particularly Akurgal 1956; Langlotz 1966; 1969; Domínguez 1991b, 135–7; Özyiğit 1994; 1995; Akurgal 1995; Özyiğit and Erdogan 2000. Other bibliographical references in Morel 1975, 855–6; *Phocée et la fondation de Marseille* 1995, 63.

[5] See Langlotz 1966.

[6] On the cults of Phocaea in general, see Graf 1985, 405–23.

Bebryces, a Thracian people (about 615 B.C.?).[7] What little is known about it seems to conform to the 'structures' of Phocaean colonisation (see below).[8] Its history, until its submission by Rome in 80 B.C., consists of a long series of conflicts with the Thracians, the Persians or other Greek cities (Miletus, Athens, etc.).[9] Amisus (Samsun) on the northern coast of Turkey is generally considered to be a Milesian colony, but one isolated reference attributes its foundation to Phocaeans (Ps.-Skymnos *GGM* 917–920). Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that Miletus and Phocaea had collaborated in its foundation.[10] This is precisely the tradition which Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.*) reports for Antheia on the Thracian coast of the Black Sea, apparently the future Apollonia (Pliny *NH* 4. 45). If that is the case, the Phocaeans would have marked with these foundations the approach to the western and southern coasts of the Black Sea.

Phocaean expansion in the West is better known.[11] Gaul is its main focus (Figs. 4–5). The Phocaeans did not come to a virgin land. Since the Bronze Age Gaul had received objects and models from the Mediterranean (Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia), the distribution of which seems to reflect a search for tin in the Atlantic regions (the estuary of the Loire and Cassiterides, the present Scilly islands).[12]

Because of toponyms such as 'Rhodanos' and 'Rhodanousia',[13] attempts have been made to implicate Gaul in traditions concerning Rhodian voyages to the West prior to the establishment of the Olympic Games in 776 B.C. In particular, these cite Rhode in Catalonia (Strabo 14. 2. 10; see also 3. 4. 8; Ps.-Skymnos *GGM* 204–206). But the archaeological evidence remains disappointing.[14]

However, 'Mediterranean' remains exist in Gaul which predate the foundation of Massalia. From the last third of the 7th century, Etruscan amphorae reached the southern coast of France, together

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[7] Roebuck 1959, 113.

[8] Lepore 1970, 22–4.

[9] In general on Lampsacus, see Bürchner 1924; Brugnone 1995, 57–66.

[10] Domínguez 1991b, 137 n. 143.

[11] About the Phocaeans in Spain, see the contribution of A. Domínguez in the present volume.

[12] Morel 1993–94, 335–9.

[13] On which see Properzio 1975.

[14] In favour of a high date for Rhode, see Maluquer de Motes 1974; on Rhodanousia, see below. For the state of the question about 'Rhodian' colonisation, see Morel 1966, 380–5; 1972, 728–9; 1975, 868–70; Domínguez 1990.

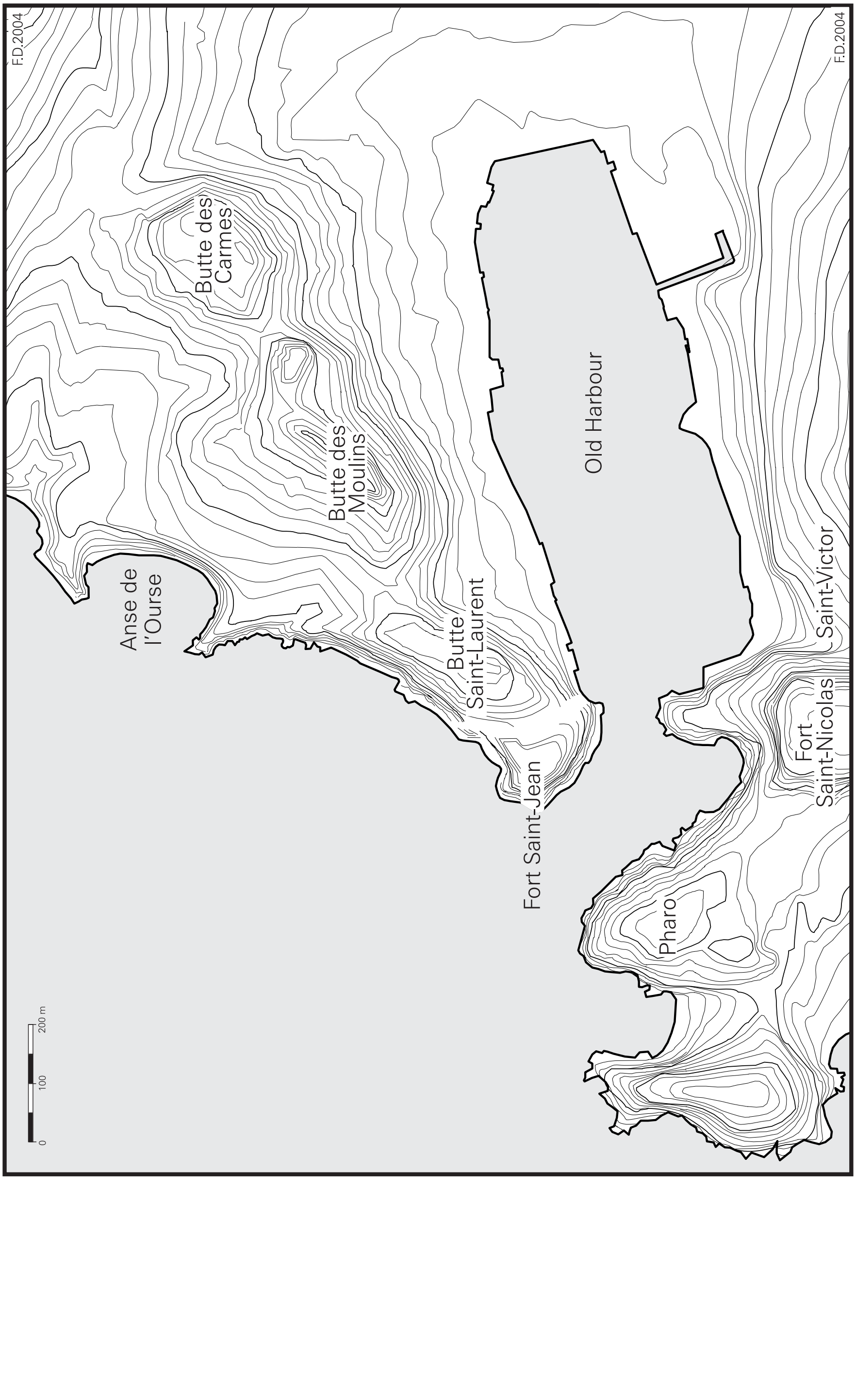

Fig. 2. Natural site of Massalia.

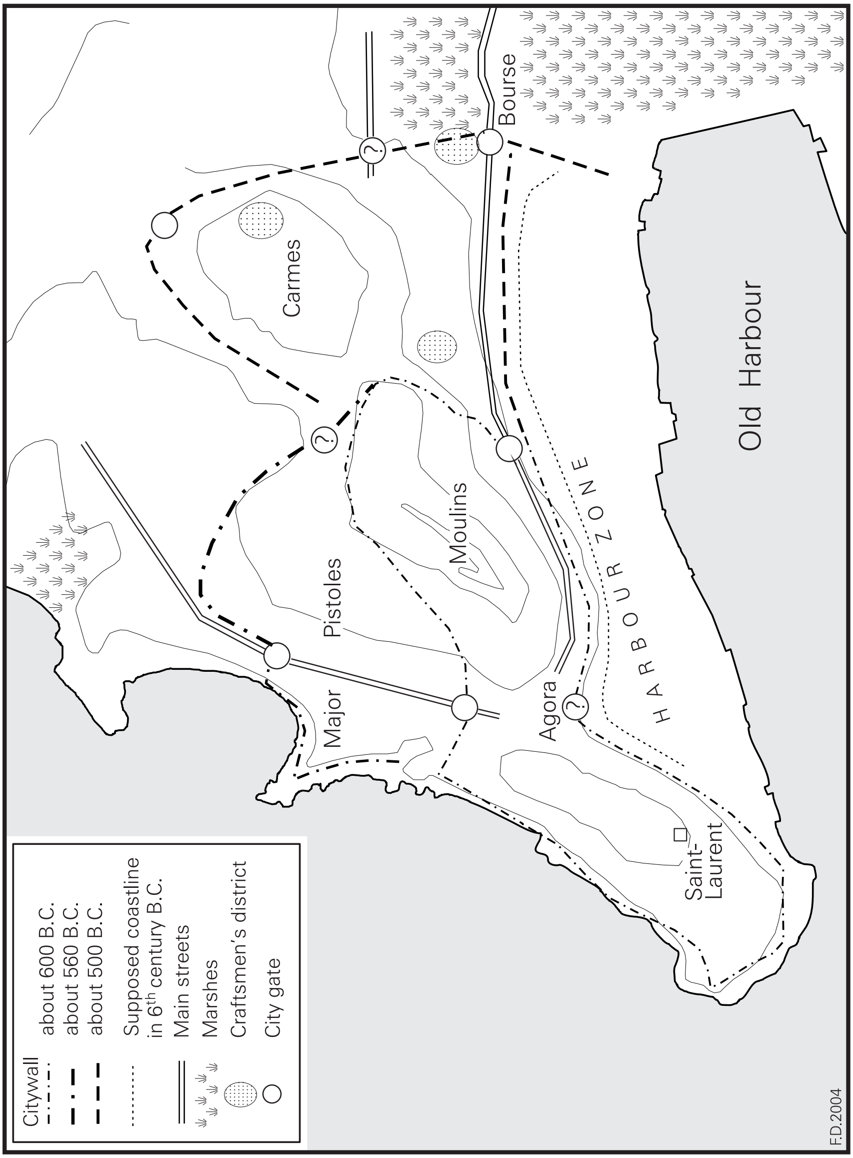

Fig. 3. Archaic Massalia.

with a little *bucchero nero* and Etrusco-Corinthian, and some Greek types of pottery, perhaps transported by the Etruscans. These last would, therefore, have introduced Gaul to that fundamental Mediterranean custom, the consumption of wine.[15]

However, this picture must be modified slightly in the light of the discovery at Agde, in the native necropolis of Peyrou, of four Greek vases of the third quarter of the 7th century, originating from Corinth or imitating Protocorinthian. They were not associated with any Etruscan object.[16] On the other hand, there is nothing specifically Phocaean or Ionian about them and they 'surely make it unlikely that the Phocaeans were solely responsible for the precolonial trade'.[17] This isolated find remains difficult to interpret.

A famous text of Herodotus (1. 163–167) relates the first stages of the Phocaean expansion in the West.[18] According to him, the Phocaeans 'revealed' Tartessos and Iberia, and the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas. They could indeed have been the first Greeks to maintain steady relations with Tartessos and the Iberian Peninsula, and to run regular traffic in the Tyrrhenian Sea, or at least its northern part. Despite some fragile evidence, it is less easy to discern what their 'revelation' of the Adriatic amounted to.[19] Curiously, this text does not mention Gaul, an essential area of Phocaean colonisation. These are, then, some of the apparent conflicts between texts and archaeology that mark the history of the colonisation.[20]

The Foundation of Massalia and other Major Phocaean Establishments

Two traditions exist concerning the foundation of Massalia (Marseilles). The first places it after the capture of Phocaea, about 544–543 B.C.; the second, in 600 B.C. or just after. It is the latter which is confirmed by archaeology.[21]

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[15] Morel 1981. Bats 1998 denies this Etruscan anteriority.
[16] Nickels 1989a, esp. 288–9.
[17] Graham 1990, 60.
[18] On this Herodotan *logos*, see Gigante 1966.
[19] Morel 1975, 857–8; 2001; Braccesi 1977, 63–70.
[20] Morel 1990a, esp. 17–24 for the Phocaeans.
[21] On these problems, see the references and arguments in Brunel 1948; Villard 1960, 76–81; Jehasse 1962, 264–70; Ducat 1974; Tsirkin 1990.

Massalia was established 43km east of the eastern mouth of the Rhône, at the edge of the Lacydon (Figs. 2–3). A deep cove (the present Vieux-Port) and the sea surround on two sides a triangular promontory comprising three hills (Saint-Laurent, des Moulins and des Carmes), the site of the Greek colony.[22] An excellent harbour, a site enjoying natural protection on two of its three sides, and the proximity of the Rhône—a means of penetrating the Gallic hinterland—give the location the appearance of one of those 'Phocaean' sites characterised by their adaptation to the necessities of commerce.[23]

Despite their variations, the legends about the origins of Massalia reveal significant constants. The Phocaeans, led by Simos and Protis in the version of Justinus (43. 3. 8–11) (perhaps going back to Timaeus), and by Euxenus in the Aristotelian version transmitted by Athenaeus (13. 576a–b), met the Celto-Ligurian tribe of the Segobriges. That very day the daughter of king Nannus/Nanos, Gyptis (or Petta), had to choose her husband. She nominated the young Greek, Protis (or Euxenus), by holding out a cup to him. Nannus/Nanos offered his son-in-law the land where the new town was to be built.[24] In these stories we can detect a core of plausibility: the welcome reception of a local chief and the necessity for the colonists to join in matrimony with native women in order to ensure the permanence of any new foundation.[25]

Excavations concerned with the earliest phase of Marseilles have recently been intensified.[26] They have revealed the remains of a settlement: houses with walls made of mud bricks on a base of stones, and somewhat elaborate hydraulic installations.[27] Local pottery already

[22] On this site, see Morhange in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 36–7.

[23] Martin 1973, 99.

[24] Analysis of these legends in Pralon 1992; Brugnone 1995; Pralon in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 37–9.

[25] In a general manner, see Pralon 1993 on the rôle of women in the history of Massalia—Gyptis herself, a young Segobrige who revealed to the Phocaeans a trap set by her compatriots, Aristarche the priestess of Artemis, or even Athena, who saved the city at a critical moment. On the similar rôle of the young Lampsake at Lampsacus, see Brugnone 1995, 58–9.

[26] See, in particular, *Musée d'Histoire* 1988; Gantès, Moliner *et al.* 1990; Bats *et al.* 1992; *Le temps des découvertes* 1993; Tréziny 1995; 1996; Moliner 1996; Hermary in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 15–21.

[27] On the settlement of Marseilles in the Archaic and Classical periods, see, in particular, Bouiron, Gantès and Moliner in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 49–51, 73–6.

represents 30% of fine pottery. These excavations also throw light on the first relations between the Phocaeans and the natives. The actual human occupation of the site at the time of the arrival of the Greeks has not been attested archaeologically.[28] On the other hand, different indications suggest that local people established themselves in the new city alongside the Greeks: houses with 'load-bearing posts', hand-made pottery of native type. In the remains of the first decades of Massalia, this native presence has been estimated at about 20%, perhaps a consequence of mixed marriages.[29]

The foundation of Massalia reproduced 'all stages of a classical *apoikia*'.[30] However, one problem remains concerning the economic life of this initial phase. Indeed, it is two generations after its foundation that the city begins to produce amphorae for its wine and, perhaps, for its oil: beforehand, it had to import them. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that in the beginning Massalia was able to produce enough cereal both to survive and to exchange for wine and oil, or that it could obtain these foodstuffs using its relations with Phocaea, whose territory could not feed its own inhabitants (Justinus 43. 3. 5), unless the produce of the sea secured the city a means of exchange (but their export would imply the existence of local amphorae); rather, it survived through its membership of a Phocaean commercial network encompassing the Mediterranean as a whole.

Indeed, around the time of the foundation of Massalia and in the decades following, the Phocaeans also created other colonies and took part in other commercial adventures, in accordance with what E. Lepore[31] has called the 'structures of Phocaean colonisation in the West': limited function of the territory, fundamental rôle of the

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[28] However, the shore of the Vieux-Port bears traces of visits in the Neolithic and in the middle and final stages of the Bronze Age, or even at the beginning of the Iron Age, as indicated by fragments of flint and splinters of obsidian, plus a large deposit of oysters created by human activity at the site of the future Greek harbour (Hesnard 1994, 200; Morhange and Weydert 1995, 57; Arcelin in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 33). We see here a situation analogous to that at Hyele, where human occupation of the Bronze Age is separated by an hiatus from the arrival of the Greeks (see below).

[29] Gantès, Moliner *et al.* 1990, 65, 69; Gantès 1992a, 72–5.

[30] Villard 1992a, 168.

[31] Lepore 1970.

emporia, oligarchic and conservative institutions (points to which I shall return).

Emporion, the most ancient Phocaean foundation in the West after Massalia (and Gravisca?), has also remained the most westerly of the confirmed Greek colonies (for a detailed account, see A. Domínguez's chapter on Spain in the present volume).[32] In north-eastern Iberia, next to the Pyrenees, the small native settlement of Indicetans on the islet of San Martín de Ampurias started to receive some Phoenician and Etruscan products from the second half of the 7th century. In the final years of the century these were joined by Greek, particularly East Greek, products—a sign of a presence that later led to the creation by the Greeks of a primitive *emporion*, of an 'enclave of service'.[33] Having long been placed around 600 B.C. or a little later, the date of the foundation has now been lowered. According to recent excavations, two stages are to be distinguished after the first 'precolonial' approaches: about 580 B.C.—intensification of the manifestly Phocaean (and at least partly Massaliot) Greek presence on a site where the native element remained predominant; about 570 B.C. or a little later—foundation, apparently by the Massaliotes, of the commercial Greek establishment, which later was to receive the name of the 'Old city', *Palaia polis* (Strabo 3. 4. 8).

A few decades later (towards the middle of the 6th century), the Phocaeans created a second establishment, which we call Neapolis, on a larger island very close by. To judge by the pottery, this double site was a foundation of Massalia rather than of Phocaea. The name which this ensemble received, Emporion, indicates its nature: a trading post at the margins of the Greek world, linked to the native world (or even placed under the protection of a local ruler?) and probably frequented by merchants and traders of different ethnic groups, among others the Etruscans.

About 565 B.C., the Phocaeans founded Alalia on Corsica (Alalie in Herodotus 1. 165;[34] the modern Aleria), in the middle of the island's eastern coast in a location which made it one of the focuses of the Tyrrhenian Sea, and in which, it seems, the Etruscans from

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[32] On what follows, see Sanmartí 1989; Marcet and Sanmartí 1990; Aquilué and Pardo 1995; Aquilué *et al.* 2000.

[33] In the words of Sanmartí 2000, 109.

[34] And Kalaris in Diodorus 5. 13.

Tarquinia had previously been interested.[35] Thereby a Phocaean triangle—Massalia-Emporion-Alalia—was established in the northern part of the western Mediterranean, between Gaul and the borders of Iberia and Italy.

Another Phocaean colony, Hyele, was still to come into being in particularly difficult circumstances (Fig. 6). A little after 546 B.C.,[36] Harpagus, a Persian general, had taken over Phocaea. Phocaean fugitives, hoping to establish themselves near to their homeland, asked their neighbours from Chios to cede them the small islands of Oinoussai. They refused, fearing commercial competition from a Phocaean establishment on their doorstep. Thus, about half the population of Phocaea sought refuge in the West (Herodotus 1. 164–165).

The episodes that followed are among the most debated of Phocaean history. The refugees, wrote Herodotus (1. 165), reached Alalia on Corsica, founded twenty years earlier by their compatriots. Antiochus of Syracuse, cited by Strabo (6. 1. 1 = *FGrHist* III B 555. 8), tells us that their leader was someone called Creontiades, and that these refugees made their way 'to Cyrnos and Massalia'.[37] Some specialists are of the opinion that the great expansion of Massalia towards the middle of the 6th century (see below)—supposing it actually postdated the capture of Phocaea!—could have resulted from this influx of new Phocaean colonists, and would thus confirm this version of events.[38] But this nevertheless raises great difficulties. Indeed, the text of Strabo does not indicate clearly whether the newcomers were divided between Cyrnos (Corsica) and Massalia, or if they reached Corsica first and then Massalia (or even the reverse, which is less likely in view of the order of words in the story). Furthermore, according to this account, this 'second influx' of the Phocaeans was

[35] *Cf.* Jehasse 1986, 30, who reminds us of the mention in the *Elogia Tarquiniensia* of one Velthur Spurinna, the *praetor* of an Etruscan army based at Alalia 'at the very beginning of the 6th century'; but Jehasse does not draw chronological conclusions from it since he places this Etruscan expedition after the battle of Alalia.

[36] On the uncertainties of the chronology, see Villard 1960, 78.

[37] If one renounces the idea of correcting in this text 'Massalian' to 'Alalian', as is often done following Casaubon.

[38] Thus, with caution, Villard 1992b, 448; and, more resolutely, Bats 1994, 136–41; Gras 1995. *Contra*, Rolley 1997; Pralon in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 40.

to be repulsed by both Massalia and Corsica, which with regard to Massalia would bring to nought the stimulating influence attributed to these new colonists—without taking into account the problem of a lack of solidarity which conforms little to what we think we know of the Phocaeans.

In the course of the following years, the Phocaeans of Alalia, by their acts of pillage and piracy, made themselves objects of hatred to their neighbours—Etruscans and Carthaginians (probably from Sardinia). These made an alliance against the Greeks of Corsica and confronted them at sea, lining up 120 ships against the Phocaeans' 60.

The circumstances and consequences of this Battle of Alalia (also called 'of the Sardian Sea' or 'Sardonian Sea') are controversial.[39] Herodotus (1. 166) talks about a 'Cadmean' victory for the Phocaeans. This word divides commentators. Let us see in it a victory, if we wish to (or if desired by Phocaean 'propaganda'), but an ambiguous one, at the same time detrimental and the begetter of a new foundation—that of Hyele.[40] Also very controversial is the rôle of Massalia in this episode: did it take part in the battle on the side of the Phocaeans of Corsica?[41] In any case, the Battle of Alalia had very serious consequences for the Greeks of Corsica, who lost 40 vessels in it, whilst the remaining 20 were unusable in war. Numerous Greek prisoners were stoned by the Etruscans of Agylla-Caere, who were charged by the Delphic Oracle to make sacrifices and to organise games in order to atone for this crime (Herodotus 1. 167). The outcome of the battle wrecked the most serious attempt by the Phocaeans to disturb the Etrusco-Carthaginian alliance, which was threatening their plan of action in the Tyrrhenian Sea, by means of a stable territorial settlement.[42]

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[39] Morel 1966, 399–400; Tsirkin 1983; Domínguez 1991a, 248–63; Bernardini *et al.* 2000.

[40] *Cf.* Jehasse 1962, 243–4.

[41] This is what Gras (1987) thinks, who (followed by Bats 1994, 15) regroups around this single battle and the story of it by Herodotus a set of texts mentioning naval victories of the Massaliotes over the Carthaginians, more or less well dated (but none of them mentions a battle between Massalia *and the Etruscans*!). These texts are also analysed by Villard 1960, 85–90.

[42] On the problems encountered by the Phocaeans in the Tyrrhenian Sea in the 6th century, see Morel 2000d.

The Phocaeans of Alalia who survived—or perhaps just those among them who had come from Phocaea five years earlier (the account of Herodotus 1. 166 is ambiguous)—embarked for a new destination: not towards Massalia, but to the south.

This new missed appointment between Massalia and the exiled Phocaeans intrigues modern scholars.[43] It is possible that the Massaliotes refused to accept their brothers from Corsica, whose piracy had troubled the system of exchange in the Tyrrhenian Sea (and here we have an echo of the 'scandal' of the expulsion by the Massaliotes of the refugees from Phocaea, who, in the version of Antiochus, had reached Massalia);[44] it is also possible that, very simply, after the naval battle, the route to the north was cut off for the people of Alalia, forcing them to turn towards the south. In any case, they found refuge in Rhegion (Reggio di Calabria). Here they received the advice of a 'man from Poseidonia', who revealed to them that the Pythia had not asked them to establish themselves in Corsica (Cyrnos), but to establish a cult of the hero Cyrnos: that then is why they were to found Hyele close to Poseidonia (Herodotus 1. 167).

Thus Hyele (Velia/Elea), the last great Phocaean colony, was established about 540 B.C. on the coast of Cilento—an area hitherto free of Greek occupation. The site had been inhabited by native people during the Bronze Age but was apparently deserted by the time of the arrival of the Phocaeans.[45] These pieces of evidence seem to contradict Herodotus (1. 167), according to whom the Phocaeans 'acquired this city of the Oenotrian land, which is now called Hyele'.

Sometimes attempts have been made to discern a precolonial Hyele in the 'polygonal village', the most ancient settlement located on the *acropolis* of Velia, which certain pieces of pottery would date to the second or even the first quarter of the 6th century.[46] But these precocious pieces of pottery are so few in number that they could have been brought by the first colonists, so they do not upset the traditional chronology of the foundation of Hyele—a little after the Battle of Alalia.[47]

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[43] See, in particular, Pugliese Carratelli 1970, 8–9.

[44] J. and L. Jehasse (1973, 18) suggest that part of the defeated people from the Battle of Alalia not only reached Massalia but 'transferred their metropolis there', of which there is no mention in Antiochus (*apud* Strabo 6. 1. 1) to whom they refer.

[45] Morel 1980.

[46] Vallet and Villard 1966, 181–2; Villard 1970, 123–9.

[47] Morel 1970; 1974, 154–6; Krinzinger 1994, 19, 30–32.

The Phocaean 'Networks' of the Archaic and Classical Periods

The foregoing account opens up the problem of potential Phocaean networks (Fig. 1). Were the settlements of the first two-thirds of the 6th century established consciously as part of some commercial (or other) goal?

The possibility of regular commerce—of a 'colonial' type—between Phocaea and its dependent territories in the West appears slim. The great majority of supposedly 'Phocaean' grey ceramics found in southern Gaul is of regional provenance, and less than 1% seems to come from Asia Minor.[48] It is also not very probable that Phocaea supplied its colonies with food. We do not know with certainty of any local type of amphora,[49] and its territory was considered as particularly meagre—although we must not overlook a possible rôle for trade in alum in Phocaean navigation.[50]

Did Phocaea want to create a network of establishments which would give it access to the riches of Tartessos, or even of Gaul?[51] Herodotus (1. 163) mentions the presence of Phocaeans at Tartessos in an early time and the friendly disposition of the local king, Arganthonius, towards them. Greek pottery found at Huelva could confirm this, although it is insignificant compared with pottery of Phoenician type, and the attribution of some of it to the end of the 7th century remains controversial.[52] But its very high quality, which, perhaps, indicates that the pieces were 'diplomatic gifts' meant to facilitate commercial exchange, and its presence in a region rich in silver, considered to be the heart of the kingdom of Tartessos, alter the problem of the goals and stages of the Phocaean presence in the West.

If the most ancient pottery predated the foundation of Massalia, we could suppose that the Phocaeans had gone straight for the Atlantic. In this case, Massalia, Emporion or even Alalia would have been founded later as ports of call on the way to Tartessos, before acquiring economic autonomy favoured by the vicissitudes of Phocaea

[48] Arcelin 1978, 247; Nickels 1978, 266.
[49] However Özyiğit (1994, 90) would now attribute to Phocaea some amphorae of 'Lesbian' type.
[50] Ebner 1966.
[51] On the Phocaean 'networks', see Morel 1992; 1997; Bats 1994, 134–6.
[52] See the cautious attitude of Cabrera 1988–89, 47–53. In general, on Ionian pottery in the Occident, see Cabrera and Santos 2000.

and of the Greek presence at Tartessos. It should be pointed out that for Justinus (43. 3. 6) and his source, the Voconcian Pompeius Trogus, the Phocaeans founded Massalia after having ventured to the coasts of the Ocean, *in ultimam Oceani oram procedere ausi*. On the other hand, if a possible Phocaean presence at Tartessos proves to be later than the foundation of Massalia and (perhaps) Emporion, the hypothesis of a Phocaean network reaching the extreme West could still be maintained. In both cases, the Phocaeans would have used a route avoiding areas held by the Phoenico-Carthaginians—the south (Africa) or middle (via the Balearics) of the western Mediterranean—preferring a northern route, along which, around 600 B.C., the Chalcidians and Etruscans were quite well disposed towards them.[53]

The discovery in 1969 of an Ionian trading post established at Gravisca, a harbour of Tarquinia, enriches the problem of Phocaean networks. The presence of Phocaeans at Gravisca, which had been long doubted, now appears probable: they are even considered to have 'opened' this trading post in about 600 B.C.[54]

Let us point out in passing one important factor in Phocaean studies. The initial reluctance to identify Phocaeans at Gravisca was a result of their low visibility among the Ionians operating in the Mediterranean, also from the restricted diffusion of their mediocre pottery and their 'epigraphic silence'.[55] In contrast, in Gaul, where no Greek ethnic group competed with them, the Phocaeans appear in full light.

The date of about 600 B.C. for the foundation of the trading post of Gravisca—if we put it together with the foundation of Massalia and the first Phocaean visits to the site of Ampurias—renders more plausible the desire of the Phocaeans to establish in those crucial years a network of ports of call likely to take over the Chalcidian network beyond Cumae. Thus Gravisca would have been a sort of Massalia, but prevented from acquiring its autonomy by the presence of the Etruscans, who were more powerful than the Segobriges.

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[53] Shefton (1994, 72) suggests an itinerary of a Phoenician type, via Africa, for the voyages of the Phocaeans towards Tartessos. This seems very hypothetical.

[54] Discovery of Gravisca: Torelli *et al.* 1971. Phocaean presence at Gravisca: Torelli 1982.

[55] Torelli 1982, 325. On pottery in the Phocaean trade, see Morel 2000c.

It is possible to continue the parallel by observing the predominance of Etruscan trade in Massalia in its first decades: the amphorae found in Massalia show that the Massaliotes used then to drink mainly Etruscan wine. It has also been maintained that the Phocaeans had established themselves in Massalia 'in the shadow of the Etruscans'.[56] In this respect Massalia in its initial stage is also reminiscent of Gravisca.

It is generally thought that for their traffic between Asia Minor and the West, the Phocaeans received help from the rulers of the Straits of Messina—the Chalcidians of Rhegion and Zancle—within the framework of a 'Phocaeo-Chalcidian entente'.[57] It would have been difficult for them to develop their traffic if passage of the Straits and movement within the Tyrrhenian Sea had posed any problems. On the other side of the Straits, the southern Tyrrhenian Sea was a Chalcidian lake in the first three quarters of the 6th century, with few other Greek enclaves (the Achaean Poseidonia; from 580/570 B.C. the Cnido-Rhodian colony of Lipara; from 531 B.C. maybe a Samian establishment at Dicearchia-Pozzuoli). These Hellenic ethnic groups showed solidarity with the Phocaeans: in addition to the foundation of Hyele with the help of Chalcidians from Rhegion and of one Poseidonian, we can mention the possible rôle of Lipara in the venture of Dionysius of Phocaea (see below) and the supposed involvement of Samians in Phocaean and Massaliot trade.[58]

The capture of Phocaea in about 545 B.C. must have been a severe blow to Phocaean commerce between the eastern and western Mediterranean (even if it is maintained that Massalia and Phocaea kept their cultural and commercial links until the Ionian revolt of 494 B.C.).[59] But the Battle of Alalia (about 540 B.C.), the first Battle of Cumae (524 B.C.), and later the Battle of Himera (480 B.C.) and the second Battle of Cumae (474 B.C.), show to what extent *entente* between the Greeks remained essential in the Tyrrhenian Sea against the threats of the Etruscans and Carthaginians.

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[56] Formula of F. Villard during the Colloquium on Greek Marseilles (Marseilles 1990). *Cf.* Villard 1992a, 165, who talks about the participation of early Massalia in an 'Etruscan current'. See also Gantès 1992b, 173–6. On the continuity of Etruscan commerce in southern Gaul beyond the 6th century, see Py 1995.

[57] Vallet 1958, 186–98; Vallet and Villard 1966, 188–90.

[58] Colonna 1976, 10.

[59] Furtwängler 1978, 302.

For a long time the two main supports to this Hellenic bond were Massalia and Rhegion. A few fragments of 'Chalcidian' pottery and of pottery of the Polyphemus Group, probably originating from Rhegion, have been reported in Gaul (at Marseilles and at the remote *oppidum* of Mont Lassois, to which the tomb of Vix is related).[60] Conversely, one Phocaean type of pottery—'Aeolian *bucchero*'—does exist in Sicily, although rarely. Influences attributed to the Phocaean presence in Sicily, or to their relations with the area around the Straits of Messina, have also been detected in Sicilian architecture.[61] Similarly, some architectural terracottas from Morgantina find echoes in Phocaea and Hyele and seem to attest the presence of Phocaeans—maybe fugitives from Alalia installed there by the Chalcidians of Rhegion or Zancle—at this site of the Sicilian interior.[62]

Rome could not be absent from the vast Tyrrhenian game in which Massalia participated. According to Justinus (43. 3. 4), the Phocaeans who were to found Massalia had stopped in passing at Rome, sealing a secure friendship with the Roman people which would unite Massalia and Rome during the centuries to come.[63] From this time onward Massalia influenced Rome: Strabo asserts (4. 1. 5) that the statue of Diana on the Aventine Hill had copied that of the Ephesian Artemis venerated at Massalia. This community of cults was once again observed at the time of the capture of Massalia by Rome in 49 B.C., when one of Caesar's lieutenants, L. Hostilius Saserna, struck coins reproducing a *xoanon* of the Ephesian Artemis.[64]

The characteristic form of Phocaean commerce was *emporion* trade,[65] consisting in transporting products, which in their place of origin were common, at long distance to another environment where they were highly valued. Such was the case with wine in Gaul, where Gallic chiefs used to exchange a slave for an amphora of wine (Diodorus 5. 26): a good example of 'unequal' exchanges which were such only on the surface. Conversely, the silver of Tartessos and the

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[60] Villard 1960, 16–7, 34, 130; Morel 1989, 252.
[61] Martin and Vallet 1980, 308–9; Martin, Vallet and Voza 1980, 462–3.
[62] Kenfield 1993.
[63] Nenci 1958 (esp. for the sources); Bats 1990b.
[64] Ampolo 1970.
[65] Lepore 1970, 26–41; Clavel-Lévêque 1977, 15–78; Morel 1988, 443–5; Sourisseau 2000.

tin of the Celts acquired new value once they were transported to the shores of the Mediterranean.

It is very easy to discern the involvement of *emporia* in Phocaean expansion (Fig. 1). First of all, its profits resulted from the maximum 'potential difference' at the two extremities of the circuit, pushing merchants to visit areas which were as remote and 'new' as possible: the Samian Kolaios realised a sumptuous profit at Tartessos in about 630 B.C. because it was an *emporion akeraton*, unexploited (Herodotus 4. 152). The Gaul of *ca.* 600 B.C. corresponded in essence to this definition, even though the Etruscans had perhaps partially explored its markets. Next, each party found in it its interest, and so the native chiefs received foreign merchants favourably, facilitating or even soliciting settlement in their territories: thus Arganthonius, a more-or-less mythical king of Tartessos, prayed without success that the Phocaeans would establish themselves in his kingdom (Herodotus 1. 163). But in the Phocaean adventure one senses this attitude also in the case of Nannus, the king of the Segobriges (Justinus 43. 3. 11); of the king of Tarquinia who accepted the Greeks at Gravisca; of the Indicetans of Emporion linked to the Greeks by mutual interest, *mutui usus desiderium* (Livy 34. 9. 9); maybe of the Corsican chiefs around Alalia (see below), and of the Oenotrians of Cilento in the first stages of Hyele (see below).

Finally, these relations between very different worlds required places of contact and exchange, or, in case of less cordial relations, neutral terrains. In this line of thought, especially in relation to Phocaean expansion, a debate with imprecise vocabulary has arisen: *emporia*, 'centres of redistribution', 'free ports', 'ports-of-trade', 'gateway communities', etc.[66] The case of *emporia* is relatively clear, if we are to accept that these were Greek (or other) establishments settled in foreign countries, tolerated or favoured by a local power, which maintained sovereignty within its own territory, and were connected to it by revocable agreements, often under the aegis of a temple. To talk about cases involving the Phocaeans, let us cite Naukratis in Egypt, Gravisca in Etruria, perhaps Emporion in the Iberian Peninsula, and Tartessos, if Arganthonius had managed to persuade the Phocaeans

[66] See, for example, Morel 1983, 567–70, 580 (and Gras *ibid.*, 578–9); Bats 1992.

to establish themselves there. Less clear is the case of the 'centres of redistribution'—a modern notion. It seems that sites such as Ullastret close to Emporion, Saint-Blaise and Arles near to Marseilles (see below), corresponded to the conditions which one expects of these centres: places close to Greek establishments but within the native world, generally situated in the interior of the country but accessible by water, and receiving rich samples of merchandise. Such places were necessary to encourage the contacts and exchanges between the Mediterranean and the local peoples.

This relatively primitive traffic, in economies which were little monetarised if at all, was practised at the time in a large part of the Mediterranean and its boundaries—from Scythia to Atlantic Morocco—under similar forms where the relationship between the Mediterranean and native peoples varied from the trustful complicity to mistrustful collaboration.[67] In the western Mediterranean, the Phocaeans encountered competitors or rivals, first of all the Etruscans. The Etruscan trade of the end of the 7th century in southern Gaul (no doubt mainly exchanging wine for metals) continued once the Phocaeans had established themselves in Provence. As we have seen, Massalia itself was directly concerned. After 550 B.C. this Etruscan trade declined strongly: maybe as a consequence of the foundation of Alalia, a port of call which could replace Gravisca for the Phocaeans, freeing them from the necessity of cohabitation with the Etruscans, who could become oppressive.

Other evidence attests the coexistence of Phocaeans and Etruscans on the northern littoral of the western Mediterranean in the 6th century and also later: the Etruscan graffiti on pieces of Ionian pottery from Genes,[68] the Etruscan graffiti from Lattes,[69] or the lead inscribed in Etruscan and re-used to incise the Greek 'letter' from Pech Maho (see below).

The Phoenico-Carthaginians also intervened in these processes. The import of amphorae in the western Languedoc involved Greeks, Etruscans and Phoenico-Carthaginians (or their Iberian competitors) side by side.[70] And the excavations carried out at Arles since 1983

[67] See the 'silent barter' of the Phoenicians in Africa described by Herodotus (4. 196).
[68] Neppi Modona 1970.
[69] Colonna 1980.
[70] References in Morel 1975, 872.

have shown that in the 6th century, amphorae of Phoenico-Carthaginian types (in particular from Iberia?) represent approximately a quarter of imports, and that they remained numerous there for a long time.[71] Certain locals were associated with this traffic of the Mediterranean peoples, particularly of the Phocaeans, as is shown by the inscribed lead from Pech Maho and Emporion (see below).

Massalia in the Archaic and Classical Periods

Over recent years our knowledge of the urban development of Massalia has made considerable progress (Fig. 3).[72] The wall surrounding the city originally included the point (the Butte Saint-Laurent) of the triangular peninsula on which it was built. From the 6th century it included the Butte des Moulins, and at the end of the same century it was extended as far as La Bourse and the Butte des Carmes, reaching its final eastern boundary in less than a century. At La Bourse a rampart of mud bricks on a base of stones already represented the layout from this period, which would be taken up roughly by the walls of the 4th century, and after that of the 2nd. Elsewhere (to the north and along the sea and harbour) the layout of the wall in different periods still remains largely unknown. Equally uncertain is the existence of any internal fortification of the *acropolis*.[73]

In its main lines, the urban plan of Massalia was regular; however, the successive enlargements resulted in different orientations according to quarter.[74] To this uneven site corresponded a layout of artificial terraces, remodelled many times in response to the evolution of the city and landslips. The stone came mainly from the hill of Saint-Victor, south of the Vieux-Port. This white limestone was later, especially from the 2nd century, replaced by the pink limestone of La Couronne, a quarry on the coast 25km to the west.[75]

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[71] Sourisseau 1990.

[72] *Cf.* Gantès 1992, 75–84; Tréziny and Trousset 1992, 93–8; Tréziny 1997b; Gantès 1999; Moliner 1999a; Tréziny in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 41–5, 79–80; Bouiron *et al.* 1999; Bouiron and Tréziny 2001.

[73] On the Massaliot fortifications, see Tréziny 1994; 1996; 1997a; in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 43–4.

[74] Tréziny in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 42.

[75] *Cf.* Tréziny 1994, 133–4; 1997b; and on the quarries of La Courone: Trousset and Guéry 1981; Guéry, Hallier and Trousset 1985.

We know little about the monumental architecture of Massalia in this period. From Strabo (4. 1. 4) and Justinus (43. 5. 6) we know that it had temples of the Ephesian Artemis, of Apollo Delphinius and Athena erected on promontories or heights. Only one large Ionic limestone capital, datable to about 500 B.C., has survived.[76]

The Greek harbour has recently been excavated. It was situated on the northern coast of the Vieux-Port, next to the modern town hall, in particular under the Places Jules Verne and Villeneuve-Bargemon. The only thing to survive from the Archaic harbour (second half of the 6th century) is traces of a quay, which was replaced by a shipyard in the 4th century.[77] The remarkably well preserved remains of two Greek ships of the 6th century have been found. They have entirely or partly 'sewn' planking.[78]

The necropoleis[79] stretched along the feet of the city walls, especially in the La Bourse sector and at Sainte-Barbe, next to the Porte d'Aix, but also at some distance from the city where, at Saint-Mauront, an apparently Greek necropolis, dating from the second half of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th century, has been located in a native environment. At La Bourse two 'funerary terraces' of the 4th century (one ornamented with 'low triglyphs') contain aristocratic cremation burials.

At the peak of its expansion Massalia covered some 50ha, which represents a decent area, nothing more, and one wonders whether part of the population did not reside permanently in the surrounding countryside. In any case, the settlement of the Mayans (13km to the north of Massalia), with its wall and rectangular towers, seems to testify to Massaliot influence, if not a stable presence, between the last quarter of the 6th and the middle of the 5th century.[80]

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[76] Attributed to the temple of Apollo Delphinius by Furtwängler 1978, 303. Analysis of the capital in Théodorescu 1974, 16–7, 38, 41; Théodorescu and Tréziny 2000.

[77] Hesnard 1994; Morhange *et al.* 1995; Hesnard and Pomey in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 45–7; Hesnard *et al.* 1999, 17–37.

[78] Pomey 1995, 470–80; Hesnard and Pomey in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 47–9.

[79] Bertucchi 1992b; Moliner 1993; 1999b; Bertucchi in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 80–5.

[80] Tréziny 1997b, 76–7; and in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 88–9.

It was believed that Massalia had preserved until the time of the Roman empire the main features of the institutions it had possessed in the 6th century, which made it 'perhaps the most decidedly aristocratic and conservative of all the Greek cities'.[81] Its constitution rested on a pyramidal system[82] described by Strabo (4. 1. 5):

> . . . they have established an Assembly of six hundred men, who hold the honour of that office for life; these they call Timouchoi. Over the Assembly are set fifteen of its number, and to these fifteen it is given to carry on the immediate business of the government. And, in turn, three, holding the chief power, preside over the fifteen, and one over the three. However nobody can become Timouchos unless he has children and is a descendant of persons who have been citizens for three generations.

Consequently, no assembly of the people: Cicero, although an admirer of the Massaliot constitution, also admits that 'this situation of the people resembles slavery' (*Resp.* 1. 27. 43).

The city practised constant vigilance in the face of the natives, an unfailing organisation (*eunomotata*, Strabo 4. 1. 5; *bene instituta*, Justinus 43. 4. 12), a guard on the ramparts, inspection of foreign visitors, in short, noted Justinus, a behaviour in times of peace worthy of wartime. In the sphere of manners, those responsible maintained a vigilant eye on simplicity, forbidding women to drink wine and controlling the luxury of funerals. Valerius Maximus (2. 6. 7) underlines that Massalia maintained immutably the strict observation of ancient customs.

The religion of Massalia was typical of Phocaea and Asia Minor, Ionian and conservative: so, in order to reconstruct the cults and calendars of Massalia and other Phocaean cities (mainly Phocaea and Lampsacus), F. Salviat relied on the plausible hypothesis of their similarity.[83] One of the principal divinities was the Ephesian Artemis,

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[81] Clerc 1927–29, I, 424.

[82] See, with the ancient references, Clerc 1927–29, I, 424–34; Lepore 1970, 43–8; Clavel-Lévêque 1977, 115–22; Tréziny in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 85–6, 89.

[83] Salviat 1992. On the cults of Marseilles, see also Hermary in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 61–7; Collin-Bouffier 2000; Columeau 2000; Hermary and Tréziny 2000; Moliner 2000; Picard 2000; Pournot 2000; Richard 2000; Salviat 2000; Tréziny 2000.

whose cult had been brought by the first colonists, accompanied, according to Strabo (4. 1. 4) by Aristarcha—a priestess from Ephesus.[84] This Pan-Ionian cult, with its rites and effigies, was spread by Massalia to Rome (see above), but also to its sub-colonies and to Emporion. Also venerated were Apollo Delphinius (another Pan-Ionian deity), Athena (probably Polias), Leucothea, Zeus Phratrius,[85] Dionysus, probably Aphrodite, Poseidon and Cybele. Particularly interesting is the cult of Leucothea, the 'white goddess' (of the cliffs?; of the foam?), helpful to navigators, venerated also at Lampsacus and Hyele, a symbol 'of the Phocaean Tyrrhenian *emporia*' (but also of the Euboean—this is a significant aspect of the affinities between these two peoples).[86] Still in the 3rd century A.D. a Roman knight from Marseilles was a priest of Leucothea![87]

A series of Archaic *naiskoi* made of stone (the 'stelae of the Rue Négrel') represent a goddess seated in a niche, sometimes holding a lion cub on her lap: Artemis?, Athena?, more probably Cybele, the great Asiatic goddess? Similar monuments are known in Asia Minor and, in particular, in Phocaea itself, on the Black Sea, as well as in Hyele.[88]

'A Marseillan fact' has been recognised in an episode of the *Geryoneis*—the story of the return of Heracles to Greece from the extreme West, where he had seized the herd of Geryon. Crossing the country of the Ligurians, the hero, attacked by the natives, was saved by Zeus, who made it rain pebbles with which Heracles armed himself to overcome them (Aeschylus *apud* Strabo 4. 1. 7): this would be the origin of La Crau, a plain covered with pebbles, close to Marseilles to the east of the Rhône delta. In the same *Geryoneis*, the attribution of the foundation of Alesia to Heracles (Diodorus 4. 19) reinforces this impression: because this Celtic settlement was close to a Massaliot 'tin road' attested by the finds of Vix.[89]

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[84] Aristarcha accompanied rather the Phocaeans who were fleeing Persian domination, according to Gras 1995, 364–5, who 'hardened' the hypothesis advanced cautiously by Malkin 1987, 69–72; 1990, 51–2. *Contra*, Rolley 1997.

[85] Ghiron-Bistagne 1992.

[86] Giangiulio 1985, 109; Morel 1998, 40–1.

[87] Clerc 1927–29, II, 375.

[88] See Johannowsky 1961; Salviat 1992, 147–50; Tréziny 1994, 130; Özyiğit 1995, 56–8; Hermary 2000a.

[89] On these problems, see Benoit 1965, 94; Jourdain-Annequin 1989; Morel 1993–94, 348–50, 360.

Relations with Delphi were important in the religious life of Massalia.[90] It had brought as an offering to Delphi a statue of Apollo and probably one of Athena. In the second half of the 6th century it had erected there a treasury, which is believed to be identified on the site of Marmaria and which exhibits architectural decoration of 'Phocaean' style.[91] The activities of the Phocaeans at Delphi in the same period are perhaps attested by the use of a polygonal order with curved joins (currently unknown at Massalia itself, however) and by the epitaph of one Massaliot—Apellis, son of Demon. The Treasury of the Massaliotes sheltered the golden krater offered in the sanctuary by the Romans from the spoils from Veii (and later, it seems, statues of Roman emperors): thus, at Delphi, Massalia was like a representative of Rome, in accordance with the excellent relations between them.[92]

The territory of Massalia was rocky, well suited to viticulture and the cultivation of olives, but less to that of cereals; thus its economy was, above all, maritime (Strabo 4. 1. 5).[93] In similar terms Strabo (6. 1. 1) describes the *chora* of Hyele and Justinus (43. 3. 5) that of Phocaea.[94] These indisputably reflect the reality of the Phocaean territories: absence of vast plains, predominance of uneven and infertile terrain, strong presence of the sea.[95] The Phocaeans, who in their metropolis were used to this environment, once they arrived in the western Mediterranean, made the best of conditions which could have repelled other peoples.

Wine, oil and fish, the fundamental elements of the Massaliot economy, required amphorae.[96] These belonged to two major categories: with light clay, called 'feldspathiques' (around 550/540–500 B.C.), and strongly micaceous, which appeared about 520/510 B.C.

[90] And of Phocaeans in general: see Jehasse 1962, 253.

[91] Hermary in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 67.

[92] On Massalia and Delphi, references and observations in Villard 1960, 90–2; Salviat 1981; Gras 1987, 166–72.

[93] On the *chora* of Massalia, see Bats and Tréziny 1986.

[94] See also Thucydides 1. 138. 5 on the richness of the viticulture of Lampsacus.

[95] On the general problems of the Phocaean territories, see Lepore 1970, 20–6. On the importance of the sea, particularly of fish, for the Phocaeans, see Pierobon-Benoit 1995.

[96] On Massaliot viticulture, see Bertucchi 1992a.

and lasted many centuries.[97] But there remain deep problems of identification. The distinction is not always easy between Massaliot and other categories of different or unknown origin: the amphorae called 'Corinthian B', and particularly those called 'Ionio-Massaliot', but which are, at least in part, Italian or Sicilian.[98]

The creation by Massalia of an amphora type seems to signify a strong involvement in the commerce of certain commodities. But there is a great contrast between the abundance of Massaliot amphorae in the regions near to it (Provence and Languedoc) and the long-distance diffusion (the Celtic hinterland, Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, the islands of the western Mediterranean, Carthage), which was infinitely more modest and did not really develop before the 4th century.[99] Further, the wrecks loaded with Massaliot amphorae are of ships of very small size.[100] These observations must be taken into account in evaluating the aptitude of Massalia for large-scale trade.

Serious prospects of knowing about the Massaliot economy arise also from archaeozoological and archaeobotanical analyses (like those of the remains remarkably well preserved in the humid environment of the ancient harbour) and from rural archaeology (which has revealed a vineyard of the Hellenistic period at Saint-Jean du Désert, on the immediate periphery of Marseilles).[101]

Independent of maritime trade, the sea and coast were probably essential resources for Massalia: fish products, salt, coral, purple, trachyte, resin, cork, soda, aromatic and medicinal plants, fed one overall 'economy of the littoral'.[102]

On the other hand, Massalia needed to obtain elsewhere the cereals which its soil could not support. Resorting to the native popu-

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[97] On the typology of the shapes, see Py 1978a; Bertucchi 1992a. In general, see Bats 1990c; Pomey and Long 1992; Sourisseau 1998. On finds of workshops, see Gantès 1992a, 76–80, 84, 86. A large amphora kiln of the 5th century was recently found north of the hill des Moulins (*Bains grecs à Marseille* 1995; Conche in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 72–3; Conche 1999, 90–3).

[98] Morel 1990b; Villard 1992a, 167; Gassner 1996; Sourisseau 1998.

[99] Bats (ed.) 1990c, *passim.*

[100] Long 1990, 65.

[101] Boissinot 1995, 36–9; 2000, 27–8; 2001. Another vineyard—from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.—was to be found by M. Bouiron at Marseilles, during the excavation of the Alcazar not far from the ancient surrounding wall.

[102] Benoit 1965, 191–213.

lation for this purpose was a constant in Phocaean colonisation. The native sites close to Phocaean establishments or enjoying relations with them often contain storage facilities (silos, *dolia*, earthen containers, granaries), which are so large that one is inclined to think of cereals supplied to the Greeks in exchange for commodities such as wine. Such is the case near Emporion (see below), in the Languedoc not far from Agathe,[103] at Martigues close to Marseilles,[104] and at Mont-Garou near Toulon.[105] At Le Pègue, in the Drôme, a site which was subject to Massaliot influence, a 5th century granary full of wheat has been found.[106] However, this evidence has to be handled with caution: the export capacity of these sites is not always certain;[107] and particular 'silos' could have had other purposes (to store water, for linen-working, etc.).[108]

In total, the Massaliot economy cannot be evaluated only in terms of *emporion* trade. Despite the resources of the environment being modest, they were exploited rationally, and in particular the wine of Massalia played an important rôle in the city's economic exchanges.

To continue this analysis of the economy of Massalia, let us now turn to pottery,[109] both in terms of craftsmanship (with respect to vessels, grey 'Phocaean' pottery and light clay pottery—with imitations of Attic black-glaze vases, amongst other things[110]—were the main Massaliot products) and, above all, economic exchange. We have already mentioned the rôle of Etruscan imports until some time in the third quarter of the 6th century. They culminated in the second quarter of the century, when a 'symbiosis' between Massalia and the Etruscans has been suggested.[111] In addition to Etruscan

[103] Garcia 1987, 76–88.

[104] Chausserie-Laprée *et al.* 1984, 27, 49–53; *Le village gaulois de Martigues* 1988, 33, 50, 65, 72–74.

[105] Arcelin *et al.* 1982, 87–9, 124–5.

[106] Lagrand and Thalmann 1973, 28–31, 108. More generally, see Bats 1992, 266.

[107] In relation to Martigues, the excavator talks about 'an economy yielding little surplus' and 'a régime of satisfactory agricultural self-sufficiency' (Chausserie-Laprée 1990, 61).

[108] Gallet de Santerre 1980, 154–5; Domínguez 1986, 196–8. *Contra*, Ruiz de Arbulo 1992.

[109] On the local and imported pottery of Marseilles, see essentially Villard 1960; 1992a; Gantès 1992b; Hesnard 1992; Bats and Sourisseau in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 51–9.

[110] Py 1978b.

[111] Gantès 1992b, 172–6; Villard 1992a, 165.

and, naturally, Massaliot amphorae, Greek amphorae from the eastern Mediterranean were relatively abundant in the Massalia of the Archaic and Classical periods, as were those of Phoenico-Carthaginian type (the majority coming from the more or less Punicised Iberia), while those of Western Greece were very rare.[112] As a result, we have the impression of a Massaliot economy situated somewhat on the fringes of Western Hellenism, but strongly involved in exchanges with ethnic groups which are often represented as fundamentally hostile to the Greeks: the Semites and, above all, the Etruscans. Admittedly, these ethnic groups and the Phocaeans sometimes waged war, and fiercely at that. But trade was another matter.

An apparent decline of the imports of Attic pottery in the 5th century has led to speculation about a recesssion in Massalia at this time,[113] and it is sometimes assumed that the situation in the Gallic interior affected the main trade of the city. This point is strongly debated.[114] In any case, the resources of the interior[115] were probably of great importance to Massaliot commerce.

In our view of these resources, an essential place is traditionally attributed to tin. It is probable that tin (from Cornwall in Britain, but also from the Lower Loire) had indeed attracted Massaliot merchants deep into the hinterland, as suggested by the finds at Vix, on the Saône-Seine route in the direction of the English Channel, or those of Greek vases of the 6th–5th centuries, along with Massaliot amphorae, at Bourges (on a road which led via the River Cher towards the Loire estuary),[116] and also at other sites.[117] But other metals could also have interested the Massaliotes (and the Etruscans), in particular the copper of the southern foothills of the Massif Central,[118] the iron which was abundant in the interior of the coun-

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[112] Sourisseau 1997.

[113] At the same time confirmed and qualified by the latest data, see Rouillard 1992, 181, 185.

[114] *Cf.* Villard 1960, 133–4, 159. Critical attitude in respect of this: Gallet de Santerre 1978; Shefton 1994, 69.

[115] Morel 1966, 408–9; Bouloumié 1989.

[116] Gran Aymerich *et al.* 1991; 1993.

[117] Morel forthcoming.

[118] The sites close to these deposits reveal the greatest concentration of Etruscan finds in Gaul, see Morel 1981, 489–90. About the valley of the Hérault and its surroundings, see Garcia 1993, 17, 230–1.

try, and Gallic gold, as well as other commodities such as wheat (mentioned above), the salted meats of Franche-Comté praised by ancient authors (this region contains a notable concentration of Phocaean imports),[119] and perhaps slaves.

Despite a certain amount of literary evidence,[120] our knowledge of the structure of this traffic, which was, without doubt, based essentially on barter, is not very good. The native populations must have taken part, passing objects from hand to hand, in this rather modest dissemination of Greek goods into the remote hinterland of Massalia.

The other face of Massaliot trade was maritime. The Massaliotes had an important rôle as brokers and carriers. They facilitated contacts between 'Mediterraneans' and locals. For Emporion, Livy (34. 9. 9) gives the following description:

> . . . the Spaniards, who had no seafaring experience, were glad to do business with the Greeks, and wanted to purchase the foreign goods which the Greeks imported in their ships, and to dispose of the produce of their own farms.
>
> (Penguin translation)

But they played equally the rôle of intermediaries between some Greek cities. Demosthenes' speech *Against Zenothemis* mentions a Massaliot firm undertaking the transport of wheat between Syracuse and Athens about 340 B.C.[121] The Phocaean diaspora in the Mediterranean (see below) perhaps reflects these trading routes and patterns.

Massalia started minting coins after a period (about 540–530 B.C.) in which small silver coins of Phocaea circulated in Provence. Its first emissions, of 'Auriol type' (named from a village close to Marseilles where an important treasure of 525–470 B.C. was found), were silver anepigraphic coins (first of all obols, their multiples and divisions) of Phocaean and, later, Milesian standard, usually bearing on

[119] Morel 1975, 881.

[120] *Cf.* Villard 1960, 143–58.

[121] See the commentary of Bats 1982, 262–5. On a commercial association in the 2nd century between three Massaliotes, one Elean and other Greeks for trade in the Pount country, see Clavel-Lévêque 1977, 48–9.

the reverse a hollow square. The diffusion of these coins in western Provence defines the boundaries of the territory 'under Massaliot economic dependency',[122] because the abundance of small denominations may have favoured the economic penetration of the hinterland by the city. The presence of very few similar coins in the treasure of Volterra in Etruria and on some sites in Spain suggests that this coinage could have acquired an international rôle, but also the limitations of it.[123]

About 480 B.C. coins were issued, still of small denomination, with double relief but with the initials or name of the city present. At the beginning of the 4th century 'heavy drachmae' of about 3.80g appeared for a short time in small quantities; and later, at the end of the 3rd century, the 'light drachmae' of about 2.70g, and their divisions in bronze—coinage which lasted until the capitulation to Caesar in 49 B.C.

From the 5th century, Massaliot coins show affinities with those of other Greek cities of the West: in the 5th century the Dorian cities of Sicily—Agrigentum, Syracuse, Camarina, Gela; later, Hyele for the 'heavy drachmae', apparently true coins of alliance with a Phocaean sister-city facing the expeditions of Dionysius of Syracuse in southern Italy between 390 and 386 B.C.[124]

The Expansion of Massalia in the 6th–4th Centuries

Corresponding with the urban development of Massalia towards the middle of the 6th century or a little later is an increase in its activities on land and sea. Then, it has been remarked, Massalia took 'all the space from Liguria to Iberia' (Fig. 4).[125]

The maritime dynamism of Massalia caused rivalry with Carthage—rivalry which our sources, clearly not impartial, always represent to

[122] Furtwängler 1978, 47 and n. 196, 306–7.

[123] On the first monetary circulation in Provence, the coinage of Auriol and related emissions, see Furtwängler 1978. On coinage of 'Auriol type', see also Breglia 1970; Picard 1981; Pournot in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 59–61; Furtwängler 2000; Picard 2000.

[124] On the coins of Massalia in general, see Rogers 1975; Clavel-Lévêque 1977, 95–103; and esp. Brenot 1992; 1996. On their circulation in Gaul, see Richard 1992.

[125] Bats 1992, 271.

Figure 4. Mediterranean Gaul.

the advantage of the Phocaean city. Sosylus of Lacedaemon mentions a battle 'of Artemision', which is generally localised next to the Cape of Nao in Spain;[126] Thucydides (1. 13. 6), a naval victory of the Phocaeans of Massalia over the Carthaginians; Justinus (43. 5. 2), a conflict caused by attacks against fishermen, in which the Massaliotes 'often' triumphed. It has been suggested that these badly dated episodes should be related to the Battle of Alalia, in which Massaliotes allegedly took part on the side of the Phocaeans of Corsica (see above). But the fact that the Massaliotes and Carthaginians frequented the same seas for trade, fish and (maybe) piracy, could have multiplied conflicts of whose chronology, location and importance we are ignorant.

Underwater archaeology throws some light on maritime trade in the neighbourhood of Massalia. The shipwreck of Bon-Porté and the underwater deposit of Pointe du Dattier reveal ships of the second half of the 6th century transporting mixed cargoes—Ionian and Etruscan amphorae.[127] Near the island of Porquerolles the shipwreck of Pointe Lequin 1A, about 515 B.C., contained, amongst other things, a cargo of Ionian and Attic vessels of the sort received by Massalia at that time; the wreck of Pointe Lequin 1B, about 475 B.C., carried micaceous Massaliot amphorae.[128]

Explorers consolidated Massalia's maritime reputation. Euthymenes sighted the coasts of Africa, at least as far south as Senegal, perhaps in the Archaic period but more probably in the 4th century. About 330 B.C. Pytheas ventured into the North Atlantic, around Great Britain and, it is thought, as far as the Arctic Circle in a region called Thule (Norway?; Iceland?). It is possible that, despite Punic competition, he was searching for maritime access to sources of tin and that the Massaliot state supported his attempt.[129]

On land, relations between Massalia and neighbouring populations were rather confrontational. The peaceful relations of the founda-

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[126] Jacoby *FGrH* II B, 903–905, no. 176 (III). Commentaries in Villard 1960, 88–9; Benoit 1961, 166–7; 1965, 46; Gras 1987, 177.

[127] For these sites and some others, references in Morel 1981, 482.

[128] Long *et al.* 1992.

[129] On these expeditions and, above all, on Pytheas, see Villard 1960, 93, 95, 152, 155–7.

tion period, symbolised by the idyll between Protis and Gyptis, did not take long to worsen. Justinus (43. 4. 4–5) attributes to Comanus, the son of king Nannus who had welcomed the Phocaeans, a parable which certainly reflected the attitude then current among the native people. Comanus maintained that the Phocaeans were 'tenants' (*inquilini*)—an interesting term to identify the revocable character which these native people wished to give to the Greek presence on their soil. It was necessary to prevent then from turning into *domini* and from transforming this precarious situation (*precario*) into a lasting occupation dispossessing the autochthonous people of their rights.[130]

Later, probably in the 4th century, the native people from the surrounding areas of Massalia rose up under the leadership of the *regulus* Catumandus against the Greek presence, and the Massaliotes attributed their salvation to the interference of Athena (Justinus 43. 5. 4–7).

The city protected itself against such threats by expansion in subcolonies, fortresses or support bases. It is often difficult to determine the status of these establishments. Strabo (4. 1. 5) groups them together under the terms *poleis* and also *epiteichismata* (fortifications, bastions), stressing their military aspect, but in reality they are very diverse in their dates of foundation, nature, aim and fate.[131]

Probably the most ancient establishment is Agathe (Agde) on the River Hérault near its mouth, 150km to the west of Marseilles. The valley of the Hérault gave access to the southern fringe of the Cévennes and to its mining resources.[132] In the last third of the 6th century, some Greeks—probably Phocaeans—established themselves there on the site of La Monédière at Bessan, about 15km from the sea. Their houses, with walls of mud brick on a stone base, were rectangular in plan, completed with an apse.[133] The 'centre of redistribution'(?) at Bessan apparently functioned on the fringes of another, better organised establishment, because, since some time in the 6th

[130] See, in particular, *Voyage en Massalie* 1990, *passim*.

[131] On the establishment by Massalia from the 5th century of a 'fortified line' along the Gallic littoral, see Bats 1986a, 37. On the 'colonies' of Marseilles, see Bats in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 86–9.

[132] Garcia 1993.

[133] Nickels 1989b. A house with an apse of the 6th century has just been found in the indigenous, partially-Hellenised coastal settlement of Tamaris, close to Martigues (Duval 2000, 169).

century, the Phocaeans seem to have been visiting the site of Agde, downstream of Bessan and 5km from the sea, where the Massaliotes founded Agathe at the end of the 5th century (if not earlier).[134] This place had previously been occupied by a local population, which had long enjoyed contacts with the Greeks, as the Greek vases of the third quarter of the 7th century from the necropolis of Peyrou indicate (see above). The presence of natives had an influence on Agathe's appearance and existence comparable to the situation in Emporion: the similarly restricted area (4.25ha for Agathe; 3ha for Emporion); the same plan, almost rectangular; the equal importance of the surrounding wall, which underwent numerous alterations as a result of the turbulent relations with the local people.[135] As in Catalonia, the Phocaeans on this coast of Languedoc were far from numerous and terribly isolated.

At a similar distance from Massalia, but to the east, Antipolis (Antibes) still retains its mystery. Sondages on the Château hill have revealed remains of a strongly Hellenised indigenous village of the end of the 6th century, but the Greek settlements have not yet been localised.[136] The name of the foundation, 'the city opposite' (or 'the city against'?), seems to couple it with, or place it in opposition to another site, be that Greek or native. Scholars have thought this might be the indigenous village, or Nice—but the chronological difference between these two cities makes this second hypothesis weak.[137]

Olbia[138] was founded in about 340 B.C., 60km east of Marseilles (near today's Hyères), at a place which watched over the passage between the isles of Hyères (the ancient *Stoichades nesoi*) and the coast. Its plan was square (each side measuring about 165m). The

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[134] Nickels 1995, 92–8; Garcia and Marchand 1995, 103; Roman and Roman 1997, 280–2.

[135] Focusing on Agde and Bessan: Bérard *et al.* 1990. See also Nickels 1982. On the territory of Agathe, *cf.* Benoit 1978; Garcia 1995.

[136] Antipolis could have been founded in the last quarter of the 6th century according to Bats 1994, 146. From the end of this century the indigenous settlement used about 40% wheel-made pottery (Bats 1989, 221). On the cults of Antipolis, see Hermary 2000b.

[137] Some scholars have also seen in Antipolis the 'city in front [of Corsica]' (Bats 1994, 146). On the economy of Antipolis and especially the rôle of the *chora* and the native people, see Ducat 1982b.

[138] Bats 1990a.

town-planning was strictly organised in 40 regular blocks surrounded by a wall. The egalitarianism of this plan, with its appearance of a huge barracks, has led to thoughts of a garrison, of an *epiteichisma* which would have been like a distant suburb of Massalia. The city possessed a rural territory divided into regular plots.[139] Some of its cults are known: Aphrodite, mother goddesses, a Hero (Heracles?), and probably the Ephesian Artemis, Hera of Clarus, Leto and Poseidon Hippius.[140] Aristeus was venerated in a sanctuary outside the city, at L'Acapte: the numerous dedications of the 2nd–1st centuries—graffiti on pottery vases—enrich our knowledge of Massaliot anthroponymy,[141] but Celtic names also appear in them, which proves that the crowd of worshippers was mixed. At the same time, the pottery vessels from Olbia reveal the fundamental Hellenism of culinary habits and table manners, as well as the importance of the Italian and Celto-Ligurian contributions.[142]

There are even later Massaliot foundations, such as Tauroeis (Le Brusc), which seems to date from the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd century,[143] Nikaia (Nice), founded apparently between the middle of the 3rd century and the middle of the 2nd, next to an indigenous site which maintained exchanges with the Phocaeans,[144] and the minute settlement of fishermen of La Galère, founded about 100 B.C. on the eastern coast of the island of Porquerolles.[145]

Many real or supposed Massaliot establishments cited in the texts are for us nothing but names—Kitharista (La Ciotat), Pergantion (Brégançon), Athenopolis (Saint-Tropez), Monoikos (Monaco), also Rhoe, Azania, Kyrene, Ampelos, etc.[146]—but others, better known, appear as trading posts. Thus the Rhodanousia of the texts should be localised at Espeyran on the Petit Rhône, where a settlement of the last quarter of the 6th century exhibits, especially after 475 B.C.,

[139] Benoit 1985.
[140] Coupry 1992, 158; intervention in Bats *et al.* 1992, 461.
[141] Coupry and Giffault 1982. On Massaliot onomastics, see Robert 1968.
[142] Bats 1988a.
[143] Brien-Poitevin 1990.
[144] Bats and Mouchot 1990. On the economic aspects of this foundation, see Ducat 1982b.
[145] Brun 1992; 2000, 120–2.
[146] Benoit 1965, 99–111.

Massaliot features (abundance of Massaliot amphorae and West Greek vases, constructions of mud brick on bases of pebbles).[147]

Of particular importance are the finds at Arles (probably the native Arelate, the Greek Theline),[148] on the Rhône, 85km north-west of Marseilles and about 30km from the sea.[149] Excavation of the Winter Garden/Jardin d'Hiver has revealed an indigenous settlement of the second half of the 7th century on top of a small hillock near the river and once surrounded by marshes (a characteristic site for a trading post!). A sudden Hellenisation of the settlement and the objects in it from 540/530 B.C. reveals that Greeks settled alongside the local town. In the first half of the 4th century the native pressure increased and Hellenisation retreated. An analogous evolution is characteristic of the site called 'Van Gogh', a few hundred metres distant. It is possible to interpret these twin foundations (or rather, a single establishment on two scraps of risen land?) as a Massaliot *emporion*, which perhaps became an *apoikia*, established beside a native community to profit from its clients and suppliers, but also connected, by the Rhône valley, more directly than Massalia with the interior of Gaul. The importance of this route for Massalia from at least 540 B.C. has been confirmed by the discovery in Lyons, in the Vaise quarter, of thousands of fragments of Massaliot pottery, mainly amphorae.[150]

At Béziers, a strong Greek presence seems to date from the 5th century. The excavators, aware of the differences between the pottery from this site and that from Marseilles, think it possible that Béziers might have been founded by Greeks other than Phocaeans (but which?).[151]

Finally, it is time to mention the actual *chora* of Massalia.[152] The study of a territory is never easy, and this is true *a fortiori* in the

[147] Py 1990.

[148] Avienus *Ora Maritima* 689–691.

[149] For recent discussion, see Arcelin 1995.

[150] Substantially unpublished find, mentioned by C. Bellon and F. Perrin during a colloquium in Lyons in 1996. For a previous, similar but more modest find at Lyons, see Bellon and Perrin 1990, 250. On the implications of these new finds from Lyons (and also from Bragny-sur-Saône, further to the north), see Morel 2002; forthcoming.

[151] Ugolini *et al.* 1991; Ugolini 1995; Olive and Ugolini 1997.

[152] See Bats and Tréziny 1986 (esp. Bats 1986b; Arcelin 1986; Morel 1986); Roman and Roman 1997, 275–9; Bats 2001.

case of Massalia. First of all, modern day Marseilles covers a great part of the territory of the ancient city. Secondly, the latter seems never to have pursued a very dynamic policy of territorial acquisition—moreover, it acted in an environment described as hostile by ancient authors, and archaeology confirms this: until the capture of Massalia by Caesar, local groups were to remain established next to the gates of the city. Situated about 12km from the Vieux-Port, still in the middle of the 1st century B.C. La Cloche was a typical local settlement in its site, plan, houses, objects, and the custom of displaying the severed heads of defeated enemies:[153] an illustration of what ancient authors have often felt as the 'savagery' of the neighbours of the western Phocaeans—from the *Salyes atroces* (Avienus *Ora maritima* 701), the *truces Galliae populi* (Seneca *Ad Helviam* 7. 8) and the *ferae gentes Gallorum* (Justinus 43. 3. 4) to the Indicetans of Emporion, *fera et bellicosa gens* (Livy 34. 9. 4), passing through the *feritas* of the native people of Corsica (Seneca *Ad Helviam* 7. 8) and the *gens crudelis* of Palinuro (Servius *ad Aen.* 359 *et seq.*). So, advances and retreats in the face of the locals make it difficult to perceive the successive limits of the Massaliot *chora*. Lastly, the criteria which had long prevailed (wheel- or handmade pottery, abundance or absence of graffiti, the appearance of houses, the existence of fortifications or public buildings of Greek type, metrology, etc.) often prove to be faulty in the context of Provence and ought to be reinforced by other criteria, such as division of land into regular plots, botanical and archaeozoological analyses, culinary and nutritional habits.

It seems that the territory of Massalia was for long extremely small, and that the city waited until the 4th century, perhaps even the 2nd (two or four centuries after its foundation) before forming a *chora* going beyond its immediate surroundings and extending in the direction of the Étang de Berre to the west and probably into the valley of the Huveaune to the east—and this perhaps following the example or at the instigation of Rome, or in any case with its assistance.[154] It is possibly from this late period that the towers (*pyrgoi*) established by the Massaliotes at the mouth of the Rhône date (Strabo 4. 1. 8), landmarks for navigation, symbols of ownership, and bases

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[153] Chabot 1990; 2000, 161–6.
[154] *Cf.* Hesnard in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 106–11.

giving access to the Rhône (which remained for Massaliotes a route for penetrating the interior of Gaul). Here they added a temple of the Ephesian Artemis.[155]

Despite this cautious or timid territorial policy, despite the 'savagery' of the native people, 'It seemed that Gaul had transported itself into Greece' (Justinus 43. 4. 2). In fact, Massalia scattered around itself multiple influences. First of all were material and technical influences: the introduction in the non-Greek regions of Provence of the olive tree and the procedures for extracting oil; diffusion of the pruning of vines, more efficient millstones, methods of storing water; the construction by Greek engineers of the ramparts of Saint-Blaise and Glanon for the use of native 'kinglets'; evidently without forgeting the introduction of writing. Briefly, what is called a 'commerce of techniques', a trade in technology not without reciprocal influences. In fact, the handmade pottery used in Massalia in the last moments of its independence (and which made its ceramics into technological fossils) appears to have been fashioned by native potters familiar with the technique, but using Greek shapes.[156]

It is more difficult to grasp the diffusion of cults and political models because the appearance of acculturation could be erroneous. In connexion with the cult of Ephesian Artemis appearing on new coastal sites thanks to Massaliot expansion, an opinion has been put forward about 'pagan missionaries',[157] but we do not know to what extent this cult really penetrated the native world. And even if we observe at Glanon/Glanum the presence of public buildings and spaces apparently imitating Greek models (an '*agora*', a '*prytaneion*', a '*bouleuterion*'), there is no guarantee that they were utilised in the Greek manner.[158]

155 Malkin 1990, 44.

156 On these questions, see Arcelin and Picon 1982; Goudineau 1984; Bats 1988b; Chabot 1990, 120; Amouretti 1992; Arcelin 1992; Tréziny 1992, 347; Roth Congès 1992; Morel 1995a, 56–7, 63–4, 67–8; Bats in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 113–7; Chausserie-Laprée 2000.

157 Malkin 1990.

158 Roth Congès 1992; Gros 1992, 373–4. Glanon is the only site of the lower valley of the Rhône 'where the Massaliotes were *almost* [my italics] successful with the cultural assimilation of the [native] élites', according to Arcelin 1984, 215.

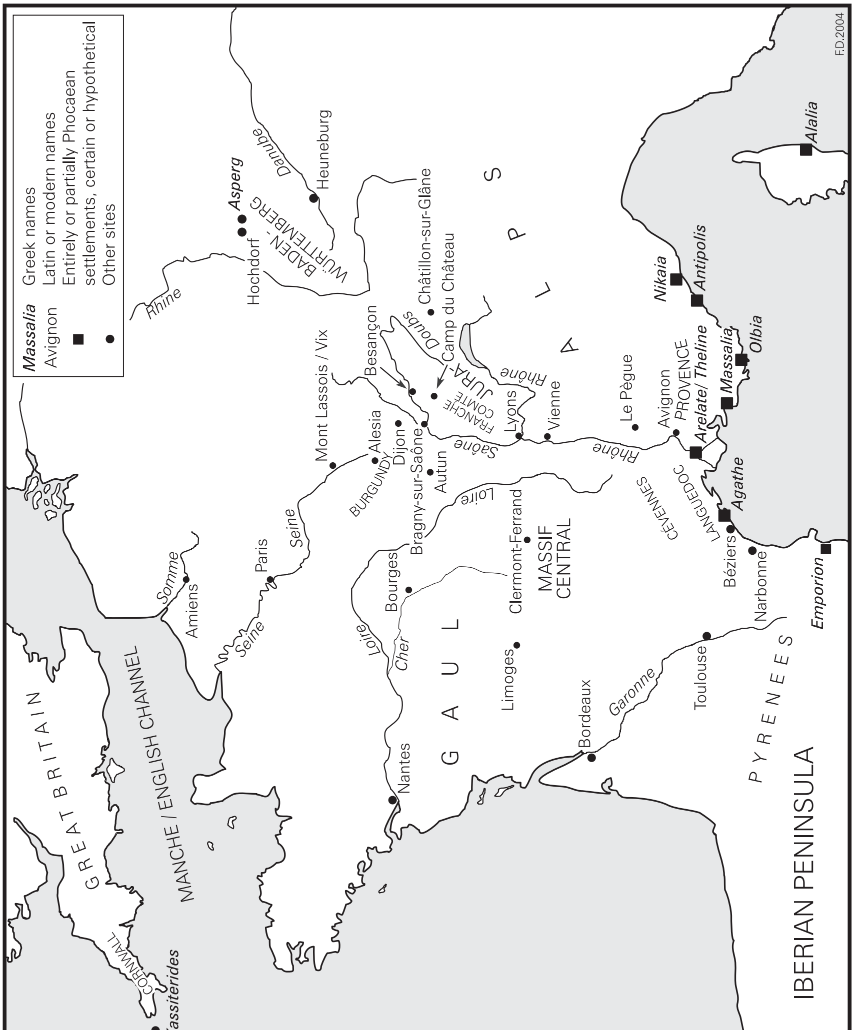

Fig. 5. Gaul and neighbouring territory.

It is also necessary to mention other regions or sites which are more openly native, where the commerce and the influence of the city were manifested precociously.

On the coast or in the immediate hinterland, there are two emblematic localities: Martigues and Saint-Blaise. Both were established in this landscape of the interface of land and water where trade between Phocaeans and native peoples developed in a privileged fashion (in this case we can talk about 'a coastal hinterland'): at Martigues, the site of L'Ile occupied an islet in the channel which connected the sea to the Étang de Berre;[159] Saint-Blaise dominated a hill surrounded by lakes, in proximity to the Étang de Berre and the sea.[160] In both, Greek products used to arrive in quantities (and let us remember the interpretation proposed above about the abundance of containers for storing grain at Martigues).

Le Pègue in the Drôme is an example of a site clearly more distant from the coast (120km). Massaliot influences here caused the development of pottery called 'Pseudo-Ionian', which adopted the technique and the essence of the repertory of shapes of the Ionian pottery known in Massalia, but with exuberant and almost bizarre variations (a similar phenomenon appeared at Palinuro near Hyele).[161]

In the even more remote hinterland, deep in Celtic territory, from central France to south-western Germany, was the domain of Hallstatt princely residences, which from about 540 B.C. began to receive Greek influences and objects (Fig. 5). Heuneburg was a settlement of the Upper Danube; its fortifications, reminiscent in some respects of Greek walls, suggest the involvement of Massaliot engineers at the service of a local prince. Mediterranean wine arrived there in apparently Massaliot amphorae, as well as Attic black-figure pottery of 540–490 B.C.[162] On the local settlement of Mont Lassois on the Upper Seine (probably one of the tin routes) depended the chariot tomb of Vix, a burial of a 'princess' where there was an enormous and magnificent bronze krater—the largest complete Greek vase known—datable to about 530 B.C. or a little later, as well as a

[159] Chausserie-Laprée *et al.* 1984; *Le village gaulois de Martigues* 1988; Chausserie-Laprée 1990.
[160] For recent discussion, see Bouloumié and Arcelin 1990; Bouloumié 1991.
[161] References in Morel 1974, 150.
[162] Van den Boom 1990.

Schnabelkanne and other Greek and Etruscan metal objects and pottery.[163] The presence at Mont Lassois of Massaliot wine amphorae and common vessels suggests that Phocaean merchants used to visit it.[164] Other sites, such as Châtillon-sur-Glâne, Asperg and Hochdorf, present similar sets of problems.

The way in which this exceptional krater came to Vix has given rise to a debate concerning all the precious Mediterranean objects found in the heart of the Celtic land. First of all, we have to ask ourselves if they were real objects of trade, or whether they were 'diplomatic' or 'introductory' gifts. Had they been ordered by the recipient or had they been intended for him from the outset by some Greek (or Etruscan)? Did they arrive at their final destination through the care of 'Mediterraneans' or were they passed from hand to hand between Celtic princes? But in reality the implications of these diverse hypotheses are very similar. In practice, if the Vix krater was a 'diplomatic gift', it could not have had any other purpose than to gain the benevolence of a Celtic kinglet who, at Mont Lassois, was 'in command of' the tin route through the Seine valley. Passing from hand to hand only shifts the problem towards the first owner. And the simple possession of such pieces, whether it resulted from a Greek (or an Etruscan) initiative or from a native demand, means that their recipient had either a 'power of purchase' or an ability to render assistance or cause harm. This finds its best explanation in commerce of the *emporion* type, associating these Celtic princes and the Mediterraneans.

As to the journey these pieces made, the hypothesis of a Rhône route—apparently the most obvious, at least for the Greek objects—is challenged, especially for the Vix krater, by another which gives precedence to a route via the Adriatic and the Alps, one which is supposed to explain better the presence at Hochdorf, in Baden-Württemberg, of a bronze cauldron related to the krater. The route through the Alps could account for the spread of Etruscan objects. But for all or some of the Greek objects there are other arguments which speak in favour of the Rhône route and, as a consequence, of a probable Massaliot rôle in this traffic—above all if, as has been maintained, the krater was transported in pieces and reconstructed

[163] *Trésors des princes celtes* 1987, 207–31.
[164] Villard 1960, 130, 141.

at Vix by Greeks. In fact, the convincing hypothesis of the krater's having been produced in Sybaris would explain well enough the presence in Poseidonia (a colony of Sybaris) and its hinterland of bronze vases coming from the same workshop.[165] Thus, it is possible that the Vix krater and analogous pieces found in the Celtic lands had passed through this region of the Tyrrhenian Sea (Poseidonia and/or Hyele) before reaching Massalia, and after that, through the valleys of the French interior, to reach the princely residences of Burgundy or Baden-Württemberg. In the same way, the few fragments related to Chalcidian pottery found at Vix could be explained by the close relations between Massalia and the Chalcidians from Rhegion.[166]

Almost all the imported objects which we have mentioned are connected to the consumption of wine. In introducing its use to Gaul, the Phocaeans, and perhaps the Etruscans before them, allowed the local chiefs to assert their pre-eminence by exhibiting the accessories of the Mediterranean banquet—in a more commonplace way in the south of France, and more ostentatiously in the interior of the Celtic land (thus, the tomb of Vix contained elements of a real *symposion* in the Greek fashion).[167] In this process, which was so important for acculturation and social differentiation, the 'Celtic thirst', consumer of alcoholic beverages other than wine (beer, mead),[168] was converted by the Mediterraneans (Etruscans, Greeks, Romans) into a taste for wine, *philoinia* (Diodorus 5. 26).

For a long time it was thought that the penetration of Greek objects and supplies into the interior of Gaul was halted towards the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. This has been attributed to the upheavals endured by the region (see above). But in reality, this penetration continued in the 5th century. At Bourges, in the centre of France, it was between 530 and 420 B.C. that Greek pottery was at its most abundant.[169] And it is in the 5th century that the contacts with the Mediterranean are best attested on the metallurgical site of

[165] Shefton 1994, 68.
[166] On these problems, see information, references and different opinions in Graham 1984, 4–6; Shefton 1989; Morel 1989, 252–4, 281–7; 1992, 21–2; Rolley 1992, 414–5; Bats *et al.* 1992, 475; Roman and Roman 1997, 309–31.
[167] Rolley 1992, 413–4.
[168] Dietler 1990; 1992 ('Celtic thirst': 402).
[169] Gran Aymerich *et al.* 1991; 1993.

Bragny-sur-Saône (iron and bronze), at the confluence of the Saône and the Doubs,[170] where two potential routes converged: the Rhône-Saône and the Alps-Jura.

Other Phocaean Colonies and Presences in the West in the Archaic and Classical Periods

The capture of Phocaea about 545 B.C. made Massalia the protector of the other Phocaean colonies (see below). In addition, the new foundations and the new waves of colonists to existing ones henceforth came mainly from there. This situation combines with the permanence of the ethnic name (Massaliotes always remained 'Phocaeans')[171] to explain why real or supposed Phocaean foundations were to be attributed jointly or in turn to Phocaea and/or Massalia: thus Hyele, Emporion, Hemeroskopeion and Mainake.[172] Let us now examine the three main Phocaean colonies in the West other than Marseilles.

Emporion remained a minute establishment, since the new town did not exceed 3ha. The city seems to have had a turbulent history, which is testified mainly by the numerous modifications to its surrounding wall.

Let us observe in this connexion that fortification walls seem to have played an essential rôle in Phocaean cities, not only as a concrete reality but also as a symbolic structure. Arganthonius of Tartessos showed his concern for the inhabitants of Phocaea by offering them silver to build or reinforce a great wall (Herodotus 1. 163), and archaeology has just shown the beauty of it (see above). Justinus (43. 4. 11) stresses the unfailing guard which Massaliotes maintained on their ramparts. The walls of Hyele and Alalia exhibit some remarkable aspects. We have mentioned above the changes to the wall of Agathe. Olbia seems to have been basically a fortress-garrison.

With regard to Emporion, Livy (34. 9. 5–6) also pays special attention to the guards at the ramparts. The reinforcements and extensions to this wall, and its robustness, confirm his comments. The southern side of the city seems to have been especially well protected,

[170] Rolley 1992, 415–7; Flouest 1993.
[171] Vatin 1993, 74.
[172] Morel 1992, 23.

perhaps because the indigenous settlement which flanked the Greek stretched along this side, as recent excavations suggest. At this place habitation is attested from the second half of the 5th century. It is also at this side of the city that Iberian inscriptions have been found on Attic vases of the 4th century.[173] A temple, perhaps a meeting place, protector of commerce and guarantor of agreements between the communities—as is often the situation in an *emporion*—has been located on the boundary between the two settlements.[174] The excavators think that the two communities merged in the second half of the 4th century, but Livy describes two still separate ethnic groups and a very confrontational climate at (apparently) the beginning of the 2nd century.

Emporion (like its neighbour Rhode) practised the cult of the Ephesian Artemis after the Massaliot model (Strabo 3. 4. 8),[175] but economic relations between Emporion and Massalia seem never to have been intense: thus, the highest proportion of Massaliot amphorae at Emporion never exceeded 15%, a figure reached in the first quarter of the 5th century.[176] This situation is maybe natural when it concerns two rather distant establishments, whose common metropolis did not take long to renounce its rôle, and each of which had to ensure its survival in its own environment. Moreover, some think that the 5th century was a period of difficulty for Massalia but one of prosperity for Emporion, judging in particular by the Attic pottery.[177]

Emporion sometimes passes for the very type of 'city without territory',[178] although Strabo (3. 4. 9) mentions the fertility of part of its *chora mesogaia*. A Greek rural territory divided into regular plots may have surrounded the city from the 5th–4th centuries (a radius of 10–15km; an area of about 150km^2), with indications of collaboration between Greeks and natives to develop the lands,[179] but some scholars view it rather as a Roman cadaster.[180]

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[173] Sanmartí 1993, 91.

[174] On the topography of Emporion and on Graeco-native relations, see Marcet and Sanmartí 1990; Sanmartí 1992; 1993.

[175] On the cults of Emporion, see Pena 2000.

[176] Sanmartí *et al.* 1990.

[177] Sanmartí 1992, 35.

[178] Vallet 1967, 137.

[179] Plana 1994, 137–89, esp. 169 and 177; 2000.

[180] See, for example, Ruiz de Arbulo 1992.

The region around Emporion offered in every way resources of interest to the Greeks. First of all, wheat: veritable 'fields of silos' characterise certain sites from the 5th century to the 2nd, especially Pontós (it has been estimated that the silos of Pontós could store the whole annual production of cereals of the Emporitan region).[181] After that, rushes suited to matting, and the flax needed for clothing and sails (Strabo 3. 4. 9).[182] And finally, the silver of the Pyrenees.[183]

The economic and cultural links established by Emporion with its immediate hinterland are apparent in the Indicetan fortified settlement of Ullastret, where the site of the Illa d'en Reixach, in the centre of an area liable to flooding and sometimes navigable, illustrates the problems of centres of distribution. In the third quarter of the 6th century Ullastret underwent a radical cultural change (like Arles in the Massaliot context), receiving thenceforth a lot a Greek imports and influences.[184]

Two small inscribed strips of lead found at Ampurias and Pech Maho (in western Languedoc) attest to the co-operation between Phocaeans and Iberians in commercial operations. The lead from Ampurias, dated between the middle of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century, is a letter from an Ionian merchant (Phocaean?; more likely Massaliot?) to an agent based in Emporion about dealings with another merchant—Basped[. . .] (an Iberian)—who was himself established at Emporion too, and traded between Marseilles, Emporion and Saigantha (Saguntum?). That from Pech Maho, dated to the 5th century (rather its middle third), mentions a transaction between a (western?) Ionian, Heronoiius, and another merchant, probably Greek and maybe based at Emporion. It concerns the purchase of one or a few small boats at the latter place. This transaction involved as witnesses persons bearing Iberian names. Thus, Greeks and native people collaborated in maritime trade within a monetarised economy—a sign of the 'economic acculturation' of certain members of the local population.[185]

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181 On the silos around Emporion, see Sanmartí 1982, 293; Sanmartí in *I Focei dall'Anatolia all'Oceano* 1982, 303, 497; Ruiz de Arbulo 1992, 63–6; Plana 2000.

182 Domínguez 1990, 196–8.

183 On an exploitation by the Massaliotes, *cf.* Ps.-Aristoteles *De mirab. ausc.* 87.

184 Martín 1988.

185 On these complex documents, *cf.* Salviat 1988; Lejeune *et al.* 1988; Sanmartí and Santiago 1987; 1988; Santiago and Sanmartí 1988; Santiago 1989; Ampolo

Archaeology has proved very sparing concerning information on the first quarter of a century of Alalia, which was its real Phocaean period, when—if we are to trust Herodotus (1. 165–166)—there must even have been there some ephemeral metropolis of the Phocaeans for five years.[186] But the geographical evidence is particularly interesting. The city and its necropoleis occupied a plateau, which dominates a fertile plain, the powerful River Tavignano,[187] whose valley penetrates into the heart of Corsica, as well as the sea and lagoons—among the latter the 'Lake of Diana', whose name irresistibly evokes Artemis, who was venerated by the Phocaeans.[188] The site offered a sheltered harbour on a coast which was itself protected from gales, rich fisheries, good terrestrial and maritime communications with the hinterland and the diverse regions of the western Mediterranean.[189]

J. and L. Jehasse underline the 'resources of Corsica' and the native context of the city. The region of Aleria has been home to a dense population since the Neolithic—a population which, from the Chalcolithic, started exploiting the nearby deposits of copper, and later iron. Corsica provided the primary resources sought by Mediterranean navigators and metalworkers: the products of hunting, fishing, stock breeding, mining and forests (of whose magnificence the ancients spoke), such as copper, iron, lead, silver, wood, cork, resin, pitch, honey, wax and salt; not to forget slaves.[190] So, small trading posts of the powers of the Tyrrhenian Sea—Greeks and Etruscans—would have been first established next to a large native community—the main city of the *Corsi*.[191] (But Herodotus 1. 165 talks

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and Caruso 1990/91; Lévêque 1992, 385; Shefton 1994, 70, 74; Gracia 1994, 316–28; Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1995, 268–75.

[186] *Cf.* Jehasse and Jehasse 1974, 16; 1982, 253; Morel 1975, 861; Ducat 1982a; Domínguez 1991a, 239–44.

[187] The ancient Rhotanus (Ptolemaius 3. 2), a name which has been connected to a possible Rhodian presence—like that of Rhône, and probably for no better reason!

[188] On a small island in this lake, an old chapel whence comes a Roman bas-relief might go back to a Phocaean Artemision according to Jehasse and Jehasse 1974, 22.

[189] On the site of Alalia, see Jehasse 1962, 254–60; Jehasse and Jehasse 1973, 11–6; 1974, 14–5.

[190] Jehasse and Jehasse 1973, 11–2; 1974, 41–6, 51; 1982, 248–50, 255. On the other hand, Benoit 1961, 168 states that Alalia 'lacked a strong connexion with the hinterland'.

[191] Jehasse and Jehasse 1974, 15; 1982, 255.

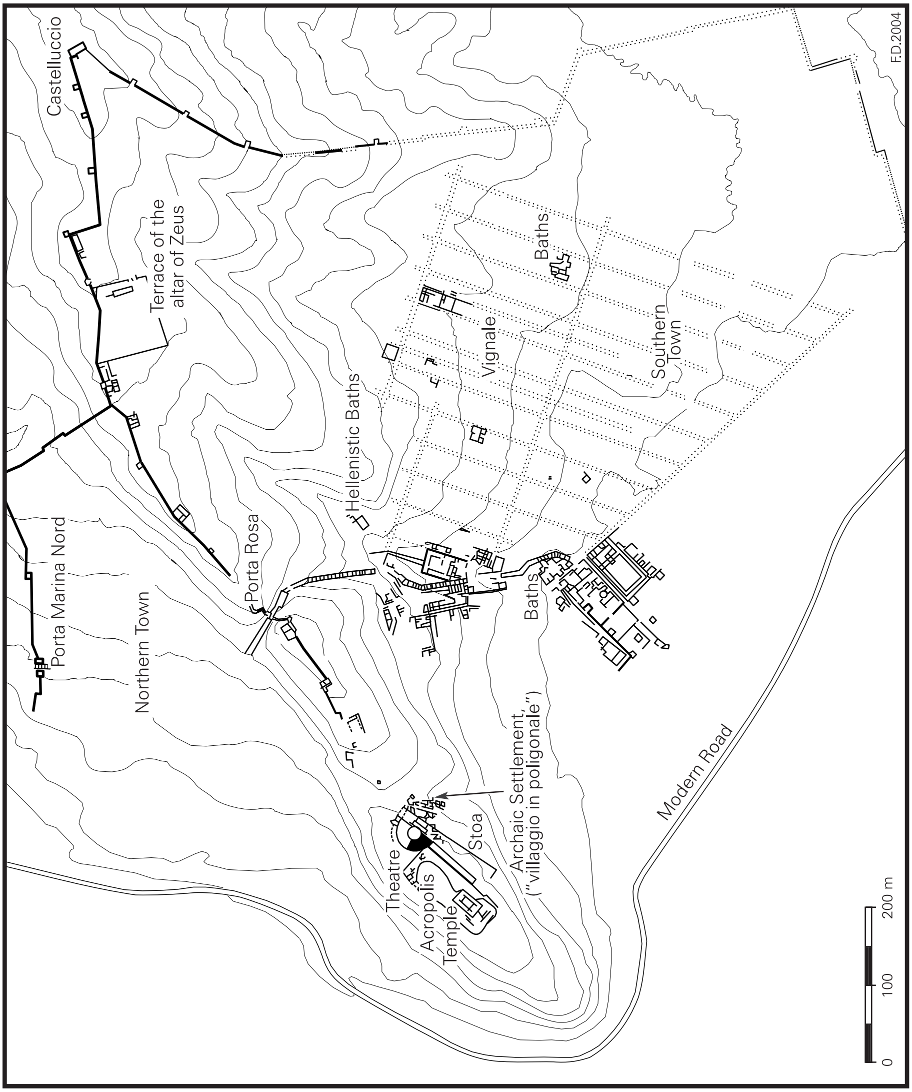

Fig. 6. Plan of Hyele/Elea.

precisely, for the years around 565 B.C., of the foundation of a *polis* whither 20 years later would flee one half of the population of Phocaea!)

In relation to the first decades after foundation, a number of sondages in the 6th century level have revealed grey 'Phocaean' pottery, also Ionian, Rhodian and Corinthian, and Attic black-figure vases.[192] On the *acropolis* part of an ancient rampart has been identified—an extremely thick structure of pebbles, clay, mud bricks and wood—as have the remains of a settlement, the walls of which had a rubble base and wooden superstructure. These two complexes have been attributed by the excavators to the 6th century.[193]

Above all, however, investigation has been concerned with a later period. There is nothing to prove that Alalia remained an Ionian city after the Battle of Alalia, but we cannot exclude the possibility that a small nucleus of Phocaeans continued to live there, or that certain features of Hellenism (in reality very few) may have persisted on Corsica.[194] In the rich necropolis of Casabianda, the published tombs of which date to the 5th–2nd centuries, the burials of the 5th and of the first half of the 4th century contain mainly Attic pottery, which leaves open the question of the ethnic group predominating thereafter. Grey pottery, a little reminiscent of Phocaean products, is very rare there. Among bronze objects, the ornaments are often of native type, not without Iberian influences, while the vases and domestic and military equipment, for the main part, find parallels in Italy, especially in Etruria.[195] We gain the impression of a city open to multiple influences, but where the Phocaean component—supposing that it survived—was very strongly diluted under the predominant Etruscan influence, of a native revival and of contacts with Sicily (in particular the Syracusa of Hieron) and Magna Graecia.

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[192] Benoit 1961, 168; Jehasse and Jehasse 1974, 15–6, 27, 33, 84–5.

[193] Jehasse and Jehasse 1982, 253; 1985, 95–8. From one publication to another the thickness of this part of the rampart varies from 10 to 16m. In addition, the chronology proposed for these constructions seems very dubious. The first one must be, in all cases, later than the Battle of Alalia, since it incorporates fragments of Attic red-figure pottery of the Severe Style; the second one, without doubt, is no earlier than the 5th century, the date of its earliest floors.

[194] Jehasse and Jehasse 1974, 6–7.

[195] Jehasse and Jehasse 1973, esp. 44–7, 59–68; Jehasse 1974.

Our knowledge of the possible presence of Greeks elsewhere on Corsica is limited to a few Attic fragments found on very rare sites.[196]

The demographic face of Hyele[197] was very distinct within Phocaean colonisation and ancient colonisation as a whole, where, at the beginning, natives usually formed probably a considerable portion of the female population. The Greek refugees from Alalia arrived (according to Herodotus 1. 166) with their wives and children (a situation which must have occurred also in Alalia during the influx of Phocaeans expelled from Asia Minor—for most part the same ones who founded Hyele). These particular circumstances could explain why the native component in Hyele appears particularly slight.

The city occupied the northern and (above all) southern slopes of a steep hill with an east-west axis (Fig. 6). The hill protruded into the sea and its extremity formed the *acropolis*.[198] At the foot of the slopes, two coves offered anchorage. This is an exemplary specimen of the 'Phocaean type' of settlement, characterised by heights, natural harbourage, terracing and land little suited to agriculture.[199] (On the other hand, what we would describe as the Phocaean type of trading post or distribution centre is characterised by lagoons, ponds, marshes or rivers, in general within a landscape of plains or slight hillocks: see Gravisca, Saint-Blaise, Arles, Bessan, Emporion or Huelva.) Phocaea and Massalia offered comparable conditions,[200] and at Hyele, as at Massalia, the sloping character of the settlement[201] and the periodic reconstructions of the supporting walls led to numerous modifications of the city plan.

The southern slope of the *acropolis* contained a settlement (called the *villaggio in poligonale*), which was, in reality, the colony that existed

[196] At Vaccaja (Benoit 1965, 43) and Mariana (a red-figure fragment, known to me thanks to the kind information of Philippe Pergola).

[197] Bibliography about Hyele in Greco and Krinzinger 1994; on older research, Napoli 1966; on sources, Musti 1966.

[198] On the topography of Hyele, see Schmiedt 1970; Napoli 1970; Baggioni-Lippmann 1982; Johannowsky 1982; Bencivenga Trillmich 1990; Krinzinger 1994; Krinzinger and Tocco 1999.

[199] On this type of city, see Martin 1973, 99.

[200] Morel 1999, 11–3.

[201] See, for example, Neutsch 1970, 149.

in the earliest decades (see above). The base of the walls was made of polygonal worked stones; the walls themselves were of mud brick and the roofs of perishable materials (just like the roofs of straw and earth characteristic of Massalia according to Vitruvius 2. 1. 5). The polygonal stonework at Hyele—which encompasses the magnificently worked base of a temple on the *acropolis* as well as the quite simple appearance of most of the Archaic houses[202]—remains unique among Phocaean colonies. In Italy in the Archaic period it occurs only at Lipara and, above all, on the Sicilian site of Naxos (in a region where, as we have seen, there has been speculation about Phocaean architectural influence). On the other hand, it is widely attested in Asia Minor, at Phocaea itself and at other neighbouring sites. Among Phocaean cities, only Hyele used (at the end of the 6th century) antefixes *a nimbo*, probably of a Pithekoussan-Cumaean origin and possible testimony to the rôle of Cumae, a Chalcidian city, together with Rhegion, in the initial period of Hyele's existence.[203]

The surrounding wall of Hyele[204] dates back to about 520 B.C. at the latest, and was reconstructed in a monumental way around 480/470 B.C. It was divided into compartments. The two slopes of the hill, each with its own surrounding wall, were separated by a long wall along the crest. The passage between the two sectors had been assured since the 4th century by the 'Porta Rosa', a masterpiece of vaulted architecture. These *diateichismata* were a constant feature at Hyele, the reason for which is not very clear (strategic necessity?; separation between Greek and native quarters, a little bit like what we believe was the case in Emporion?).

But, Hyele was reputed to have counted on the excellence of its laws as much as on its defensive wall for security against native threats, like Massalia: the *eunomethenai* of the former (Strabo 6. 1. 1) corresponded to the *eunomotata* regulations of the latter (Strabo 4. 1. 5).[205] Hyele also shone with its philosophical school, illustrated by Xenophanes, Parmenides and Zenon.

As well as cults such as those of Zeus, Hera, Athena or Asclepius (often testifying to Athenian influence), the religion of Hyele dis-

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202 Martin 1970.

203 Greco and Strazzulla 1994, 128–9.

204 For the state of the question: Tréziny 1994.

205 On Elean institutions, see Lepore 1970, 43, 53–4.

played some more proper Phocaean elements.[206] Among other patron deities of seafarers, they venerated Leucothea. And a *naiskos* enclosing a seated deity has been found,[207] analogous to those from Marseilles and from some cities of Asia Minor, among them Phocaea.

The completely Ionian characteristics of the pottery from Hyele do, however, show some original aspects. The absence of native pottery confirms the facts that the population of the city was from the outset entirely Greek. The grey pottery, so abundant in Massalia and Provence, was unknown, either for chronological reasons or because of some Elean peculiarity.[208] Some 'Ionian' amphorae, probably produced on the spot, could have contained local oil, or the salted fish mentioned by Strabo (6. 1. 1).[209]

In the monetary field, the 'autonomy' of the Archaic coinage of Hyele in comparison with those of Magna Graecia is striking, as are the affinities with the original coinage of the coasts of Asia Minor (and of Massalia). Later—in the 4th–3rd centuries—the monetary production of Hyele was distinguished in Magna Graecia by its richness, variety and continuity.[210]

Hyele did not have good agricultural land at its disposal, only small plains suitable for farming, and hills, where traces of cultivation have been found and which perhaps were used to grow olive trees.[211] Beyond, the mountains reached as high as 1700m. One might well speak of the city's lack of interest in its hinterland, but it watched jealously over its *chora*, described by Strabo (6. 1. 1) as particularly poor, but which possessed forests, very precious for a city whose survival depended on the sea.

As is usual in most cases of Phocaean expansion, relations with the natives (the Oenotrians) seem to have grown difficult, after an initial period of understanding with the chiefs of the hinterland. The city surrounded itself with *phrouria*—a type of protection rare for

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[206] On the cults of Velia and epigraphic sources relating to them, bibliography in Greco and Krinzinger 1994, 161–2; see also Collin-Bouffier 2000; Morel 2000b; Tocco 2000.

[207] Johannowsky 1961.

[208] For a general outline of Phocaean pottery, see Di Vita-Evrard 1971; Morel 1974; 2000c.

[209] Morel 1998, 448–9, 461.

[210] Stazio 1983, 124. For the latest, on the coinage of Hyele, see Di Bello 1997.

[211] Morel 1988, 449, 459, 461.

Greek cities, if we except Metapontum and one other Phocaean city: Massalia. Moio della Civitella is the best known of these small fortresses, which were situated about 15km from the city.[212]

Notwithstanding these difficulties, some indigenous settlements always maintained trade relations with Hyele. They were spread along the littoral to the south: first of all Molpa (modern Palinuro, about 20km distant), Maratea, Tortora and La Petrosa. Their dependence on Hyele is disputed, and it is possible that they gravitated rather into the orbit of the city of Sybaris before its destruction.[213] To the north, the proximity of Poseidonia (successor to Sybaris) limited Hyele's expansion. Nevertheless, it seems that they maintained good relations,[214] and that a Phocaeo-Achaean *entente* complemented a Phocaeo-Chalcidian arrangement, completing an alliance of the Greeks of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

The western Mediterranean contains yet other, more slender or hypothetical traces of the Phocaean presence (Fig. 1). The grey pottery of the south of Spain, which for a long time was considered as a Phocaean inheritance, reflects rather a Phoenician ambiance;[215] in return, Genoa, with its pottery of Ionian type, was probably one of the bases organised by the Phocaeans along the coast.[216]

Here and there in the western Mediterranean, legends and traditions evoke the presence or passage of Phocaeans. Variants in ethnic names frequently make these texts obscure. Thus, Pisa is qualified by Servius (*ad Aen.* 10. 179) as *Phocida oppidum*. This gloss could be related to a large deposit of Graeco-Oriental amphorae found at Pisa[217] (indication of an Ionian, or even Phocaean, trading post, of a new Gravisca?), but this does not explain the term *Phocida*, nor the curious formula *Phocida oppidum*.

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[212] On the territory of Hyele, especially on Moio della Civitella and other similar fortresses, see Greco 1969; 1975; other references in Morel 1975, 859. On relations with the hinterland, see also Maffettone 1992. For the general rarity of *phrouria* in Western Greece: Tréziny 1992, 341–2.

[213] References in Morel 1988, 439. See also Maffettone 1992. It should also be noted that Pliny mentions in the same region a *Portus Parthenius Phocensium* (*NH* 3. 72).

[214] Morel 1992, 21.

[215] Morel 1975, 890–1.

[216] Tiné Bertocchi 1974; Morel 1975, 865; Tiné Bertocchi and Milanese 1982.

[217] Pancrazzi 1982.

Sicily is the privileged domain of these traditions. Pausanias (5. 25. 6) cites the Phocaeans among the Sicilian ethnic groups (if that is what is meant by the expression *tou Phokikou genous*). Thucydides (5. 4. 4) mentions next to Leontini a place called *Phokaiai* (or *Phokeai*). He marks the presence of Phocaeans (*Phokeon tines*) who has emigrated from Asia Minor next to the Elymians (6. 2. 3). These texts remain quite enigmatic. However, a possible Phocaean presence in Sicily finds a slim confirmation in certain aspects of pottery and architecture (see above). Let us also mention again that the *Geryoneis*, which made Heracles pass through both Gaul and Sicily, could be a common factor between these two regions.

Sicily is involved also in the story of Dionysius of Phocaea. After the naval defeat of the Ionians by the Persians at Lade in 494 B.C., this Greek admiral left Asia Minor to wage war at sea against the Phoenicians, who were allies of the Persians. He reached Sicily, where he practised (from Lipara?) a 'discriminatory piracy', sparing the Greeks and attacking the Etruscans and Carthaginians (Herodotus 6. 17). This was one episode of the gigantic struggles which, at the beginning of the 5th century, set Greeks against barbarians in parallel conflicts (Persians and Phoenicians in the East, Etruscans and Carthaginians in the West).

Finally, we have some epigraphic evidence in the Tyrrhenian Sea or its approaches, as well as in the eastern Mediterranean, of an 'individual' diaspora of Phocaean merchants and specialists, from Phocaea itself, Massalia and Hyele, which probably mainly concerned Etruria.[218]

Once the real Phocaean epicentre had disappeared with the capture of Phocaea by the Persians, diplomatic, religious and sentimental links between the different Phocaean cities remained lively.[219] On the other hand, archaeology fails to demonstrate solid economic links and commercial relations between Massalia, Emporion, Alalia or Hyele, and the written sources are silent. In this field the Phocaean cities appear to have acted in an individual way, each favouring connexions with foreign cities. Maybe this fitted better the spirit of this people, who were not really acquainted with 'colonial' commerce and traded rather with other ethnic groups or on their behalf.

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[218] Clavel-Lévêque 1977, 38–41; Bernabò Brea 1982; Gras 1991.
[219] Morel 1995b.

Phocaean Permanence and Longevity

For a third of a century Phocaean archaeology has forced us to revise our views fundamentally, thanks to the progress of excavations at Marseilles, Ampurias, Velia and (now) Phocaea itself. In addition to these essential names, a number of places—Gravisca, Pointe Lequin, Martigues, Arles, Béziers, Pontós, Lyon-Vaise, Bragny, Bourges, etc.—have contributed to the revolution in our knowledge. To all of this should be added new epigraphical evidence, such as the rich onomastic corpus of L'Acapte, or the inscribed leads from Pech Maho and Ampurias. All opinions on the Phocaeans must be considered provisional but, at the same time, this succession of finds year after year confirms some Phocaean constants.

The expansion of the Phocaeans presents a curious sequence of events: triumphant beginnings, with the 6th century marked by spectacular successes (foundation of a string of colonies, penetration deep into the Celtic lands) and yet, from the second half of the century, disasters of considerable magnitude—the capture of Phocaea, the Battle of Alalia and, later, the Battle of Lade. After that comes a long, quite active but rather routine period, marked by constant threats but also by exceptional endurance.

Geographically, this expansion was marginal and isolated. Such was the case even in Italy, where Hyele, which came late and was the only one of its kind, was founded in a part of Magna Graecia relatively deserted by the Greeks. It was so especially in the Mediterranean as a whole, in Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula and Corsica. In return a prominent part was played by the Phocaeans in the extreme western region which they had chosen, thanks to influences spreading along the littoral and deep inland—although we must underline the frequent slowness of the process. Furthermore, the idea of aggressive or simply dynamic 'politics' of the Phocaeans in this field today has lost ground in favour of more active native initiative than was once thought—to such an extent that an expression such as 'acculturating appropriation' has tended to supersede the terms 'Hellenisation' or 'acculturation'.[220] The outcome is nevertheless positive, but we have to avoid the easy cliché of a triumphant Massalia

[220] *Cf.* Bats's intervention in Bats *et al.* 1992, 469, 471.

'debarbarising' the Gauls at a rapid rate—a vision, which, like that of the grandeur of Massalia in general, seems to owe something to Massaliot propaganda.[221] We are in any case far removed from the amazingly systematic vigour with which Rome penetrated the lands of the interior, immediately imposing its language and political regime and dismantling the local economies, in Magna Graecia as well as in Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula—all regions which had experienced the so different course of action of the Phocaeans.

Other Phocaean constants appear clearly. Without repeating the details, let me mention certain types of site for colonies and for places of exchange with the native peoples; certain economic processes, where the Phocaeans' own products were significant, but which also depended on the prominent rôle of an 'interface' between two worlds—the Mediterranean on the one hand and that of people who, however near the coast they may have been, were nevertheless cut off from the sea; a certain attitude to the conquest of territory, not some fervent and irresistible obligation but a military and economic coercion limited to what was strictly necessary; a certain religious, diplomatic and (probably) cultural fraternity; a quite effective obstinacy in maintaining Hellenism in a world from which it was shrinking away.

So the Hellenistic period, which for so many Greek cities of the West was a time of considerable decline, was, in contrast, of importance in Massalia, and the recent excavations of Marseilles have brought new evidence concerning the settlement, the rampart, the harbour and town planning of this period (Fig. 7).[222] It marks some continuation of the overseas commerce of Massalia,[223] before Roman competition delivered its fatal blows from the second quarter of the 2nd century.[224] Finally, it was the time when the Massaliot *chora* reached its greatest extent, thanks to the support of Rome (or even under Roman influence).

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[221] Hodge 1982; Bats 1986a, 48.

[222] See esp. Gantès 1992a, 84–7; Tréziny and Trousset 1992, 98–103; Tréziny 1994, 127–8; 1997a, 50; in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 121–5; Hesnard 1994, 205–7; in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 125–32; Hesnard *et al.* 1999, 37–44; Conche in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 76–7.

[223] In particular, on shipwrecks in the surroundings of Marseilles, *cf.* Pomey and Long 1992, 195–7; Hesnard 1992, 237–40; Bats 1992, 465; Hesnard in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 136–41.

[224] Gantès 1992b, 1976.

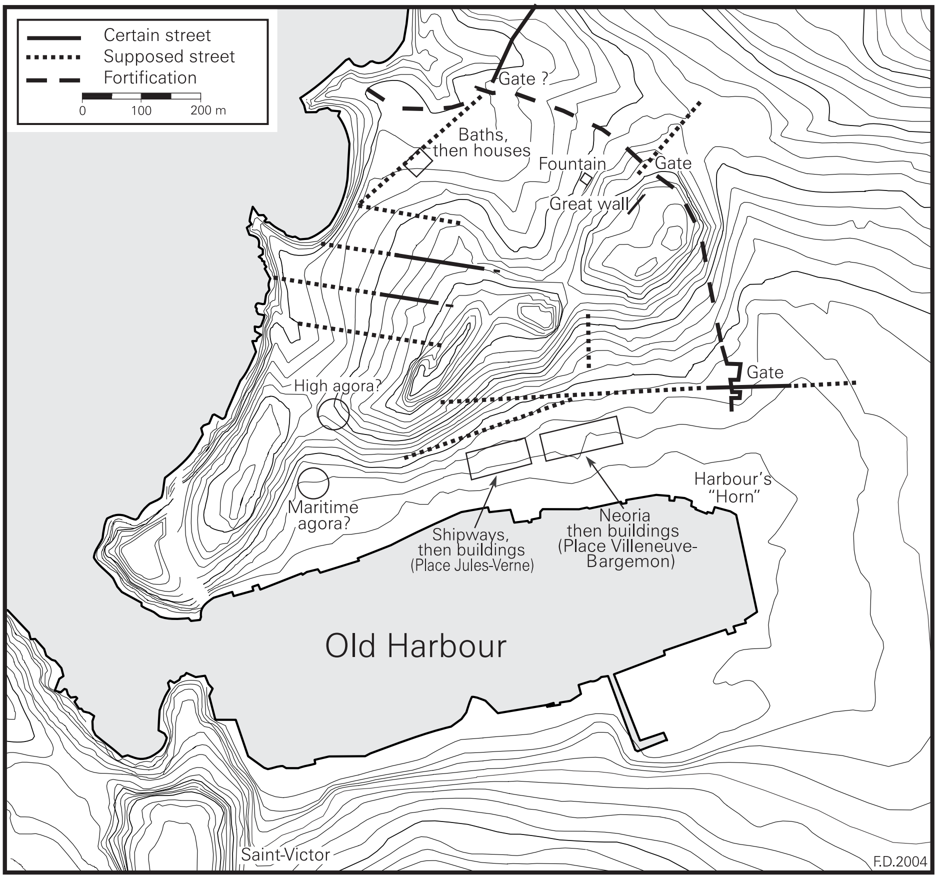

Fig. 7. Massalia in the Hellenistic period.

Thus, Phocaean longevity is astonishing. It has been linked to the fact that, for the Phocaeans, possession of actual territory was not essential.[225] This is a tempting hypothesis: the territorial expansion of Massalia was particularly late, as if incidental, that of Hyele was modest, of Emporion remains a controversial question, and of Alalia unknown. Another reason for it was undoubtedly the cultural and moral particularism developed by the Phocaeans of the West—at least in Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula—resulting from their isolation in the face of a barbarian world, something which the majority of other Greek colonies would never know, except those in Cyrenaica and (for some cases) the Black Sea.

This particularism was accompanied by a deep inter-Phocaean cohesion, which we must avoid idealising excessively because our judgment must depend, to a great extent, on the fate reserved by Massalia for its brothers from Phocaea and Alalia in their distress. Unfortunately, as we have seen, this question is very controversial. But perhaps the close and enduring relations between Massalia and Hyele alone, although difficult to discern archaeologically, explains why the region of Paestum could have been designated 'Massaliot Italy', or even 'the Massalia of Italy', if we are to believe two references, very late but not improbable (Eustathius *Ad Iliad.* 2. 561; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v. Troizen*): because Hyele maintained economic and cultural links with neighbouring Poseidonia for a long time, and it is possible that the area common to the two cities received a name recalling the Phocaean origins of the first and its connexions with its elder sister on the Gallic littoral.[226]

This cohesion was to be maintained through the centuries, with Massalia taking upon itself the rôle of its fallen metropolis within the Phocaean community. In 197 B.C. it interceded with the Roman Senate in favour of its sister-city, Lampsacus, which was under threat from the Seleucid king, Antiochus III.[227] In 129 B.C. it defended its 'mother', Phocaea itself, which was at risk of destruction for having participated in an anti-Roman revolt, and managed to obtain the Senate's forgiveness (Justinus 37. 1. 1). There is no doubt that this intervention is what earned Massalia a cult in Phocaea.[228]

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[225] Tréziny's intervention in *I Focei dall'Anatolia all'Oceano* 1982, 496.
[226] On relations between Massalia and Hyele, see Morel 1992, 20–2.
[227] Frisch 1978, 15–39.
[228] Clerc 1927–29, II, 261–5.

These episodes also attest the trust which continued to unite Massalia and Rome—a constant in the politics of the two cities. According to Valerius Maximus (2. 6. 7), Massalia maintained an everlasting attachment to the Roman people. On its part, right to the last Rome showed Massalia a favour which it did not generally extend to the cities of Magna Graecia, and Romano-Massaliot friendship was quite clearly an essential part of the life of the city during the five and a half centuries of Massaliot independence.

Moreover, it was an episode in the Roman civil wars more than any diplomatic change in Rome which provoked the capture of Massalia. During the conflict between Caesar and Pompey, Massalia took the latter's side and offered keen resistance to Caesar's forces—here its maritime virtues were manifested for the last time. After the matter was decided, Caesar evidently could not tolerate such a unfriendly attitude. After a six-month siege, led by Caesar's lieutenant, Trebonius, the city fell. Massalia was to remain an free city, but within the Roman empire, and deprived of its land, except for Nice and the islands of Hyères (Caesar *Bellum civile* 1. 34–2. 22).[229]

The other Phocaean cities of the West had collapsed earlier. In particular, Alalia had long since ceased to be an independent Greek city, but it continued to differentiate itself from Etruria, to which it was nevertheless closely linked thereafter. Thus, during a period of revival (about 340–280 B.C.), it built a new rampart adorned with an imposing corner tower whose construction—base of massive masonry and a superstructure of mud-brick—is reminiscent of the Greek fortifications of Alalia itself, of Archaic Massalia or of Agathe. In the rich necropolis of Casabianda, the inventory included many objects from neighbouring Etruria, which are unknown in other Phocaean cities, but also beautiful Tarentine vases of the Gnathia pottery—typically Hellenistic and almost absent in both Etruria and Rome.[230]

When Cato disembarked at Emporion in 195 B.C. (Livy 34. 9. 9), he found there a situation which had varied very little, probably, since the foundation of the city: Greeks and natives face to face,

[229] On the siege of Marseilles and its consequences for the city, see, first of all, Clerc 1927–29, II, 65–156; Tréziny in Hermary *et al.* 1999, 151–55.

[230] Jehasse and Jehasse 1973; 1982, 251–5.

full of mistrust but with their relations stabilised by mutual dependence and self interest (see above).

Hyele, *civitas foederata* of Rome since the 3rd century, and from 89 B.C. a *municipium*, continued to display in the 3rd–1st centuries a vitality which few of the cities of Magna Graecia knew at that time. At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, a monumental and urban renaissance led to the repair or construction of numerous monuments of the *acropolis* and the southern lower city.[231] Moreover, in this period the architectural terracottas confirmed the strong connexions with Campania shown since the foundation of the city.[232] The intellectual and religious life of Hyele still echoed the noble traditions of the Archaic city. The leaders of the active Elean medical school placed themselves under the aegis of Parmenides. *Oulis*—a name born by some of them, and which is understood by some specialists as a name of a function or allied to the local ethnic *Velii*, appears in fact among the worshippers at the sanctuary of Aristeus at L'Acapte, next to Olbia, and now on an inscribed strip of lead found at Marseilles itself. It was, thus, probably a Phocaean anthroponym.[233] It is from Hyele—and from Neapolis, another enclave clinging on to Greekness—that the Romans took their priestesses of Demeter.[234] Finally, the tradition of *emporion* trade continued to reign at Hyele: its merchants were particularly numerous at Delos,[235] where they included, for example, a dynasty of oil merchants.[236]

For its part, ancient Massalia, which under Roman domination became Massilia, and would much later be named *Massilia Grecorum* in the Peutinger Table, was to remain a Greek city in Gaul. It is a latinised Greek word which, in the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D., would designate the *episcopus Nicaeensium*, supervising on behalf of Massilia the small city of Nice which remained attached to it.[237] And in the 5th century A.D., Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carmina* 23. 155–157) would mention, in connexion with the gardens of Massilia, the cult of

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[231] Johannowsky 1982, 236; Krinzinger 1994, 38–42; other references in Bencivenga Trillmich 1994, 94, 96.

[232] Greco and Strazzulla 1994, 129–36.

[233] Morel 2000a.

[234] Cic. *Pro Balbo* 24. 55; Val. Max. 1. 1 (who mentions only Velia).

[235] Morel 1988, 454.

[236] Leiwo 1985, 496.

[237] *CIL* V, 7914.

Priapus, the old deity of Lampsacus. More than a millennium after the foundation of Lampsacus and Massalia, the two most ancient offspring of Phocaea, the memory of the Phocaean community was still alive.

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GREEKS IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

Adolfo J. Domínguez

Before considering the Greek presence in the Iberian Peninsula, it is important to note that, in contrast with other Mediterranean regions that had Greek colonies, real *apoikiai*, only two Greek cities can be distinguished: Emporion and Rhode. In the rest of Iberia, Greek activity was mainly commercial, not calling for the establishment of permanent settlements: at most there might have been coastal towns in which stable Greek communities could have existed, although only at certain periods. Thus, instead of talking about 'colonisation', current research favours the more neutral term 'presence'. In any event, study has made considerable progress, both in the number of finds of Greek origin,[1] and in the general interpretation of historical processes. However, the debate is by no means at an end: no complete agreement has yet emerged from the study of either written sources or archaeological evidence.[2] Interpretations differ in their estimate of the manner, pace, intensity, cultural impact and even the actual reality of the Greek presence in the Iberian Peninsula.[3]

Another point to be taken into account is the period covered by this study and its scope: that is, basically, Greek colonisation in the Archaic period. In the standard chronology of the history of ancient Greece, this period finishes around 480/79 B.C., that is, with the Persian Wars. However, this view is somewhat conventional,[4] even

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[1] See old studies such as Carpenter 1925; García y Bellido 1936; 1948; Trías 1967–68 (which deals only with pottery). And the most recent studies: Rouillard 1991; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001.

[2] *Cf.* the remarks by Morel 1990, 13–25.

[3] The bibliography on this subject is very large and I do not comment on it in detail. I will point out, among general works, the short chapters by Boardman (1999, 212–8) and Graham (1982, 83–162, 163–95). The study by Kimmig (1983, 5–78) discusses the phenomenon of the Greek presence in Western Europe in relation to non-Greek cultures. Recent surveys relating to the Iberian Peninsula, and containing extensive bibliographies are: Domínguez 1991a, 109–61; 1993a, 469–86; Olmos 1991, 123–33; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001.

[4] Olmos 1993, 90–110; Cabrera *et al.* 1993, 225–8.

for Greece itself. For the Greeks in Iberia (and, perhaps, those in southern Gaul), it can be argued that this period corresponds to the first two centuries of Greek presence (the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.), reaching in the 4th century the apogee of political and institutional development of truly Classical type.[5] Thus, I will limit this analysis to no later than the end of the 5th/beginning of the 4th century B.C. My geographical focus is the Iberian Peninsula, modern Spain and Portugal, but the city of Emporion will not be the centre of attention, insofar as it is included in J.-P. Morel's contribution to the present work. Nevertheless, since it would be impossible to understand the historical processes concerned without reference to this city, I shall mention it from time to time, particularly in order to emphasise the relationships I discuss (Fig. 1).

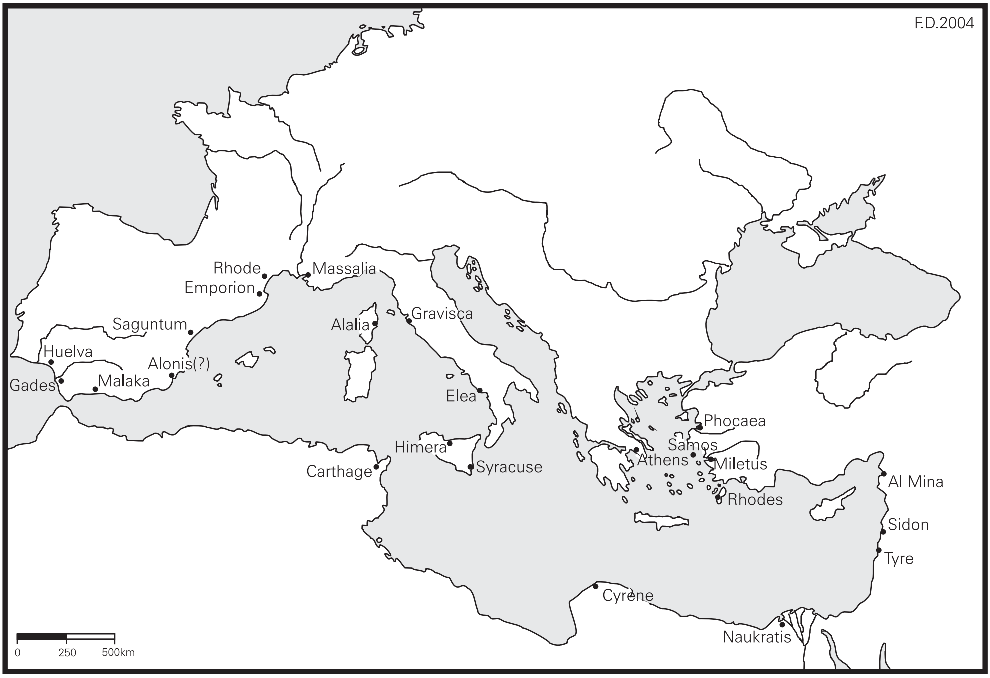

Fig. 1. Map of the Mediterranean Sea, showing main sites mentioned in text.

[5] On the political development of Emporion, which perhaps achieved the actual status of a *polis* in the 5th century B.C., see Domínguez 1986a, 3–12; on Massalia, see Clavel-Lévêque 1977.

Finally, although Greek activities in Spain are often related to those of the Phoenicians and Etruscans, I shall not discuss these people here: they are already the focus of other chapters in the present volume.[6]

The Beginning of Greek Presence in the Iberian Peninsula

In Greek literature, we find frequent references to the journeys of Greek heroes who, after the Trojan War, arrived in the Iberian Peninsula. They would have been the founders of numerous cities, which, for some two or three centuries, would have taken pride in maintaining their supposedly Greek origins. However, it has been clearly demonstrated that these are legends from the Hellenistic period and thus have little or no basis in historical fact (for instance, Strabo 3. 4. 3).[7] The same is true of other traditional tales, which talk of Rhodian seamen in the central and western Mediterranean at the time around the beginning of the Olympic Games, who, in relation to the Iberian Peninsula, are made responsible for the foundation of the city of Rhode (Strabo 3. 4. 8; 14. 2. 10). There is no factual basis to this either.[8]

Thus, the existence of a literary tradition insisting upon a Greek presence in the Iberian Peninsula at an early stage must be regarded, in most cases, as a consequence of the interest of Greeks of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in integrating all the new territories conquered by the Romans into a timeless concept of *oikoumene*. Therefore, they projected back into the past a sense of legitimacy guaranteed by the old heroic journeys, which are quoted as ideological justification for the conquest. This is a process well known since ancient times and it was widely used in the Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily to justify the legitimacy of appropriating the land of the local peoples.[9]

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[6] See chapters by H.G. Niemeyer, B. d'Agostino and J.-P. Morel in the present volume. On the relations between Etruscan trade and Iberia, see Remesal and Musso 1991.

[7] García Iglesias 1979, 131–40. On the traditions dealing with Heracles, see Plácido 1993a, 63–80; and on the possible historicity of all these myths, Plácido 1989, 41–51. See most recently Domínguez 1998, 439–48.

[8] Domínguez 1990, 13–25. Similar conclusions, although based on other kinds of evidence may be found in Santiago 1994c, 56–64.

[9] Moggi 1983, 979–1002. In my opinion, this use of the heroic tradition is hin-

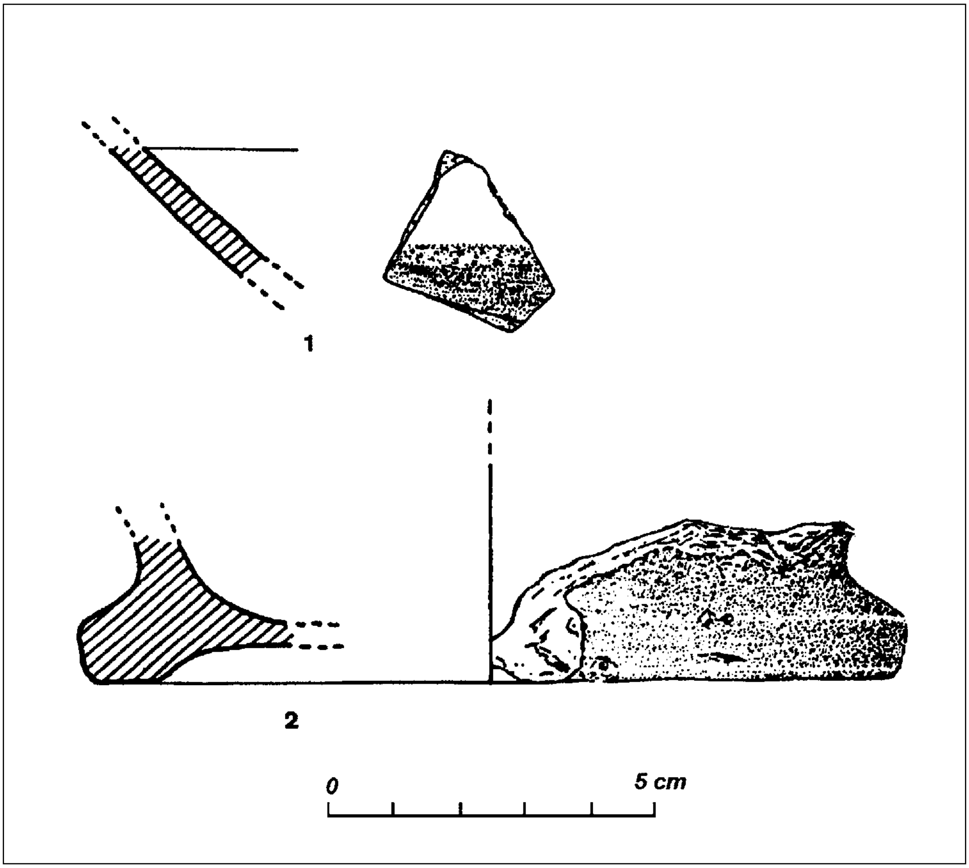

Fig. 2. Supposed Mycenaean pottery from Montoro (province of Córdoba). LH III A–B(?) (after Martín 1990, 50, fig. 2).

It is necessary to wait until the 8th century B.C. to find material evidence of Greek goods in the Iberian Peninsula (Fig. 2). To this period and to the first half of the following century belong a small number of Greek objects and local imitations, mostly from the south of the Peninsula (Huelva, Toscanos, Guadalhorce, Almuñécar, Cerro del Peñón, etc.).[10] The main characteristic of these pieces of pottery

dered by the lack of direct knowledge of the situation in the Iberian Peninsula before the Hellenistic period. *Cf.* Gómez 1993a, 131–42.

[10] A general survey of these imports will be found in Shefton 1982, 337–70. The

is that they come from Phoenician settlements or from native locations within the sphere of Phoenician trade. Consequently, it is important to establish a clear distinction between Greek objects that were brought in and those which represent a true Greek presence in the Peninsula. Various Greek objects arrived as part of the cargo of Phoenician ships that had commercial ties with the southern coastal region of the Peninsula: they could have been bought in different Greek towns in both the Aegean and the central Mediterranean. Currently, the small number of Greek objects found and their relation with Phoenician imports and manufacture, both suggest that they were brought by Phoenician merchants and settlers, who founded towns on the Peninsula's southern coast at the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 8th century B.C.[11]

The First Greek Merchants in the Peninsula

The first references to a Greek presence are found in Herodotus, and are again controversial: they can be considered as half way between legend and historical fact. In two different parts of his work, and in two different contexts, he mentions two 'discoveries' of the Peninsula by Greeks from different places. In 4. 152, within the *logos* dealing with the founding of Cyrene, he introduces an excursus in which he talks about the arrival in Tartessos of the Samian *naukleros* Kolaios, driven by the east wind. In Tartessos, 'unexploited *emporion*' at that time, he obtains extraordinary profits, which enable him to dedicate as a votive offering a huge bronze cauldron in the sanctuary of Hera in his city. It is possible that Herodotus himself could have read the Samian seafarer's inscription on the remains of the cauldron, which he could have used as a basis for his story.[12] Since Cyrene was founded around the year 630 B.C.,[13] this episode would

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most recent finds have been treated by Cabrera (1988–89, 41–100), Rouillard (1991, 21–33) and Domínguez and Sánchez 2001.

[11] Niemeyer 1984a, 3–94; Aubet 1993b. See also H.G. Niemeyer's chapter in the present volume.

[12] Dunst 1972, 99–163. On the Samian Heraeon, see Kyrieleis 1981; 1993, 125–53.

[13] On the foundation of Cyrene, in addition to the classic Chamoux 1953, see the more recent works of Stucchi (1989, 73–84) and Laronde (1990, 169–80).

have taken place at approximately that time. Despite the contradictory reactions provoked by Herodotus' story,[14] it has, in my opinion, some basis in reality, being related to Samian supremacy in Ionian contacts with the Far West. These first contacts by the Samians were possibly interrupted as a result of significant political changes affecting the city of Samos in the last years of the 7th century B.C.[15]

It is surely because of this that another reference can be found in Herodotus to the discovery of Tartessos. According to this, other Greeks, the Phocaeans, also claimed to have discovered it. In that part of the text where he describes the Persian subjection of Ionia (1. 163–168), Herodotus introduces an excursus in which he summarises the history of Phocaea from the period of its sea voyages in the western Mediterranean until the founding of Elea/Hyele after the battle in the Sardonian Sea (the Battle of Alalia). It can be seen from his story that the Phocaeans claimed to have discovered the Adriatic Sea, Tyrrhenia, Iberia and Tartessos. In Tartessos they became friends with the king, Arganthonius, thanks to whom Phocaea obtained innumerable riches. The longevity of Arganthonius was proverbial: according to Herodotus, he lived 120 years, 80 as king, and even before Herodotus, the poet Anacreon refers to this when he says: 'I, for my part, should neither wish the horn of Amaltheia, nor to be king of Tartessos for one hundred and fifty years' (PMG 361 = frag. p 16). Thus, there are a number a mythical features about Arganthonius as a character that make us question the historical accuracy of the report.[16] However, it is possible to obtain valuable data about the Greeks' first sustained contacts with the Iberian Peninsula from the information gathered by Herodotus, both in Phocaea and, possibly, in its colony in Elea/Hyele.

Thanks to Herodotus, we know that the Greeks established a relationship of *philia* with the Tartessian leaders, which allowed the exchange of merchandise, from which the *polis* of Phocaea obtained substantial profits (*chremata*), to the extent that it was able to pay for the construction of a large and elegant wall.[17] There is no mention

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[14] See Gómez 1993b, 151–62.

[15] Domínguez 1991b, 131–47. On the general history of Samos in this period, see Shipley 1987.

[16] On the Greek view of Tartessos, see Plácido 1993b, 81–9. On relations of the Greeks with it, see Olmos 1986, 584–600; 1989a, 495–521; 1989b, 411–49.

[17] On the essentially commercial character of that relationship and its links with

of how long the contacts lasted, although by the time Phocaea fell into Persian hands (*ca.* 540 B.C.), Arganthonius was already dead. Herodotus' reference in this sense may be interpreted to mean that the contacts with Tartessos were not as important as once they had been (in Herodotus' view), in which friendship with the ruler of Tartessos may have led him to offer the Phocaeans land to enable them to settle there (Appian *Iber.* 2 also refers to this).

The interpretation of Herodotus' information has always generated intense debate. This is not the place to analyse the arguments in detail.[18] I will simply say that until a few years ago the absence of significant finds pointing towards the existence of important trade links with the Greeks in the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula, which is where Tartessos must have been located, whatever the precise location of the place reached by Kolaios and ruled by Arganthonius might have been, made it difficult to accept Herodotus' story.[19] However, the increase in archaeological excavations in Spain over recent decades is providing new insights, which are helping to clarify the problem of the commercial links between Greece and the Peninsula.

In the city of Huelva, on the Atlantic coast and one of the main sea ports of the Tartessian world,[20] what seems to have been an area of harbour warehouses of the old indigenous city has been excavated. The city was already under the strong influence of Phoenician trade,[21] and a powerful aristocracy, strongly Orientalised, settled in

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the structures of Greek trade, see Fernández Nieto 1992, 133–4. The city wall of Phocaea has been brought to light. The first preliminary report is in Özyiğit 1994, 77–109.

[18] A substantial part of this problem is presented in the works of R. Olmos (1986, 584–600; 1989a, 495–521).

[19] An instance of this position may be seen in the successive analyses of Morel 1966; 1975; 1982.

[20] The term 'Tartessian' is used for the culture which developed from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the 6th century B.C. in the south-western part of the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the broad area of the Lower Guadalquivir. It was strongly influenced by the Phoenicians, and towards its end received Greek contributions. There is so much relevant literature that I will mention only two compilations: Tartessos 1989; Blázquez and Alvar 1993 (with exhaustive bibliography). A bibliographical survey can also be found in Bendala 1991, 99–110. A short survey in English is Chamorro 1987, 197–232. See also H.G. Niemeyer's chapter in the present volume.

[21] Fernández Jurado 1985, 49–60; 1986, 562–74; 1989–90, 245–69; Rufete 1989, 118–34.

the hills surrounding the harbour area and was buried in graves with rich grave goods (even chariots).[22]

It is in the harbour area that a significant amount of Greek pottery has been found (Figs. 3–4). Although these finds are fewer than those of indigenous pottery and ceramics of Phoenician influence, they have opened new perspectives on the question of the Greek trade presence in the Tartessian world. At the beginning of the 6th century B.C., and following the contacts begun in the last third of the 7th century, objects, especially pottery, arrived in Huelva (and other places in the south of the Peninsula) from East Greece and, to a lesser extent, Athens, although not in large numbers. From around the year 580 B.C. commercial exchanges increased, judging by the numbers of objects discovered. The pottery still came mainly from East Greece, and Athenian products were present, but items from Corinth and Massalia also began to appear, as well as a few from Laconia. They are, for the most part, drinking containers, especially Ionian cups of different origins. There are also transport amphorae from East Greece, Athens, Corinth and Western workshops: three quarters of them were used to transport olive oil. Towards the middle of the 6th century there was a sharp reduction in imports, as well as a change in their nature: the quantity of East Greek pottery decreased, although this was partly counterbalanced by maintaining the number of vases imported from Athens and by an increase in products made in Massalia. This tendency strengthened from 540 B.C. or thereabouts: no more East Greek pottery was imported and only a few Attic vases arrived in Huelva (Fig. 3).[23]

[22] On the ancient urbanism of Huelva, see García Sanz 1988–89, 143–75. On the excavation of the Orientalising necropolis, see Garrido 1970; Garrido and Orta 1978; 1989. A general survey of Tartessian aristocracies is Aubet 1984, 445–68; on Tartessian cemeteries, see Ruiz Delgado 1989, 247–86. On the similarities of the situation of Huelva with that of other places in the Mediterranean, see Domínguez 1994, 19–48.

[23] Out of the very abundant bibliography on this theme, let me point to Fernández Jurado 1984; Cabrera and Olmos 1985, 61–74; Cabrera 1986, 575–83; 1988–89, 41–100 (especially this last). Some interesting pieces are the olpe attributed to Kleitias (Olmos and Cabrera 1980, 5–14; Olmos and Garrido 1982, 243–64), the skyphos by the KY Painter (Olmos 1987, 683–96), chalices from Chios, Ionian cups without slip, etc. (Olmos 1982, 393–406). Niemeyer (1989, 39–40) has stressed the great number of different fabrics represented in the finds from Huelva. See also Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 5–16.

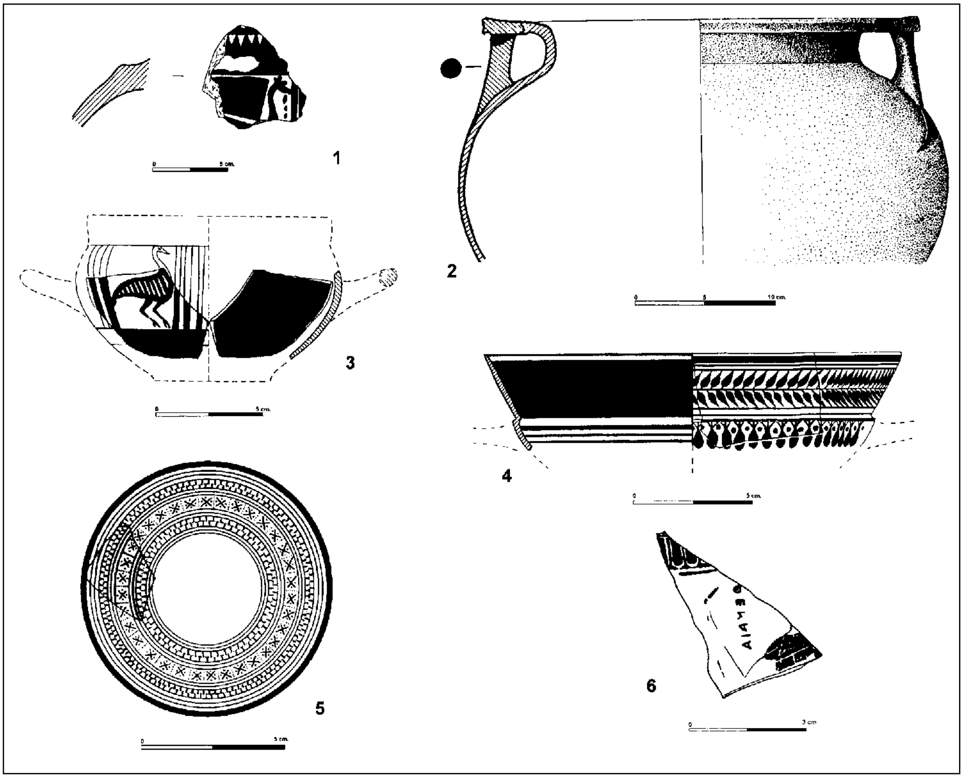

Fig. 3. Archaic Greek pottery from Huelva.
1. Attic pyxis or krater. MG II, middle of the 8th century B.C. (after Cabrera 1988/89, 87, fig. 1.1). 2. Column krater of Aeolic *bucchero*, end of the 7th–beginning of the 6th century B.C. (after Cabrera and Olmos 1985, 66, fig. 4). 3. Euboean bird skyphos, second half of the 8th century B.C. (after Cabrera and Olmos 1985, 65, fig. 2). 4. Laconian cup, 565–560 B.C. (after Cabrera and Olmos 1985, 70, fig. 8). 5. 'Gordion' cup, second quarter of the 6th century B.C. (after Cabrera and Olmos 1985, 69, fig. 6). 6. Attic olpe by Kleitias, *ca.* 570 B.C. (after García Cano 1989, 179).

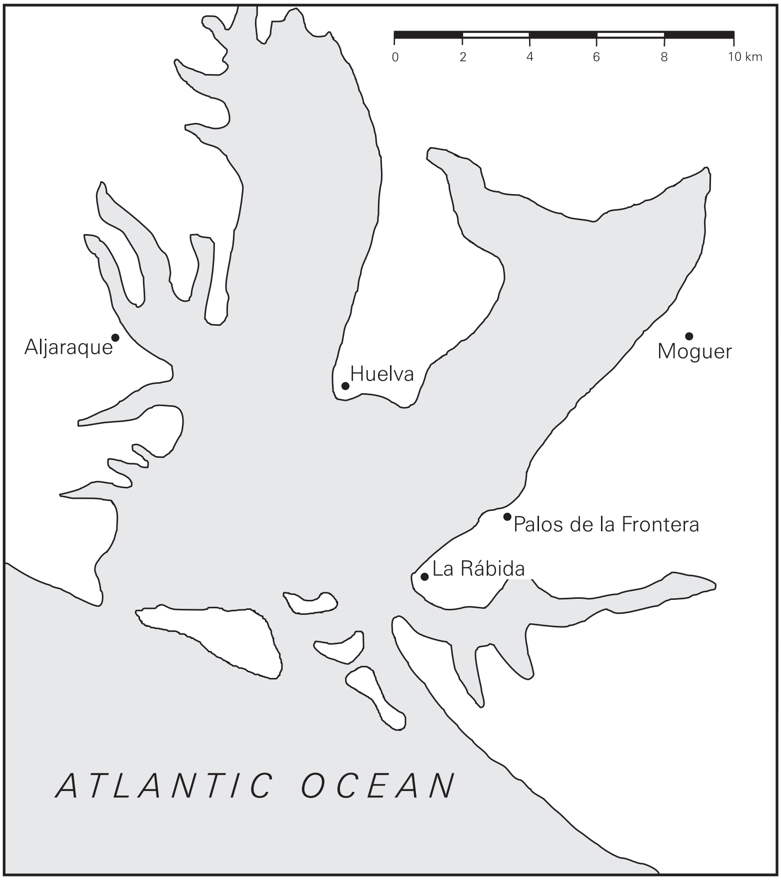

Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the ancient topography of the city of Huelva (after Garrido and Orta 1989, 7, fig. 2.1).

The situation is similar to that in the Phoenician settlements along the coast of the province of Málaga regarding the type and pace of imports, both in Toscanos[24] and Málaga,[25] and in the Cerro del Villar (Guadalhorce), though the Greek pottery currently under study in the last-named appears to be of Samian origin—transport amphorae as well as Ionian cups.[26] This all points towards the activity of merchants coming mostly from Ionia (judging by the amount of pottery for daily use coming from that area), who were attracted to the Tartessian *emporion*, and thus used pre-existing ports which were mostly in Phoenician hands. It does not seem too adventurous to suggest, even from the marked North Ionian/Aeolian character of some of the Greek pottery found in Huelva or Málaga (Figs. 5–6),[27] which is also present in Massalia (including grey Aeolian pottery), as well as from written sources, that Greeks from Phocaea were chiefly responsible for these commercial exchanges.[28]

There is no doubt that the main attraction to the Phocaeans of the Tartessian market was metals, in particular silver, in which all the pyrites belt in the south-west of the Peninsula was rich (Fig. 7). This had been exploited since ancient times.[29] In some settlements in the region the remains of furnaces for working silver have been found; in Huelva itself this activity has been identified in the second half of the 7th century B.C. following the discovery of furnaces and slag throughout the harbour area.[30]

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[24] Niemeyer 1984a, 212–7; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 30–3.

[25] Gran Aymerich 1988, 201–22, with a discussion by Olmos 1988, 222–5; also Recio 1990; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 25–9. The final results of the Franco-Spanish research team are in Gran Aymerich 1991.

[26] Aubet 1991a, 29–51; 1991b 101–8; 1991c, 617–26; 1992, 71–8; Cabrera 1994, 97–121; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 22–5.

[27] Cabrera 1988–89, 60–3. In addition, it is necessary to mention the existence of several graffiti, one of them on a Milesian bowl, dated around the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., which can be read . . .] ΝΙΗΘΩ [. . .; it is written in an Ionic alphabet, Samian or Phocaean (Fernández Jurado and Olmos 1985, 107–13). For Málaga, see Recio 1990, 143; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 25–9.

[28] Cabrera 1988–89, 63; *cf.* Villard 1960, 55; 1992, 163–70. It is not easy to identify Phocaean pottery as such through insufficient knowledge of the Archaic settlement. However, when we find pottery with North Ionian or Aeolian features, we can confidently ascribe it to either Phocaea or its immediate vicinity. About recent finds in Phocaea, see Özyiğit 1994, 92 and pls. 38–42.

[29] Blanco and Luzón 1969, 124–31; Blanco and Rothenberg 1982.

[30] Fernández Jurado 1988–89, 177–214; 1993, 131–65.

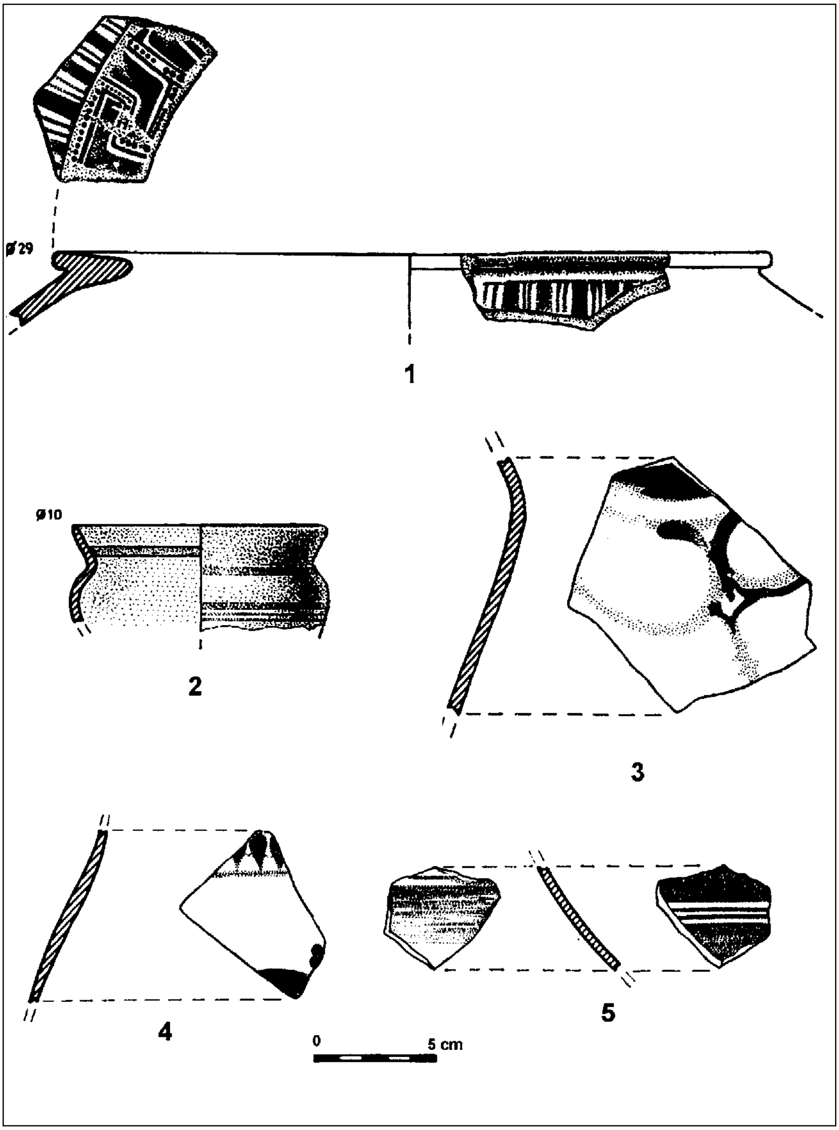

Fig. 5. Greek pottery from Málaga/San Agustín.
1. Dinos from northern Ionia, first quarter of the 6th century B.C. (after Recio 1990, 143, fig. 50, no. 52). 2. Ionian cup, first half of the 6th century B.C. (after Recio 1990, 147, fig. 51, no. 38). 3. Hydria (?) from an Ionian workshop, first half of the 6th century B.C. (after Recio 1990, 143, fig. 50, no. 40). 4. Black-figure hydria from a Samian workshop, second-third quarters of the 6th century B.C. (after Recio 1990, 147, fig. 51, no. 39). 5. Fragment of a Samian cup, middle of the 6th century B.C. (after Recio 1990, 147, fig. 51, no. 53).

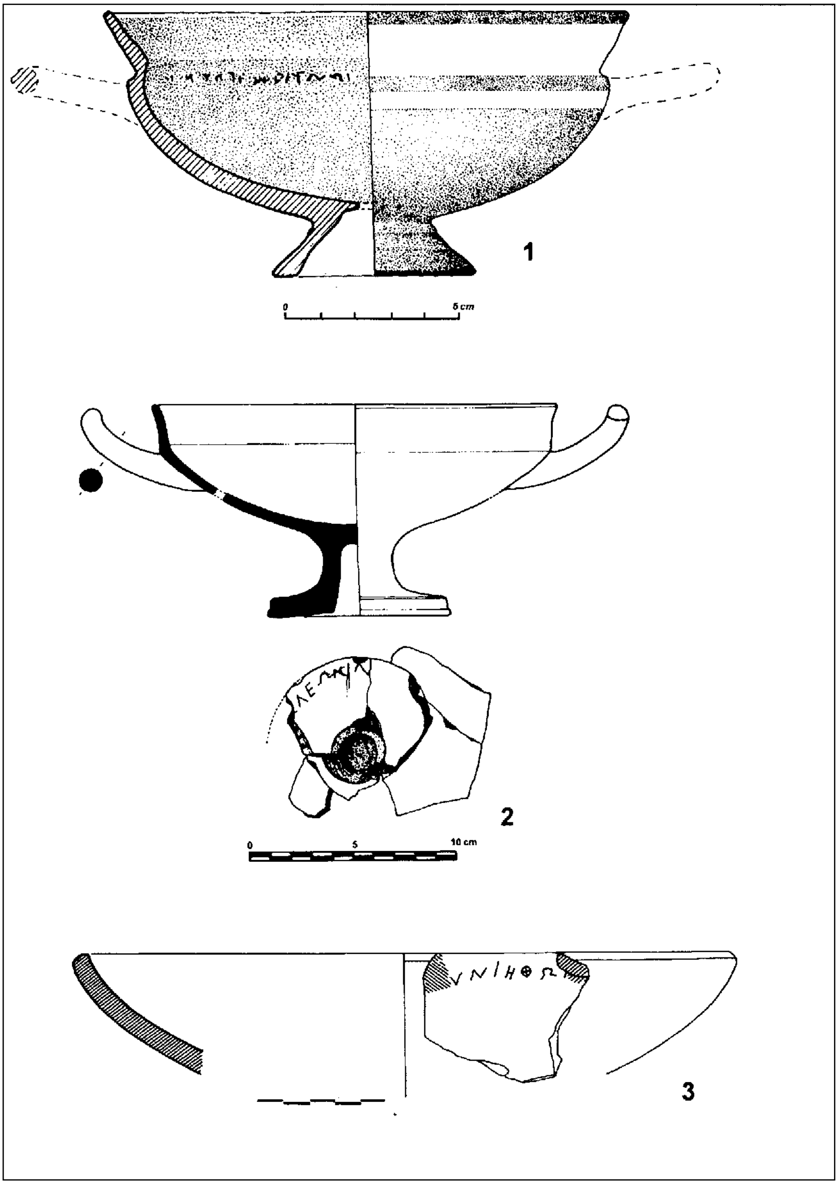

Fig. 6. Greek graffiti of various origins.
1. Huelva, on an Ionian cup, first half of the 6th century B.C. (after Fernández Jurado 1984, 33, fig. 11). 2. Cabezo Lucero (province of Alicante), Lip cup, *ca.* 500–480 B.C. (after Aranegui *et al.* 1993, 226, fig. 61.1). 3. Huelva, on a Milesian bowl, second quarter of the 6th century (after Fernández Jurado and Olmos 1985, 109, fig. 2).

This abundance of metals was the reason for the long journey from East Greece to the Far West. Once in Western waters, the Phocaeans explored the coast in search of water and anchorage, and simultaneously studied the natural resources of the country. This allowed them, during the peak of trade relations with Tartessos, to establish trading posts or *emporia*, which would make their activities easier.[31] The result of this period of intense exploration was the creation of centres which, like Massalia, Emporion or Alalia (and maybe others on the Iberian coast), originated as part of the same impulse, however different their fortunes.[32] In my opinion, we cannot talk about 'two routes',[33] a southern one towards the Tartessian coast and a northern route to the Gulf of Rosas and the Gulf of Lions. Only one route to Tartessos may have existed,[34] which, on the return leg, might have been along the coast to the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula—more or less the route followed on the *Periplous* describing the Iberian coast (the *Periplous* contained in Avienus' *Ora Maritima*, that of Ps.-Skymnos of Chios, etc.).

The Founding of Colonies and Trading Posts

A direct consequence of the frequent visits of the Phocaeans to the Iberian coast was the creation of a network of places to be used as ports of call and eventual residence during their long journeys from the eastern Mediterranean.[35] For this reason, small settlements or *emporia* developed from early on, fulfilling this function as well as acting as places of trade exchange with the native population.[36]

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[31] Morel 1992, 15–25.

[32] On the common origins of Massalia and Emporion, see Sanmartí 1992a, 27–41. On the historical development of Alalia, see Gras 1985, 393–423. See also J.-P. Morel's chapter in the present volume.

[33] For instance, Harrison 1988, 69–74.

[34] Shefton 1982, 353–4—it would have been the old North African Phoenician route.

[35] On the conditions of navigation and the length of travel, see Morrison and Williams 1968; Casson 1991; Wallinga 1993. Specifically on Phocaean travel to Iberia, see Alvar 1979, 67–86.

[36] Domínguez 1986b, 601–11. More recently, Cunliffe (1993, 66–7) has accepted the existence of Greek settlements on the south-eastern coast.

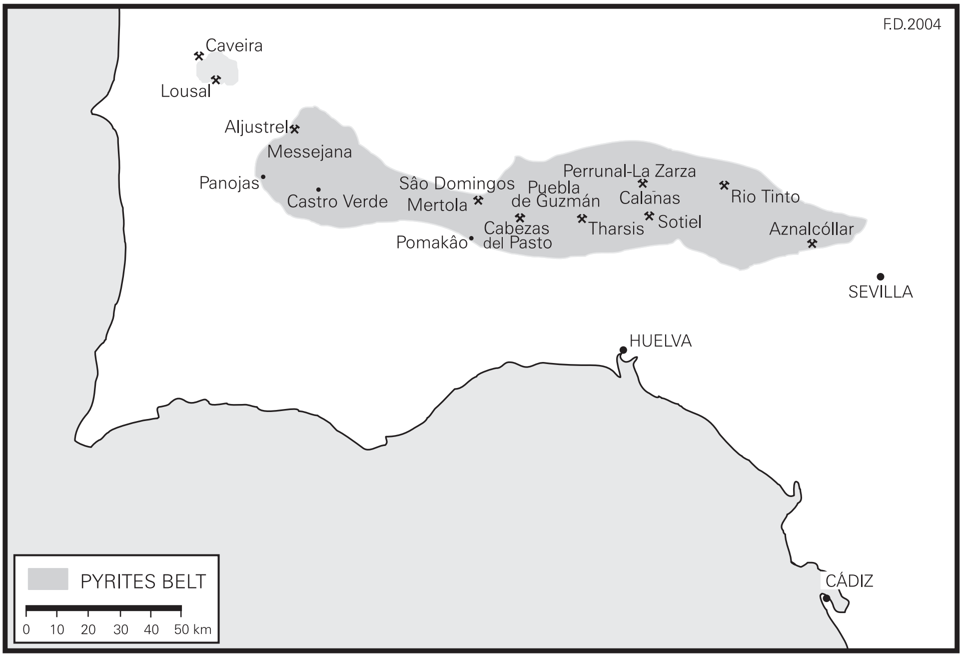

Fig. 7. The pyrites belt of the south-west of the Iberian Peninsula (after Fernández Jurado 1989, 157, fig. 1).

Of all these places, it is Emporion, on the north-eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, which would eventually develop a political structure as well as its own character.[37] The founding of Emporion is described especially by Strabo (3. 4. 8–9), who recounts that the first Phocaean settlement, at a place eventually called Palaiapolis, was located on a small island off the coast (Fig. 8). It would later be transferred to the mainland. Archaeological investigation has shown that this order of events is, in general terms, correct. The first remains of the Greek presence, from about 600 B.C., belong to the place now called San Martín de Ampurias, which in earlier times was indeed an island. We do not know fully the details of the Greek presence there: excavation has proved problematic, preventing a clearer understanding of the situation. It is certainly possible that the

[37] On the process of configuration of a political structure in Emporion, see Domínguez 1986a, 3–12. About the consequences of the transition from *emporion* to *polis*, see Gras 1993, 105–6.

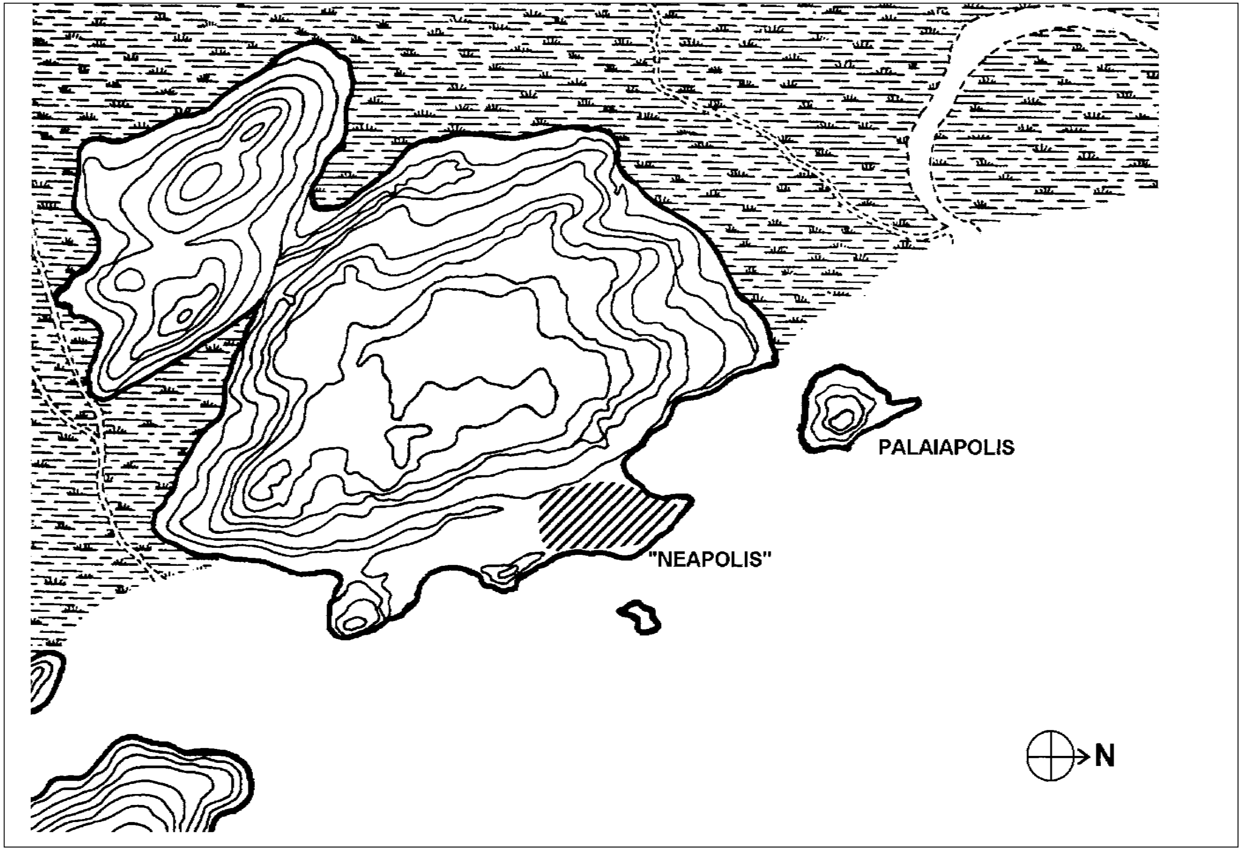

Fig. 8. A reconstruction of the ancient topography of Emporion in the period of the establishment of Palaiapolis, beginning of the 6th century B.C. (after Rovira and Sanmartí 1983, 107, fig. 7).

Greeks lived together with the locals.[38] In any case it is beyond doubt that the Phocaean settlement in Emporion was almost contemporary with the settlement in Massalia. Consequently, these can be seen as 'sister cities' in spite of the fact that some scholars suggest that this first settlement was itself a Massaliot foundation.

It was not until the middle of the 6th century B.C., some 30–40 years after Palaiapolis was founded on the island, that the settlement was transferred to land to the south of the island, which contemporary scholars refer to as Neapolis. This was a bigger island, surrounded by marshes, and the area inhabited by the natives was perhaps its western part.[39] The Greeks initially occupied the northern part of what would become the town. This, as has been observed and as the archaeological finds indicate, grew towards the south with time.[40] I will deal later with the appearance and development of Emporion (Fig. 9).

Rhode is described by Strabo (3. 4. 8) as being situated in the modern town of Rosas, some kilometres to the north of Emporion. According to him, it was 'a small town belonging to the Emporitans' (*polichnion Emporiton*) and, although there are some who suggest that it may already have existed in the 6th century B.C., the truth is that the oldest archaeological remains do not predate the 5th century.[41] It is quite probable that one of the original functions of both Rhode and Emporion was to act as an arrival and departure point for ships on their voyage through the Gulf of Lions.[42]

A passage from Strabo (3. 4. 6) indicates the existence between New Carthage/Carthago Nova and the River Júcar, and near the latter, of three trading posts or small Massaliot towns (*polichinia Massalioton*), of which the best known (and the only one mentioned by Strabo)

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[38] Sanmartí 1982, 281–303. On Strabo's text, see most recently Santiago 1994a, 61–74. A very short preliminary report on the excavation of 1994–95 at San Martín de Ampurias may be found in Aquilué and Pardo 1995, 21–2; see also Aquilué *et al.* 2000, 89–105; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 60–72; Cabrera and Santos 2000, 285–346.

[39] Rovira and Sanmartí 1983, 95–110. *Cf.* the general remarks on *emporia* by Etienne (1993, 31–2).

[40] Sanmartí, E. 1989, 389–410; 1992b, 173–94.

[41] Martín, Nieto and Nolla 1979, 4. A general survey is in Domínguez 1990, 13–25; *cf.* Pujol 1989, 233, who mentions material of the end of the 6th–beginning of the 5th century B.C.

[42] Ruiz de Arbulo 1984, 115–40.

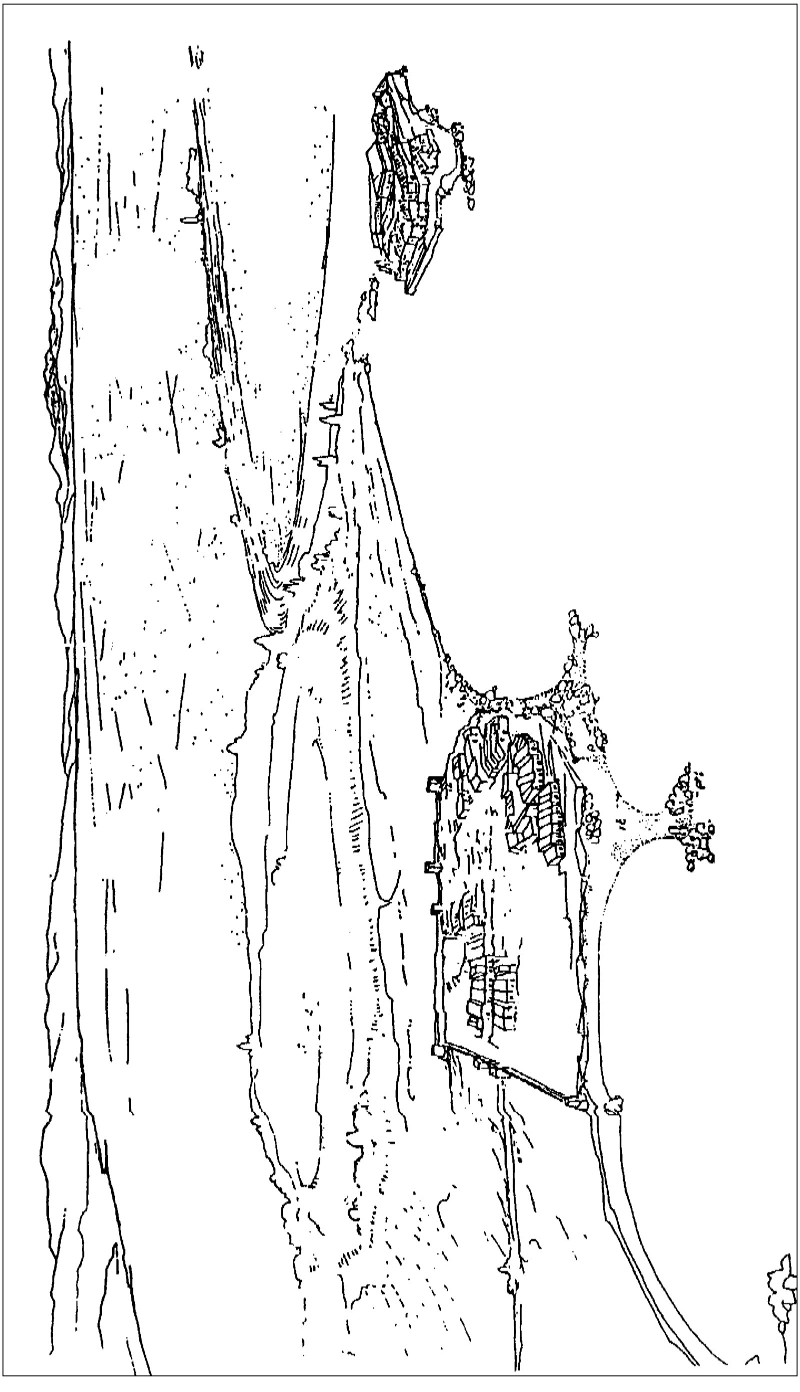

Fig. 9. Artist's impression of Emporion in the 5th–4th centuries B.C. (after Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993, 132).

is Hemeroskopeion, which has a sanctuary for Ephesian Artemis on a promontory. Despite the uncertainty surrounding these settlements—they have even been called 'ghost colonies'[43]—and although there are no specific archaeological remains to provide the proof,[44] some arguments have recently been put forward again which locate Hemeroskopeion in the area around Denia.[45]

Another of these settlements is probably Alonis, both town and island, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, which thanks to a Roman Itinerary, the Anonymous of Ravenna, we can locate around Santa Pola,[46] in direct relation with the old lagoon area (*Sinus Illicitanus*), at the end of which there emerged the important native centre of Illici.[47]

About the third settlement mentioned by Strabo we have no indication which it may have been or where it could have been located.[48] It is worth mentioning that both Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium refer to settlements founded by Massalia. However, there is no doubt that in the 3rd century B.C. (and perhaps from the end of the 4th) Massalia was playing an important rôle with respect to the Phocaean settlements in the Iberian Peninsula, which is the reason why a great many Phocaean traditions were eventually adopted by Massalia itself.[49]

In any case, if any of these settlements already existed in the 6th century, they were of neither significant size nor importance, given the few traces their activities left behind. Indeed, throughout the 6th

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[43] A short historical survey in Olmos 1992, 152–4.

[44] Martín 1968.

[45] Rouillard 1982, 417–31; 1991, 299–303. But see the scepticism in Niemeyer 1988–90, 279 (the main basis for which is the study by Martín [1968]) and, in the same direction but with a good philological analysis, Pena 1993, 61–77. The matter has yet to be resolved: *cf.* Domínguez 1986b, 601.

[46] Llobregat 1983, 225–42.

[47] Rouillard 1982, 417–31; 1991, 303–6.

[48] Shefton (1994, 72–3) has suggested Los Nietos (Murcia) as 'a place where there might have been Greek settlement, not a colony but perhaps some semi-permanent presence for a period of time at any rate.'

[49] The 3rd century B.C. marks a period of consolidation in the territorial expansion of Massalia, as shown by Arcelin (1986, 43–104). Moreover, the way Massalia had organised its domination during Roman republican times is also known in some detail. However, it does not seem appropriate to apply this pattern to the situation in the 6th and 5th centuries, as some authors have attempted: Fernández Nieto 1980, 555–61; 1992, 144–5. The process of appropriation of old Phocaean settlements by Massalia has already been pointed out by Morel (1992, 22–3). See also J.-P. Morel's chapter in the present volume.

century, the Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula is marked by a series of sites yielding pottery,[50] which could have come in part from Phoenician commercial activity but also have been brought by Phocaean merchants.

In addition to the places mentioned, sources also refer to another settlement, Mainake, which is considered both by Strabo (3. 4. 2) and in the *Periplous* of Ps.-Skymnos (146–149) as the Greek city furthest to the west. Its location is still unresolved, as is its nature. Some writers think that it should be looked for in one of the Phoenician settlements on the coast of Málaga, such as Toscanos;[51] others believe that it may have had nothing to do with any Phoenician settlement and that its remains would still have been visible in the last century B.C.;[52] whilst another group prefer to consider it primarily as representative of a period of product exchanges between East Greece and the south of the Peninsula.[53]

In my opinion, what characterises the Phocaean model of colonisation is the close relationship established with the local environment: among the Tartessians of Huelva, the natives in the south-east of the Peninsula, the people of the Gulf of Rosas or the Ligurians in Massalia, the Phocaeans settled within the shadow of the existing inhabitants. The same is probably true in the south of the Peninsula, in those places under clear Phoenician domination. Naturally, in those places where the existing inhabitants were stronger and more numerous than the Phocaeans themselves, no stable political structure emerged. It is also true that the commercial activity (*emporie*) of the Phocaeans did not require much infrastructure,[54] as long as the local authorities guaranteed a fair and peaceful trading environment. Under those conditions, all that was needed was a number of trading posts or *emporia* for bringing together the different natural resources, which would then be traded commercially by the Phocaeans themselves throughout the Mediterranean.[55]

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[50] Shefton 1982, 349; Rouillard 1991, 113–7; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 5–170.

[51] Niemeyer 1980, 165–89.

[52] Rouillard 1991, 297.

[53] Gran Aymerich 1991, 138–9. García y Bellido (1948, II, 11–9) had already suggested that Mainake could be a kind of 'concession' or 'port-of-trade' in the native domain.

[54] *Cf.* Lepore 1970, 20–54.

[55] Domínguez 1986b, 603–6.

Together with the archaeological remains and written references to the founding of *emporia* and trading posts, we have other evidence of Phocaean activity on the Iberian coast (Fig. 10). First, we have very brief references taken from Stephanus of Byzantium from the Milesian logographist Hecataeus (end of the 6th century B.C.) that show real knowledge of the coast and people of Iberia.[56] We also have what could be a *Periplous*, which is preserved (though with some alterations) in the work of a poet from the 4th century A.D., Rufus Festus Avienus. Practically all scholars agree on the antiquity of the document that Avienus uses as a main source: it may date back to the 6th century B.C.,[57] thus making it very difficult to identify all the places mentioned in the *Periplous*. The *Periplous* has a tendency to Hellenise, or to interpret from the point of view of the Greek language, names which are possibly not Greek, as well as to give Greek names to geographical features or places of interest for shipping and trade.

It is precisely these place-names that can be used as further evidence of the depth of Greek knowledge of the Iberian coast. Indeed, different sources have a large number of Greek place-names along all the Iberian coast. These, far from indicating direct Greek dominance of these places, simply emphasise the significant number of sea voyages of the Phocaeans, who gave names to certain geographical features, rivers, inhabited communities and native tribes as a means of organising their new knowledge of the territory.[58] These names, clearly of Greek appearance and origin, are difficult to translate into current place-names, and indicate a knowledge of the Iberian Peninsula which, in many cases, goes back to the beginning of Phocaean sea voyages into peninsular waters. The use of Greek place-names served

[56] See García y Bellido 1948, II, 12, who maps the information by Hecataeus. *Cf.* also on the Spanish part of Stephanus of Byzantium, González Blanco 1991, 23–50.

[57] See Schulten 1922 and, more recently, Mangas and Plácido 1994. About the chronological aspects, and with a suggestion very different from the usual ones, see Ugolini and Olivé 1987, 143–54. In any case, Avienus' evidence must be treated with much more caution; however, his value derives from his using information largely lost to us. It is precisely the remoteness of a substantial part of his description of the Iberian coast that points towards an ancient date for his sources.

[58] This problem is treated in Jacob 1985, 247–71. Some of the most significant toponyms are Abdera, Akra Leuke, Kypsela, Lebedontia, Molybdana, Salauris, etc. A possible instance of the way these transfers operated from one language to another can be seen in the case of Saigantha/Zakantha/Saguntum (Santiago 1990, 123–40).

Fig. 10. Map of the distribution of Greek pottery from the 6th century to *ca.* 480 B.C. (after Monraval 1985, 136, fig. 2, with further additions).

the interests mainly of Phocaean seamen, who, thanks to this information, were able to create their own commercial network, most probably together with their Iberian partners. This is, however, a question that will be dealt with in the next section.

Greek Commercial Activity in Iberia: 6th and 5th Centuries B.C. Crisis and Transformation

The main Greek activity in the Iberian Peninsula from the end of the 7th century was commerce (Fig. 11). Even those settlements emerging from the beginning of the 6th century onwards have, as

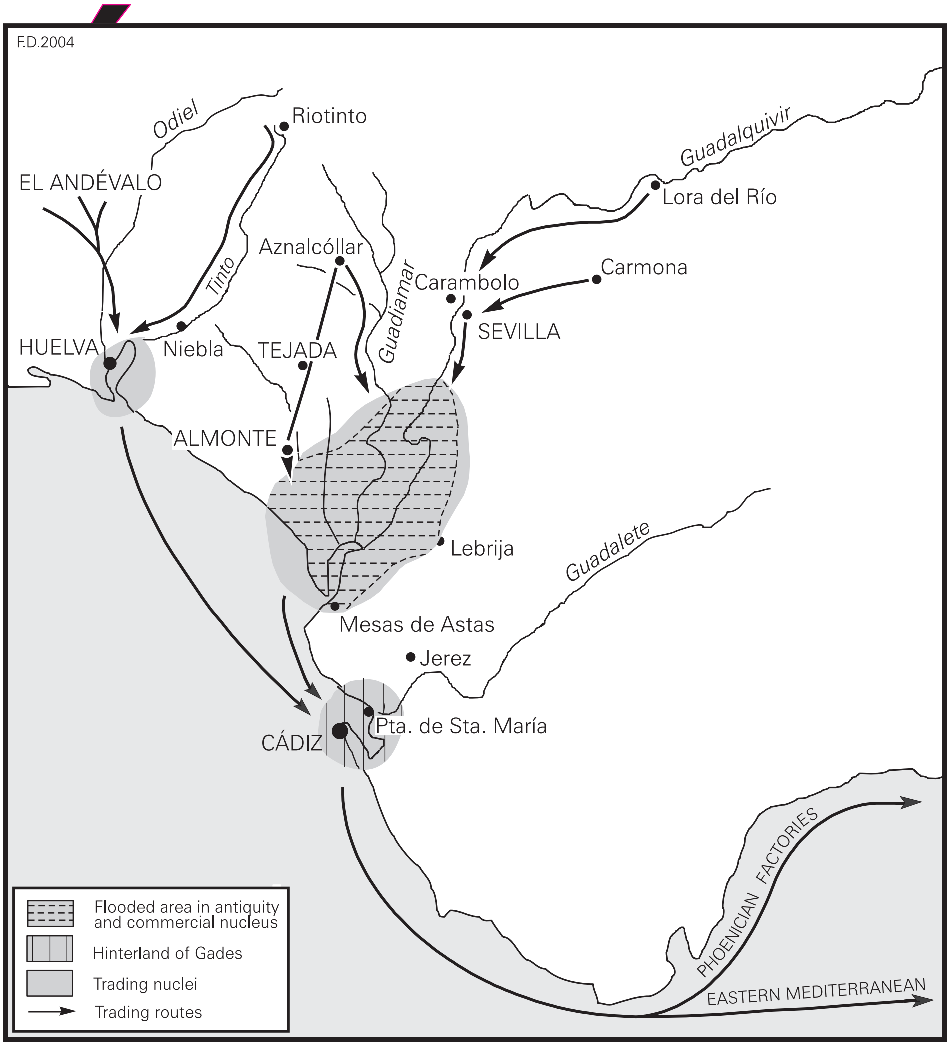

Fig. 11. Communications and mining districts in south-western Iberia (after Fernández Jurado 1989, 164, fig. 5).

their main function, the provision of support for this activity. One of the centres to have attracted Greek trade in the first half of the 6th century was the Tartessian market, to which we have already referred, and which was of great interest owing to its mining potential. From that time, Greek products began penetrating the interior of the Peninsula, possibly as part of the exchange networks of the native peoples, as reflected by the Little Master cup (*ca.* 560–550 B.C.), belonging to the circle of the Eucheiros Painter, which was found in Medellín (province of Badajoz), an important crossroads in the interior of Extremadura, together with some Greek pottery of the period (Fig. 12).[59] This region in the Tartessian periphery, closely linked with the area covering Huelva and Cádiz, would thenceforth become part of the native trade network through which exotic prod-

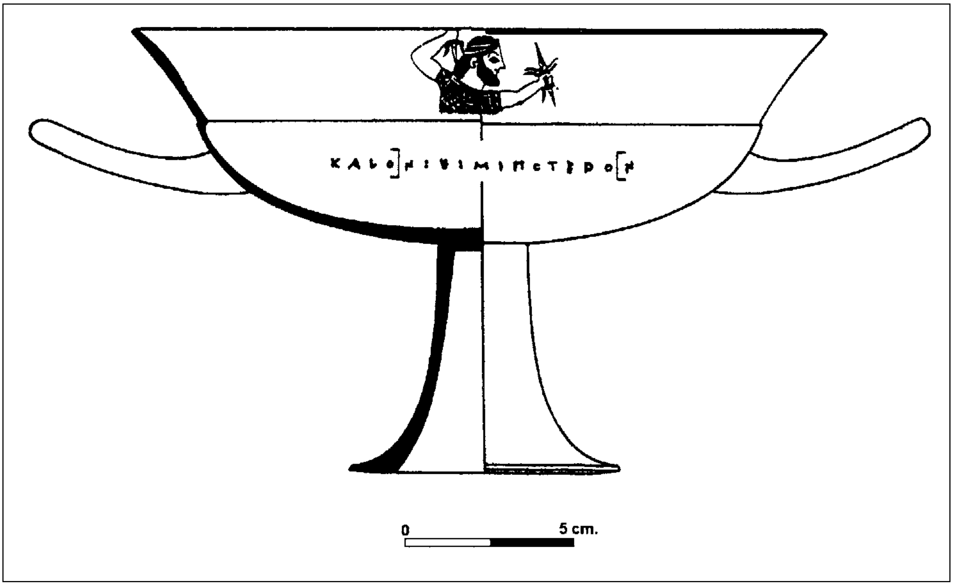

Fig. 12. Attic kylix by Ergotimos, from Medellín (province of Badajoz), *ca.* 560 B.C. (after Almagro 1991, 169, fig. 3).

[59] Almagro 1970, 437–48; 1977; 1991, 159–73; Olmos 1976, 251–64, Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 79.

ucts were distributed, and which apparently underwent similar transformations to the central area of the Tartessian world in the Lower Guadalquivir (Fig. 13).[60]

As mentioned earlier, Greek imports to the Tartessian centre in Huelva decreased considerably from around the year 540 B.C. Without doubt, the capture of Phocaea by the Persians, as well as a restructuring of trade affecting the central Mediterranean,[61] influenced the transformation of Phocaean commerce in Iberia.

In addition, the beginning of the urban development of Emporion took place in the middle of the 6th century B.C., at the time of the settlement's transfer from the island to the mainland (see above). It is perhaps at this time that the Greek presence on the Iberian coast became more pronounced, and it seems that Emporion was increasingly the place from where those activities were controlled.

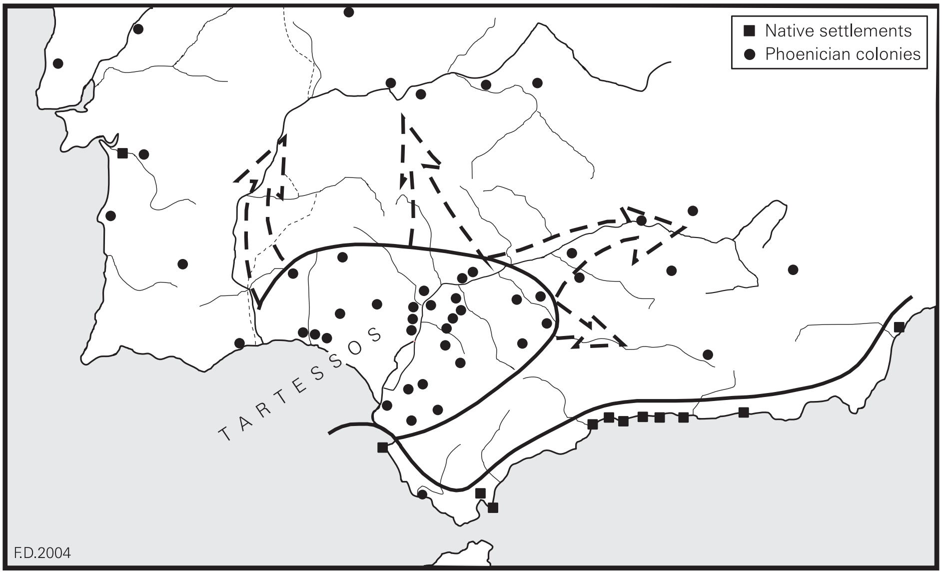

Fig. 13. Tartessos and its peripheries (after Aubet 1990, 43, fig. 1).

[60] On relations between the Tartessian region and the peripheral areas of Extremadura, see Aubet 1982, 309–35; 1990, 29–44. An interpretation from the point of view of core-periphery relations is in Cunliffe 1993, 56.

[61] Domínguez 1991c, 239–73.

These processes affected and interrupted trade between the Greeks and Tartessians, and occasioned a reorganisation of commercial strategies. Those centres which had emerged in the south-east of the Peninsula now started to play a significant rôle. At the end of the 6th century, they began to develop an intense relationship with the local population. This must have been quite specific in nature, since the main evidence—Greek pottery—is not present in significant quantities in the south-east of the Iberian Peninsula until the middle of the 5th century B.C.[62] There are other indicators which provide a clue to the type of relationship established: they are related not to Greek activities in themselves but to the consequences of such activities on the native population.

The first indicator is Iberian stone sculpture (Figs. 14–16, 18–19). From the end of the 6th century B.C. groups of sculptures began to appear, especially in the south-east of the Peninsula, but also in eastern Andalusia: these sculptures possess a figurative and iconographic nature that undoubtedly harks back to Hellenic prototypes. The clearly indigenous origins of this kind of sculpture cannot be understood without reference to the techniques of and training by Greek craftsmen. The explanation for its origins has to be looked for in the internal mechanisms of the native communities in the south-east of the Peninsula. They were beginning to develop a complex social organisation that required works of art as a sign of prestige, emphasising the power of the élite. This historical process was, in part, a response to the new rôle being played by these areas within the framework of Greek trade, and it was from the Greek that the emerging groups took a formal language that allowed them to express their own cultural personality.[63]

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[62] One can see this in distribution maps produced by Rouillard 1991, 114–5 (6th century B.C.) and 118–9 (5th century B.C.). The main objects found are Ionian cups of type B2, although occasional objects from the 6th century B.C. appear. *Cf.* overviews in Shefton 1982, 354–7; Monraval 1985, 131–40; *cf.* Rouillard 1982, 417–31. To the same category of imports belong two pieces of bronze, which could be the ornamental tops of two vases: the centaur of Royos (province of Murcia), from the first half of the 6th century, and the satyr of Llano de la Consolación (province of Albacete), from the end of the same century (García y Bellido 1948, II, 87–9, 91–3; Olmos 1983, 377–88; general observations in Olmos and Picazo 1979, 184–201). We know, however, that a great deal of pottery similar to the kind found in Iberian coastal regions continued to arrive in the West towards the end of the 6th century, as shown by the Greek shipwreck of that time at Point Lequin (Hyères, Var, southern France) (Long, Miró and Volpe 1992, 199–234).

[63] This problem has been much studied by Spanish scholars, consequently, the

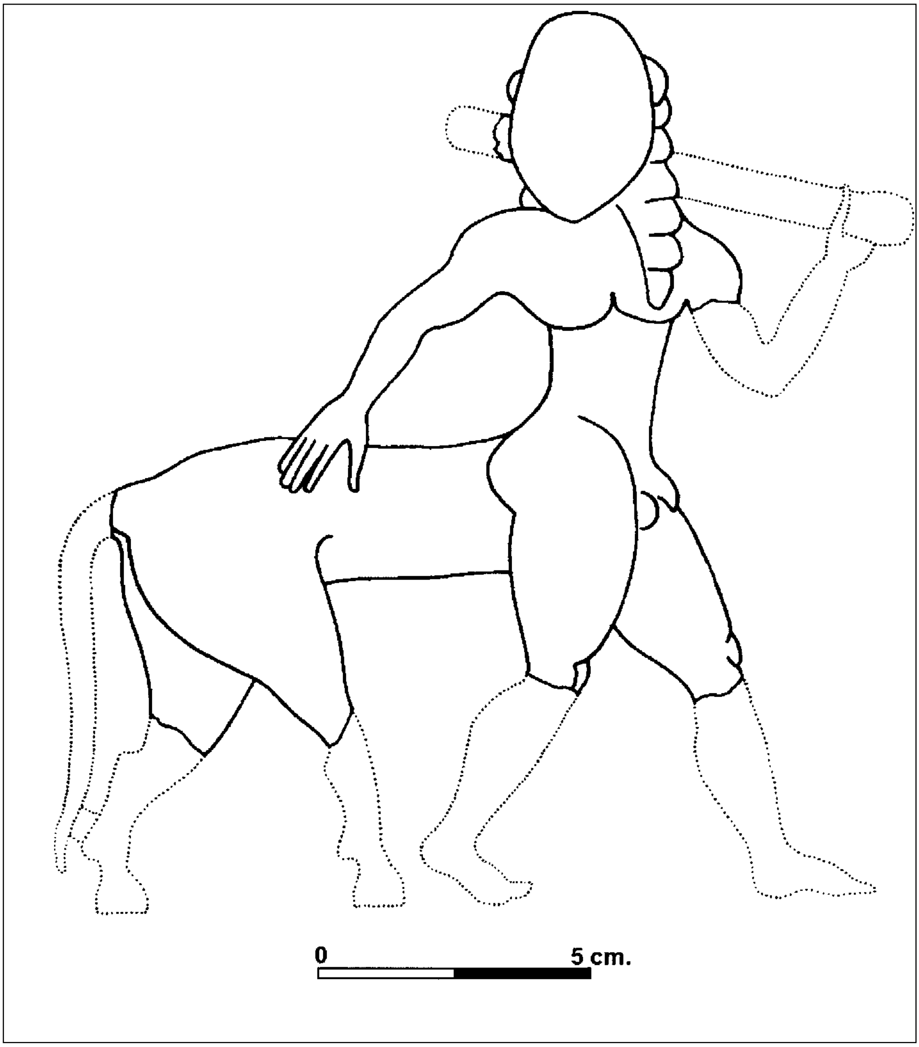

Fig. 14. Reconstruction of the centaur from Royos (province of Murcia) (after Olmos 1983, 379, fig. 1).

Indeed, once trade in metals with Tartessos was interrupted, or radically reduced, the Greeks looked for an alternative area for their commercial enterprise. Through land routes following the courses of the rivers of the south-east (the Vinalopó, the Segura), the Greeks drained that region of raw materials.[64] But at the same time, the emerging Iberian élites, who required the products and techniques possessed by the Greeks in order to suport a hierarchical social structure, opened up new routes to bring the metals of Upper Andalusia, from the region around Cástulo, to the coast. As a consequence, it was the native population that ended up bringing the metals from Upper Andalusia and the south of the Meseta to the Greek *emporia* on the coast 'between New Carthage and the River Júcar', in the words of Strabo (3. 4. 6). In exchange for these products, the Greek offered, together with manufactured goods (pottery and bronze), 'cultural investment'. They provided certain native leaders with the services of craftsmen to teach basic sculpting techniques, enabling them to develop their own funerary or monumental sculpture.[65]

It should be noted that this type of sculpture is undoubtedly Iberian in character; it is not 'provincial' Greek art, as was thought some time ago, nor is it an imitation of Greek sculpture. It is a genuinely Iberian form of expression, which merely makes use of the techniques and the formal and decorative repertoire of Greek art. With these elements, Iberian craftsmen produced works with a distinctive

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bibliography is abundant. I will mention only some basic works: Langlotz 1966; García y Bellido 1980; Chapa 1986; Ruano 1987. On the great group from Porcuna (ancient Obulco), see Negueruela 1990. A bibliographical survey on this question is Ruano 1991, 167–79. On the ultimate causes of such a process, see Domínguez 1984, IV, 141–60; 1985, 362; 1986b, 606–8. But see Boardman 1994, 69–72, who seems to prefer a more direct influence from the Phoenician world: 'What little trace of ultimate Greek origin may be detected might be attributable to Phoenician/Punic intermediaries rather than direct Greek intervention.' My question is: why should we dismiss the Greek influence when there is so much evidence or Greek presence in the region from which such sculpture arises? Of course the inspiration *might be* Phoenician, but all the evidence points to a direct Greek involvement in the area in the years previous to the appearance of Iberian sculpture. I shall develop this theme in the following pages.

[64] In addition, Greek pottery would have been diffused through these, especially from the 6th century B.C. (Trías 1967–68, xxxlviii–xlii; García Cano 1982, 272–4).

[65] Chapa 1982, 388. Almagro (1982, 434–8) talked earlier about the introduction by the Phocaeans of a number of cultural phenomena, although now it would be advisable to clarify some of his statements. *Cf.* more recent analyses by Trillmich (1990, 607–11) and Niemeyer (1989, 42–4), from a classicist's perspective.

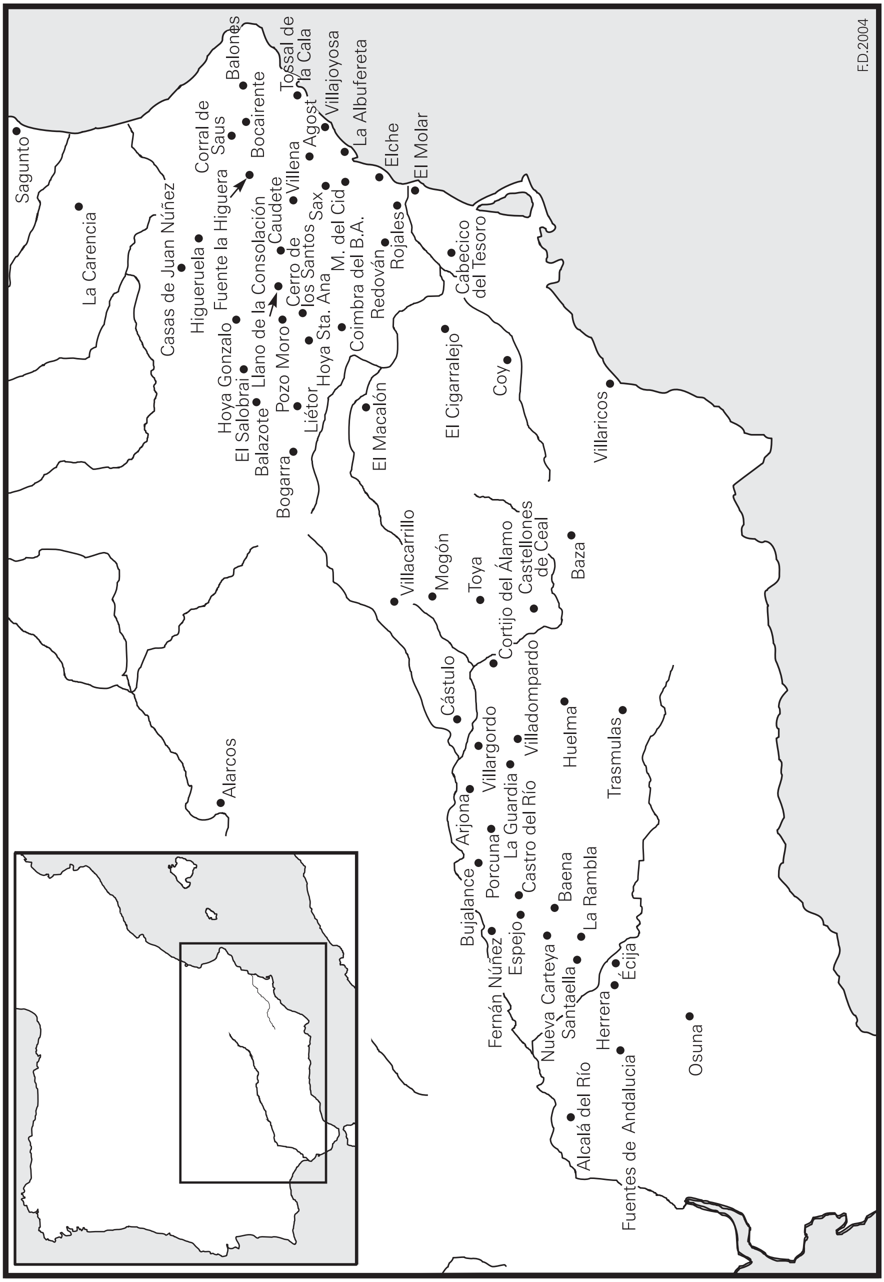

Fig. 15. Map of the principal sites in the Iberian Peninsula with stone sculpture (after Chapa 1982, 376, fig. 1).

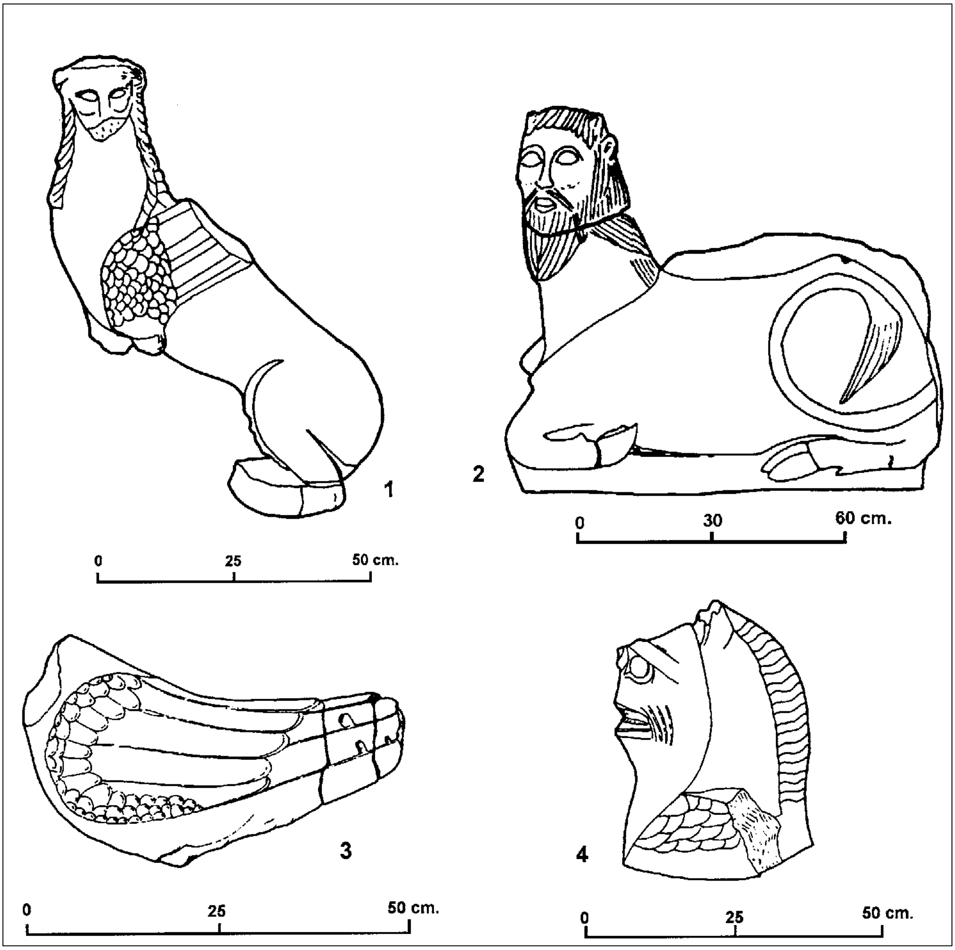

Fig. 16. Iberian sculpture.
1. Sphinx from Agost (province of Alicante) (after Chapa 1986, 251, fig. 3.1). 2. Bull with human head from Balazote (province of Albacete) (after Chapa 1986, 259, fig. 11.3). 3. Wing of a siren, from Corral de Saus (province of Valencia) (after Chapa 1986, 249, fig. 1.4). 4. Head of a griffin, from Elche (province of Alicante) (after Chapa 1986, 252, fig. 4.2).

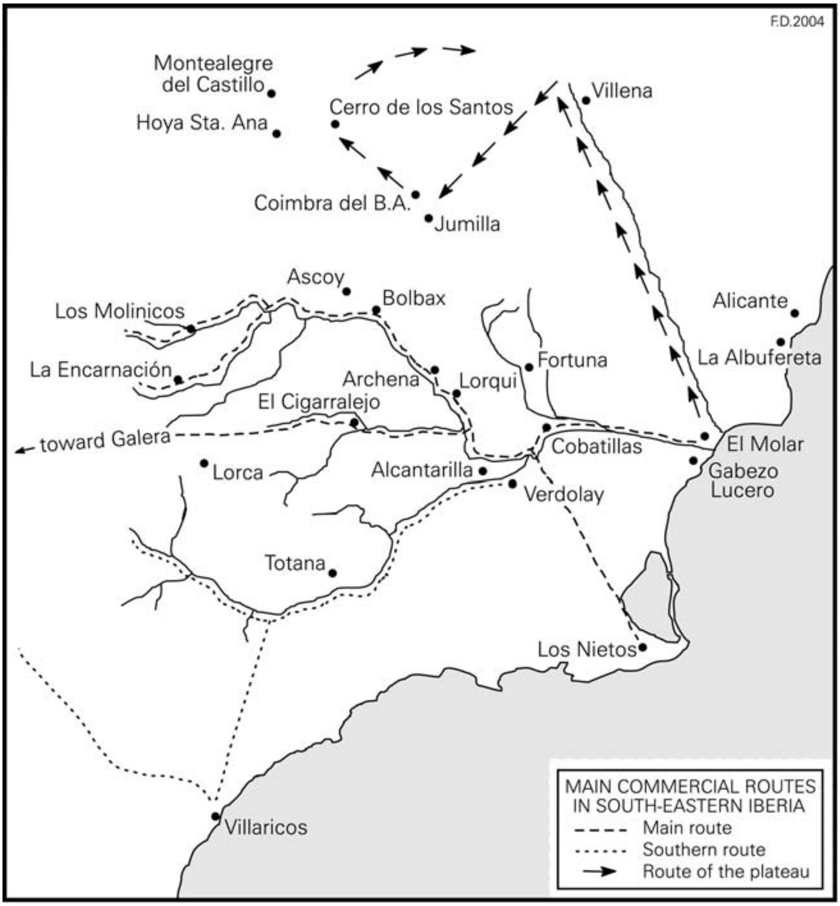

Fig. 17. The principal trade routes in south-eastern Iberia
(after García Cano 1982, 278).

character, which served ideas and social structures that had nothing to do with those of Greece.

Another element to reveal the strong link between the Greeks and the regions in the south-east of the Peninsula was the development of a type of written script derived from Greek. There had been writing systems in Iberia for centuries. They had developed within the context of Tartessian culture.[66] However, in what are nowadays the

[66] De Hoz 1989a, 523–88; Correa 1993, 521–62.

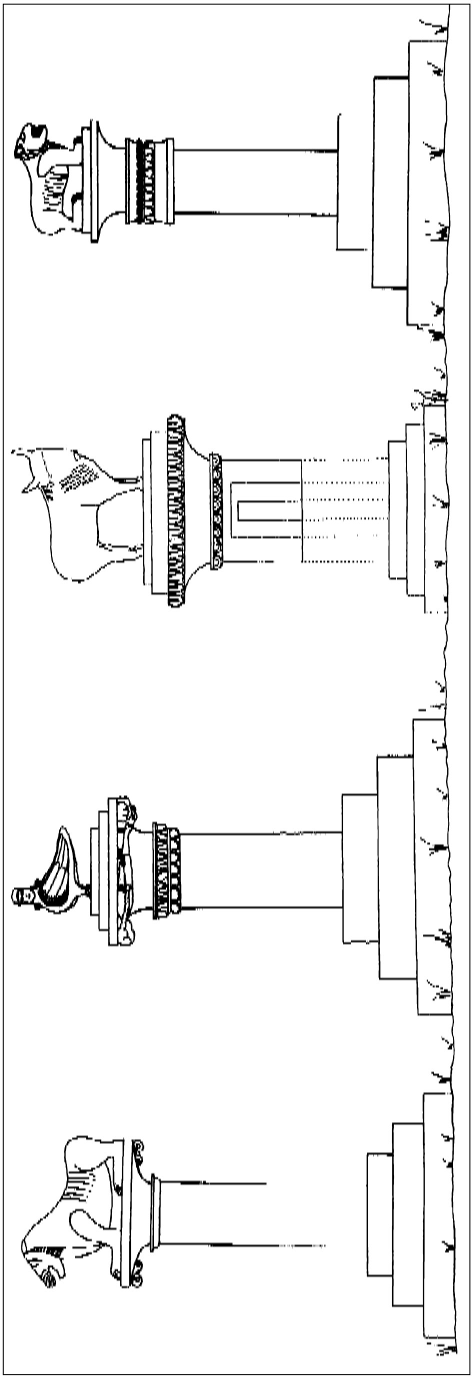

Fig. 18. Iberian funerary sculpture in its original setting (reconstruction). Stele-pillars from Coy (province of Murcia), Corral de Saus (Mogente, province of Valencia), Montforte del Cid (province of Alicante) and Los Nietos (province of Murcia) (all after Almagro 1993, 12, fig. 3; 9, fig. 1; 11, fig. 2; 13, fig. 4).

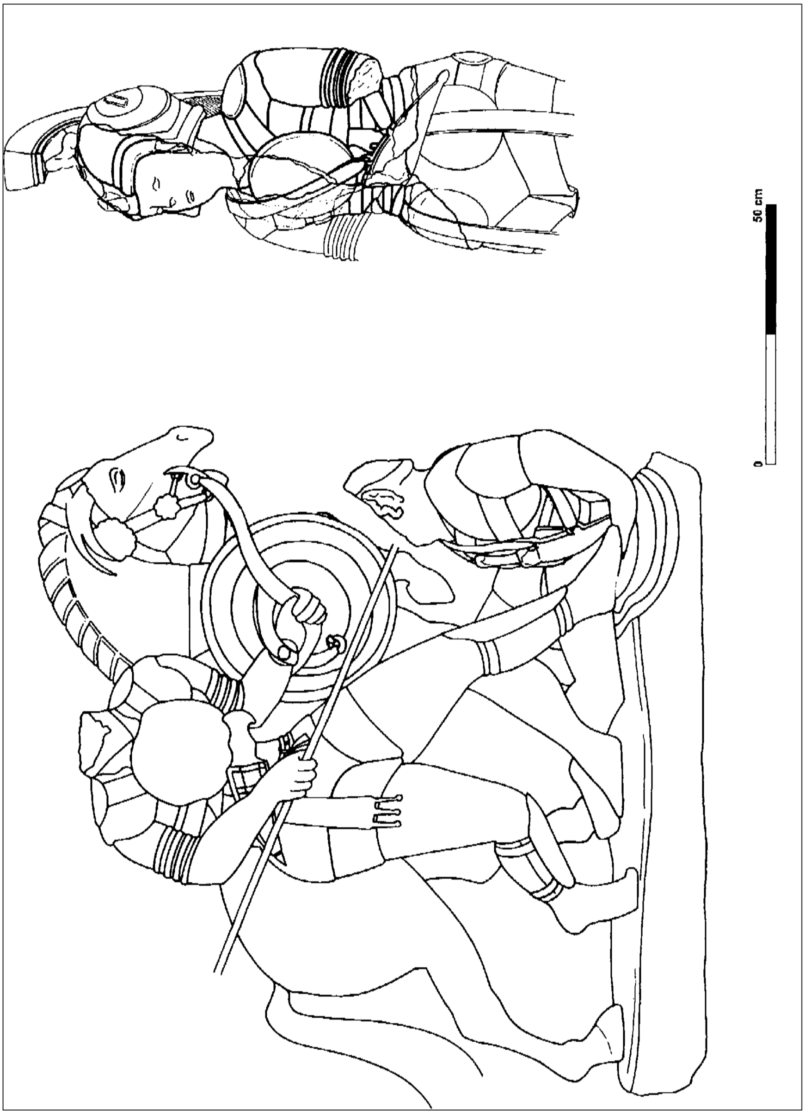

Fig. 19. Iberian sculptures from Porcuna (province of Jaén), beginning of the 5th century B.C. Reconstruction of warriors Nos. 4 (left) and 1 (right) (after Negueruela 1990, 366, fig. 13; 358, fig. 4 bis).

provinces of Alicante, Murcia and, latterly, Valencia—the same area in which the sculpture had developed—a type of alphabetic script for the transcription of the Iberian language existed, based on an Ionian alphabet and in which Samian and (possibly) Phocaean features can be distinguished (Fig. 20). Although the existing features of this script correspond to the 4th century, experts argue, on the basis of palaeographic and epigraphic considerations, that such a system must have originated in the first half, most probably the second quarter, of the 5th century.[67] The connexion between this writing and the development of commercial interchanges between Greeks and Iberians has also been stressed.[68]

Thus, both sculpture and writing appear as forms of expression controlled by native élites. It was they who regulated trade with the Greeks and acquired techniques and knowledge from them, which they then used as a sign of their own prestige—of their lineage and of their 'cities'. All this indicates how profound and intense were the contacts between Greeks and the south-east of the Peninsula: a true gateway for the resources of the interior. There is little doubt that Emporion should be considered responsible for these contacts.[69]

Clear evidence for trade relations between Emporion and the Iberian coast is the discovery, in excavations in the Greek town itself, of a lead letter in which, despite some gaps, reference is clearly made to the commercial relations between the Emporitans and the native settlement of Saigantha, through the intervention of one Basped . . ., possibly a native, whose job was also to tow ships and whose services are recommended by the writer (Figs. 21–22). This document may date to the end of the 6th century, and it has been fairly convincingly suggested that the town of Saigantha could be Saguntum,

[67] De Hoz 1985–86, 285–98; 1989b, 179–87; 1993, 635–66.

[68] De Hoz 1994, 259–60.

[69] Together with what has been mentioned here, the influence of the Greeks on urban development has also been quoted as proof (Padró and Sanmartí 1992, 185–94). Equally, and more specifically as part of this process, it has been suggested that fortifications were influenced by the Greeks (Pallarés *et al.* 1986, 42–52). This is an area that requires caution, since Iberian defensive architecture began to adopt, from the 6th century onwards, elements of Greek techniques of fortification only selectively. Only Ullastret is recognised as having a greater number of Greek elements, but this influence is related to typically Iberian defensive elements. See Rouillard 1986, 213–9; Moret 1991, 265–71; 1993, 50–1; especially 1996 *passim*.

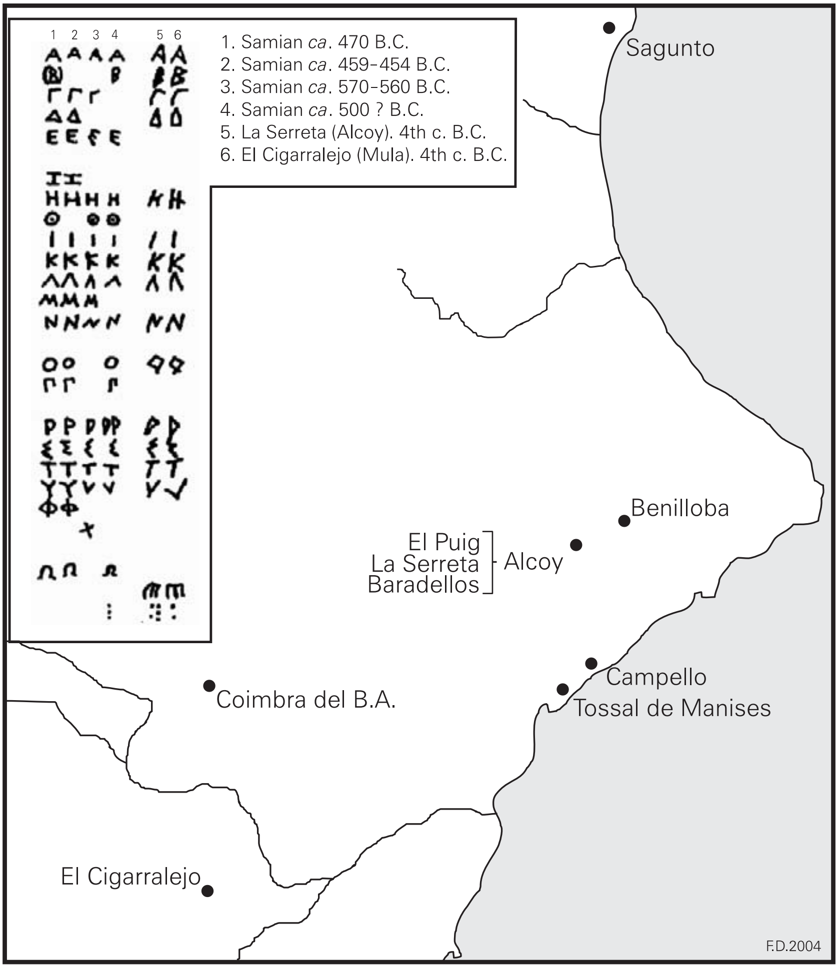

Fig. 20. Comparison of the alphabets from Ionian and Iberian-Greek inscriptions (after De Hoz 1985/86, 289, fig. 1), and map of the distribution of inscriptions in that script.

which the Greeks called Zakantha/Zakynthos. The text seems to have been written by a Greek who used the northern Ionian dialect, with some Aeolicisms, which points to its Phocaean nature. The lead could have come to Emporion from some trading post or a Phocaean centre in the central or western Mediterranean. This is highly significant, since it provides evidence of the trade links between Emporion and the native territories in the Peninsula, as well as the

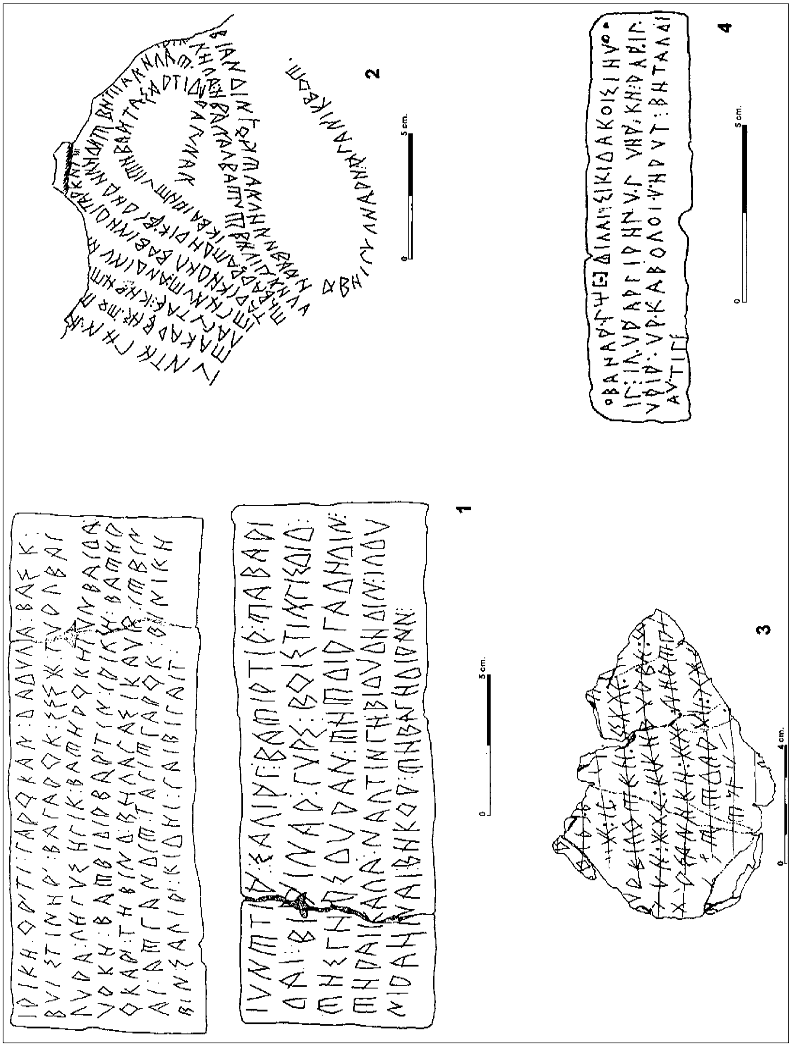

Fig. 21. Lead texts in Iberian-Greek script, 4th century B.C. 1. La Serreta (Alcoy, province of Alicante) (after Untermann 1990, 566). 2. El Cigarralejo (Mula, province of Murcia) (after Untermann 1990, 617). 3. Coimbra del Barranco Ancho (Jumilla, province of Murcia) (after Muñoz 1990, 99). 4. Sagunto (province of Valencia) (after Pérez 1993, 61, fig. 2).

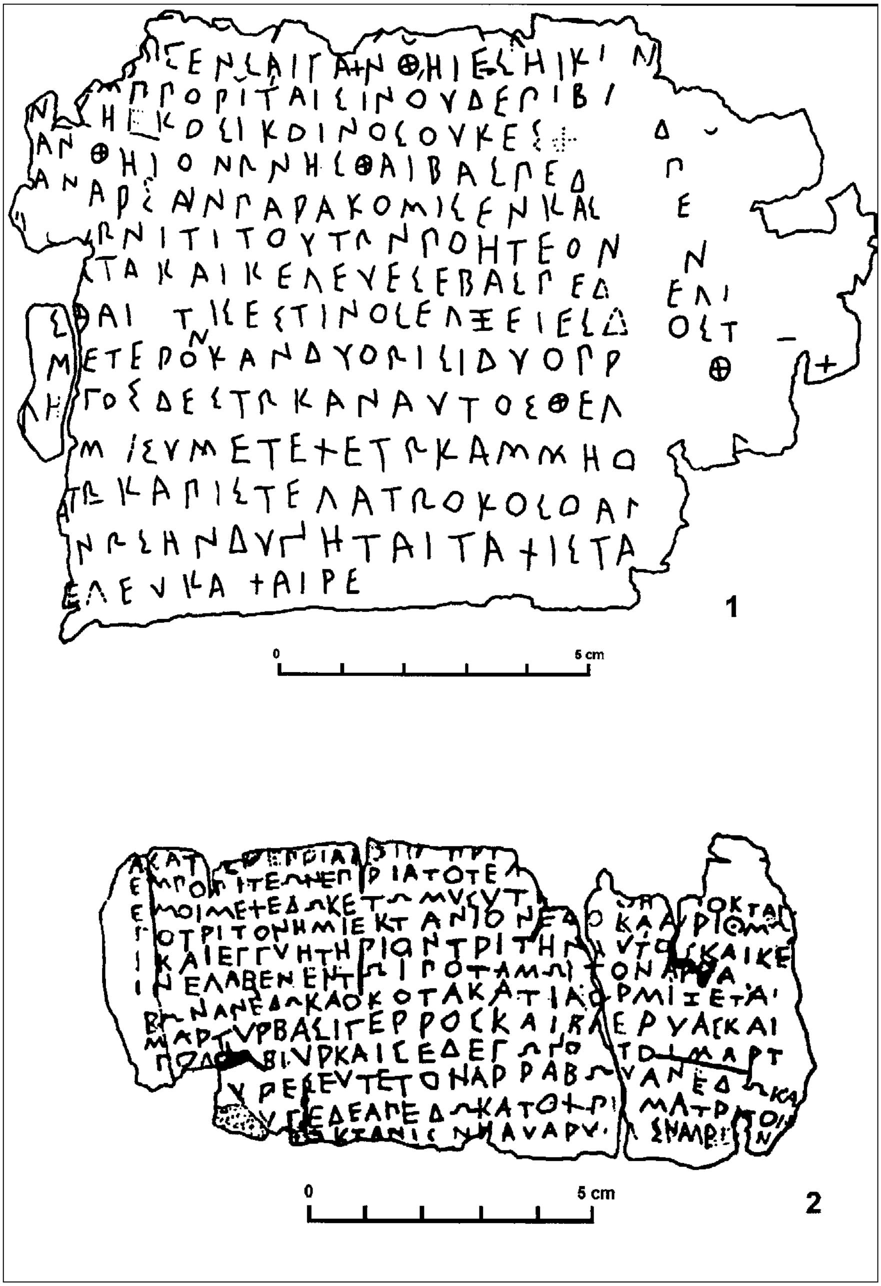

Fig. 22. Lead letters in Ionian script.
1. Emporion, late 6th century B.C. (after Sanmartí and Santiago 1988, 11, fig. 8).
2. Pech Maho, second third of the 5th century B.C. (after Lejeune *et al.* 1988, 41, fig. 16.1).

relation between this Greek centre and other Phocaean settlements in the West.[70]

Another letter, found in Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude, France), belongs to a slightly later period (the second third of the 5th century B.C.), and it re-uses a previous letter written in the Etruscan language and alphabet. It refers to a trade transaction, and several people (at least six) are mentioned, with obviously non-Greek names, who appear to be acting as witnesses of a two-instalment payment for the purchase of a ship (*akation*) and a possible cargo of olive oil (?). This transaction seems to have taken place in Emporion itself.[71]

The evidence advanced here points towards the existence of a strong relationship between the Greeks and the native population on the coast of the Iberian Peninsula by the 6th century, which explains the adoption by the natives of a series of significant cultural characteristics. We do not know whether the Greeks deliberately encouraged these processes of social organisation in order to facilitate commercial relations with the settlements in the interior of the Peninsula, or whether they were simply spectators of the process.

From the second half of the 5th century onwards imports of Greek pottery reach their peak in the Iberian Peninsula, not only on the coast but also in the interior.[72] This was the result of an increase in the demand for raw materials in the Greek coastal centres, and of the additional development of the native exchange network, which would eventually connect the Mediterranean coast with those centres closest to the interior in the southern third of the Peninsula. Additionally, there was a recovery of the trade relationship between Emporion and the regions of Cádiz and Huelva, as suggested by finds mainly in Huelva and Castillo de Doña Blanca (just opposite Cádiz across the bay).[73] Finally, as we have mentioned, Greek prod-

[70] The bibliography on this evidence is considerable. I shall mention only the *editio princeps* and the more relevant studies: Sanmartí and Santiago 1987, 119–27; 1988, 3–17; Santiago 1990, 123–40; 1993, 281–94; 1994c, 51–6.

[71] The bibliography on this too is abundant: the *editio princeps* is Lejeune and Pouilloux 1988, 526–35. Later studies have clarified some of the difficulties of the text: Lejeune *et al.* 1988, 19–59; Chadwick 1990, 161–6; Lejeune 1991, 311–29; Santiago 1989, 163–79; 1994b, 215–30; Vinogradov 1998, 166–70; De Hoz 1999, 61–90. It is generally accepted that the region up to the River Hérault, in which Pech Maho lies, is part of the area of influence of Emporion. See Pujol 1984–85, 15–71; Sanmartí, E. 1989, 397–8; Ugolini 1993, 26–40. See lastly Gailledrat 1997.

[72] Rouillard 1991, 117–23, Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 1–170.

[73] Cabrera and Olmos 1985, 61–74; Fernández Jurado and Cabrera 1987, 149–59.

ucts were distributed widely in the Iberian interior, reaching one of their highest levels from the last years of the 5th century onwards. Although some writers have claimed that the Greeks themselves were directly in control of the distribution of their products,[74] it actually appears that the native settlements were in control, and were also responsible for opening up new land routes, which would eventually connect related mining regions, such as the silver mining area around Cástulo and the cinnabar mining region around Sisapo.

Evidence of the importance of such commerce in the interior of the southern part of the Peninsula is the distribution of Greek pottery and other products (Naukratite aryballoi, for instance) in sites there from the 6th century B.C.[75] However, it was not until the 5th century B.C. that a great concentration of pottery appeared, most of it from Athens, in certain centres,[76] among which mention should be made of the two great mining centres of the interior: Cástulo and Sisapo. In Cástulo (Linares, province of Jaén), a large amount of Attic pottery arrived in the last third of the 5th century, and this is where the greatest variety of shapes in eastern Andalusia as a whole can be found.[77] As for Sisapo (La Bienvenida, province of Ciudad Real), excavation has not yet progressed far enough for conclusive evidence to be obtained, but the impression so far is that, from the 5th century onwards, it maintained relations with Cástulo, which might possibly have managed the mining resources in the area.[78]

Also connected with the core mining district of Sisapo and with Medellín, an important urban centre during the Orientalising period, is Cancho Roano (Zalamea de la Serena, province of Badajoz) (Fig. 23). A building has been excavated there which can be interpreted as a palace or a sanctuary or both—the last phase of which was

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[74] Maluquer de Motes 1987, 19–25.

[75] On the distribution of 'Naukratite' aryballoi, see Blánquez 1990a, 9–24, who rightly underlines the parallels with Emporion.

[76] Rouillard 1991, 114–5—which must be supplemented with some recent finds. See Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 1–170.

[77] Sánchez 1987a, 161–8; 1992a, 291; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 171–458. On the city of Cástulo, see Blázquez and García-Gelabert 1994. Regarding the issue of the greater or lesser variety of shapes, we must not forget that all varieties of Greek pottery of this time are represented in Emporion, something rarely found elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula (*cf.* Jully 1978, 10–1).

[78] Domínguez 1993a, 61–73. Recent study of the Orientalising and Archaic levels in Sisapo is in Fernández Ochoa *et al.* 1994.

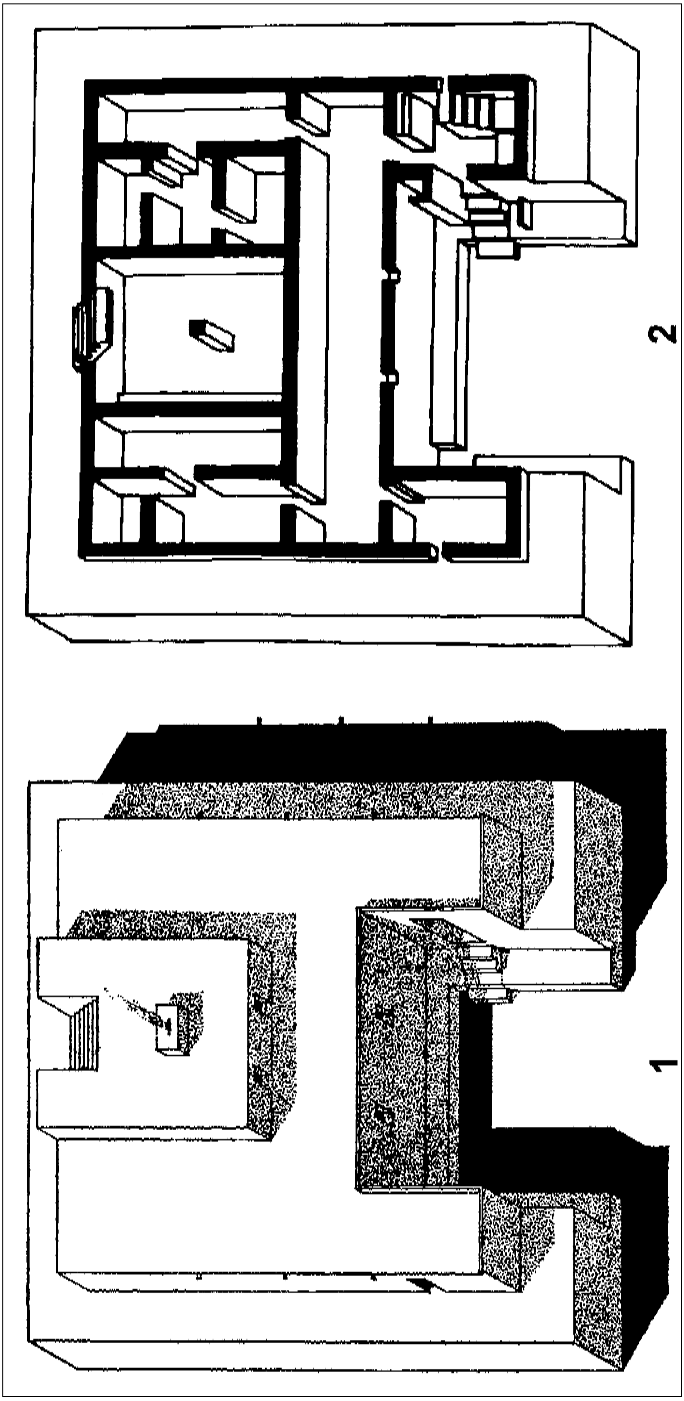

Fig. 23. Cancho Roano (Zalamea de la Serena, province of Badajoz).
1. Reconstruction of the exterior (after Maluquer de Motes 1983, 135, fig. 64). 2. Reconstruction of the interior (after Maluquer de Motes 1985, 223).

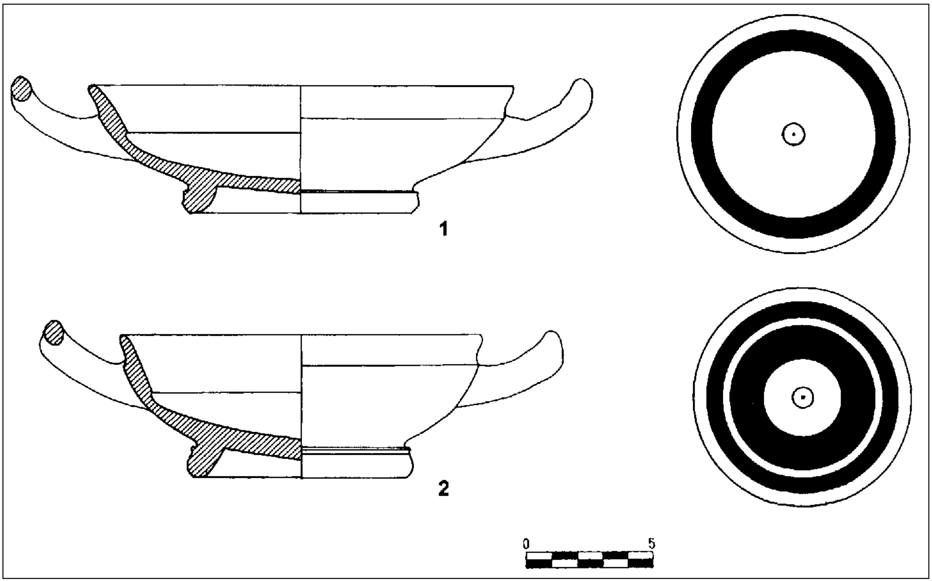

Fig. 24. Cástulo cups, from (1) Galera (province of Granada) and (2) Castellones de Ceal (province of Jaén), second half of the 5th century (after Sánchez 1992b, 329, fig. 1).

destroyed toward the end of the 5th century. Within it have been found more than a hundred pieces of Attic pottery (black-glaze and red-figure), either objects for use within the building or being stored there for further distribution.[79] Almost all of the Attic pottery is of the Stemless Inset Lip type, known nowadays as 'Cástulo Cups' (Fig. 24), and which date in the Peninsula from the end of the 5th century to the first quarter of the 4th century B.C.[80] This type of pottery is characteristic of commercial activities controlled by Emporion in the second half of the 5th century B.C.[81] As already mentioned,

[79] On the complex at Cancho Roano, see Maluquer de Motes 1981; 1983, 26–9, 31–9 (for the Greek pottery); Maluquer de Motes *et al.* 1986; Celestino and Jiménez 1993, 131–4 (for the Greek pottery). See also Almagro *et al.* 1990, 251–308. The Greek pottery is collected in the catalogue by Rouillard 1991, 836–8 (microfiches).
[80] Sánchez 1992b, 327–33; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 273–316. An alternative view is Gracia 1994, 175–200. A comparison with the situation in other parts of the Mediterranean is in Shefton 1990, 85–98.
[81] Padró and Sanmartí 1992, 187. The horizon of the first half of the 5th century is defined by the cups of type C. The diffusion of cups of this type in the

Cancho Roano's involvement in the control of commercial and metallurgical activities seems quite probable, which raises the issue of the export routes for metal (undoubtedly the same as the import routes): simultaneously or alternatively, the regions of Cádiz, Huelva and the south-east of the Iberian Peninsula.[82]

As a consequence of the economic processes that took place between Greek merchants, most probably based on the coast, and native centres in the interior, it is possible to observe, together with a significant development of stone sculpture, the presence of Greek pottery in such native centres, sometimes in great quantity and concentrated mainly in the necropoleis. Indeed, in most of the south-eastern quadrant of the Iberian Peninsula (including eastern Andalusia), Greek imports began in the second half of the 5th century and in most sites appeared for the first time (Fig. 25).[83] Taking into consideration the distribution of the pottery,[84] and studies of the road layout,[85] it seems beyond doubt that the pottery found comes from the south-eastern coast of Iberia, in particular the area between the Cape of Palos (Los Nietos, province of Murcia) and the mouth of the Rivers Segura and Vinalopó,[86] which is where Alonis could have been located, as we have seen.

The amount and quality of Greek imports found in some places indicates the arrival of important complete sets, which may have come all the way from Athens itself and which could have been sent to the interior with practically no interference. The two sets found in the same necropolis (Los Villares, in Hoya Gonzalo, province of Albacete) provide convincing evidence for this. They are possibly the remains of banquet sets or funerary libations, placed in two different

Peninsula can be seen in Rouillard 1991, 120–1. On the import of Attic pottery in Emporion, see Jully 1978. Shefton (1995, 127–55) provides an up to date picture of Greek trade in the 5th century.

[82] See Domínguez 1988, 327–34; 1993b, 39–74; Cabrera 1987, 215–21.

[83] Pereira 1987, 257–72; Sánchez 1992a, 281–3. See a study of the distribution of Attic imports in the better known cemeteries of the south-east and Upper Andalusia in: Aranegui and Pérez 1989, 217–46; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 171–458.

[84] Rouillard 1991, 118–9.

[85] Sillières 1977, 31–83; 1990; Blánquez 1990b, 37–73.

[86] García Cano 1982, 270–4, maps I and II; 1987, 59–70.

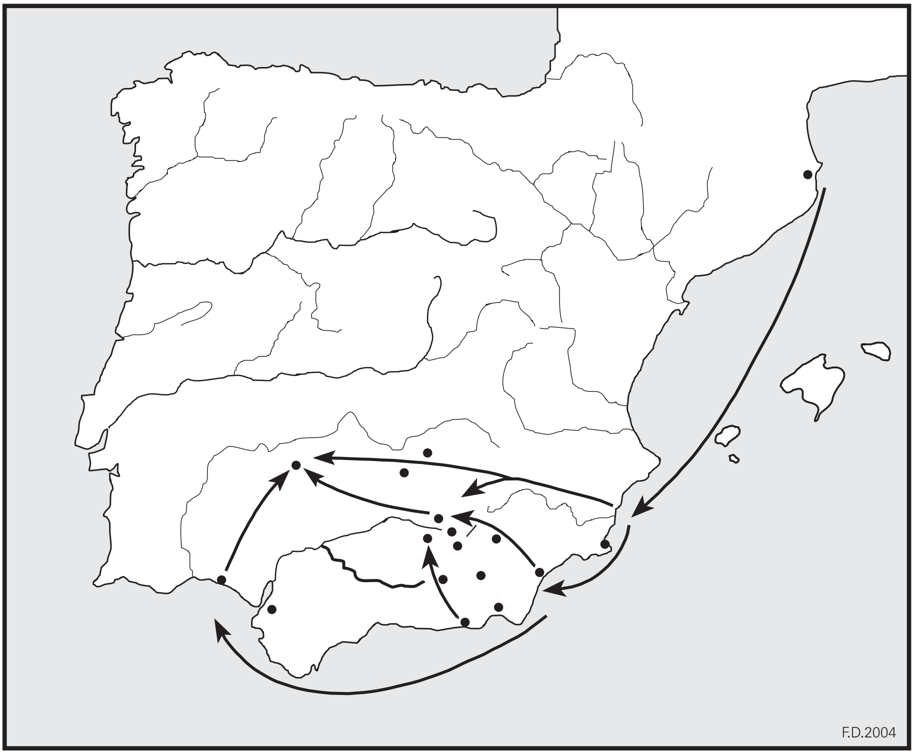

Fig. 25. Different routes proposed to explain the distribution of Greek imports in the second half of the 5th century B.C. (after Sánchez 1992a, 315, fig. 15, with modifications proposed by Domínguez 1988).

pits and burnt. They were interpreted as *silicernia* by their discoverer. The first contained, among other valuable objects, 32 pieces of Attic black-glaze pottery and 3 red-figure examples, which must date from the end of the 5th century B.C.[87] Certain details have been provided about the second one and various items have been published, so it is known that it contained 53 Greek pieces (black-glaze and red-figure), which also date from the last quarter of the 5th century. The tomb to which these pieces belong was crowned

[87] Blánquez 1990b, 222–6, 457 (chronology). The lists consists of: 17 bolsals, 4 kantharoi of St Valentin type, 4 little paterae, 3 skyphoi, 2 askoi, 1 patera and 1 black-glazed Cástulo cup; and 3 red-figure squat lekythoi.

by the statue of a rider.[88] The vessels, forming a series, were possibly never used until the ritual in which they were destroyed and buried—the funeral of an Iberian noble.

This provides accurate information on the rôle played by the local élite in the control of the trade in exotic products: only someone with significant authority could have taken possession, for personal use, of such complete sets as those found in this necropolis, as well as in others.[89] This also shows that such lots were brought as a whole from their source market, Athens, and were used commercially by the Greeks to satisfy the demands of the native market. The range of imports present, which coincides broadly with that at Emporion, underlines the important rôle of that city as supplier of exchange articles and, simultaneously, as recipient of the raw materials obtained by the exchange. Perhaps this confirms the direct relationship between Emporion and Athens suggested by some authors, especially during the second half of the 5th century B.C.[90]

A problem arises when we try to determine what the Emporitans offered in exchange for natural resources. The obvious answer, of course, is Attic pottery. However, it is difficult to believe that this was all, since Greek tranport amphorae do not abound in the Iberian Peninsula,[91] indeed there is not even a wide distribution of Massaliot amphorae in the 5th century (which is when they appeared in the Peninsula).[92] This is also true for Emporion, where these amphorae were neither numerous nor even the commonest type:[93] in Emporion that was the 'Iberian Punic' type, which reproduced the shape of Punic amphorae from Ibiza, and formed some 70% of the transport amphorae found there.[94] This shows the close relationship between Emporion and the Punic world in Ibiza, which opens new perspec-

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[88] Among them 10 are kantharoi of St Valentin type and 3 are red-figure choes. The rest consist mostly of parts of black-glazed bolsals. Blánquez 1992, 121–43; 1993, 111–28; Roldán 1993, 9–18.

[89] Roldán 1993, 10. On the different levels of circulation of exotic products in the Iberian world, see Ruiz Rodríguez and Molinos 1993, 238–9.

[90] Sanmartí, E. 1989, 398; Gracia and Munilla 1993, 248–50. Shefton (1995, 143), however, points to a Western Greek (southern Italian and Sicilian) connexion.

[91] Rouillard 1991, 172–9.

[92] On the diffusion of Massaliot amphorae in Iberia, see Sánchez 1987b, 221–9; Martín 1982, 113–22; 1990, 161–4; Sanmartí, J. 1990; Rouillard 1990, 179–81.

[93] Sanmartí *et al.* 1990, 165–70. The percentage of Massaliot amphorae in the total is: 15%, 500–475 B.C.; 5.88%, 475–450 B.C.; 8.45%, 450–400 B.C.

[94] Sanmartí *et al.* 1990, 165–70; Sanmartí *et al.* 1986, 141–217. Typologically,

tives upon the eventual collaboration of both centres in trade relations with the Iberian Peninsula.[95] Further studies would perhaps help to clarify what other products the people from Emporion carried to the rest of the Peninsula along with Attic pottery.[96]

Other areas on the Mediterranean coast of the Peninsula were also involved in trade with the Greeks, although the result of this interaction between Greeks and natives was not as significant as in the south-east.[97] One example is the region around the Lower Ebro, which shows substantial changes as a result of Phoenician commerce, which was continued by the Greeks.[98] Another would be Emporion's own hinterland, which, with the exception of Ullastret,[99] is an instance of minimal interaction in the period now under discussion.

The trade process I have been describing continued throughout the 4th century B.C., a period outside what I have been broadly referring to as 'Archaic', and beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it is worth mentioning that this period, especially the first half of the century, is characterised by the existence of a large number of products, mainly pottery, found in sites across the Peninsula,[100] including Portugal.[101] Another region—eastern Andalusia—was very

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these amphorae, whether made in Ibiza or in the Peninsula, are of type PE 11, although there are some PE 12, which, in Ibiza, were made until *ca.* 425 B.C. (Ramón 1991, 102–5, 142–7).

[95] The range of Attic imports to Ibiza is very similar to that in Emporion, as Sánchez (1985, 83–5) shows.

[96] See the suggestion of Pujol (1984–85, 15–28), who argues in favour of the commercial use of and trade in Punic amphorae by Emporion in the 5th century and at the beginning of the 4th century along the coast between the Rivers Tordera and Hérault. On the presence of Phoenician and Punic amphorae in Emporion, see Ramón 1995, 36–9.

[97] The cause may be, in part, in different sub-levels, as Almagro (1989, 338) has suggested.

[98] Ruiz Zapatero 1984, 51–70; Gracia and Munilla 1993, 207–56. A survey of Phoenician trade in this region is provided by Aubet 1993a, 23–40 (with bibliography).

[99] A general vision of the city is in Martín 1988. On the import of Greek pottery, see Picazo 1977; Maluquer de Motes *et al.* 1984. The causes of lesser interaction are perhaps to be found in the different economic models acting in each region (*cf.* Domínguez 1986b, 608–9).

[100] Rouillard 1991, 123–6. On the importance of the intensification of relations between core and periphery, see Cunliffe 1993, 53–85.

[101] Not much Greek pottery has been found in Portugal. Although some pieces are from the 6th century, they began arriving in Portugal at the end of the 5th century and throughout the 4th (Dias 1984, 204–7; Arruda 1994, 127–54). The key centre for Greek imports is Alcácer do Sal. On the Greek wares found there, see Rouillard *et al.* 1988–89, 43–108; Rouillard 1991, 872–9 (microfiches).

important from the point of view of trade in Greek wares. Most of the Greek pottery belongs to the period 380–350 B.C. From the third quarter of the century there was a sudden decrease, which marks the end of this period of trade.[102] This was also due clearly to the increased intervention of other merchants, for example Phoenico-Punic, whose activities originated in such centres as Baria-Villaricos and who used Greek pottery as one of their trading commodities.[103] Local intervention may also have been a factor.[104] However, the 4th century is another story.[105]

Before moving on, it should be noted that a global analysis of the commercial trade in Greek products in the 6th and 5th centuries suggests the active presence of Greek commercial agents along the coasts of the Peninsula. These merchants not only brought in those products but also caused a series of cultural changes of a markedly Hellenic nature, which would be inexplicable without their direct intervention.[106] Obviously, this does not exclude the possibility of the more or less active participation, depending on the specific case, of other merchants in collaboration or competition with Greek merchants from Emporion. A text which forms part of the heterogeneous corpus contained in the treatise *On Marvellous Things Heard* can be used to some extent as an illustration of these processes. Reference is made in this text to long land routes in the interior of the Iberian Peninsula, together with a series of precautions to be adopted by people using them (Ps.-Aristoteles *de mir. ausc.* 85: 'There is a road called "the Heraclean" . . . through which, if a Greek or native travels,

[102] Sánchez 1992a, 286–7.

[103] For instance, one fact which suggests this is the El Sec shipwreck, a ship sunk in the Bay of Palma towards the middle of the 4th century B.C., containing an important shipment of Attic pottery, and plentiful Punic graffiti (Arribas *et al.* 1987).

[104] In this respect, a recent find in Los Nietos (province of Murcia) has brought to light eight kraters from the second quarter of the 4th century in a room containing transport amphorae and Iberian pottery. The archaeologists working on the site believe it to have been a warehouse in which kraters were stored awaiting commercial use (García Cano and García Cano 1992, 3–32).

[105] *Cf.* for this period Domínguez 1991a, 136–9.

[106] I reject here an idea that has been put forward occasionally, according to which Phoenician and Punic merchants are held solely responsible for the arrival of Greek products. See, for example, Harrison (1988, 77–8), who states: 'On balance, it looks as if Phoenician and Punic middlemen were the prime distributors of Greek manufactures in south and east Spain from the earliest times to the fourth century. Only in the area immediately around Emporion were Greeks likely to have traded their own products with the Iberians.'

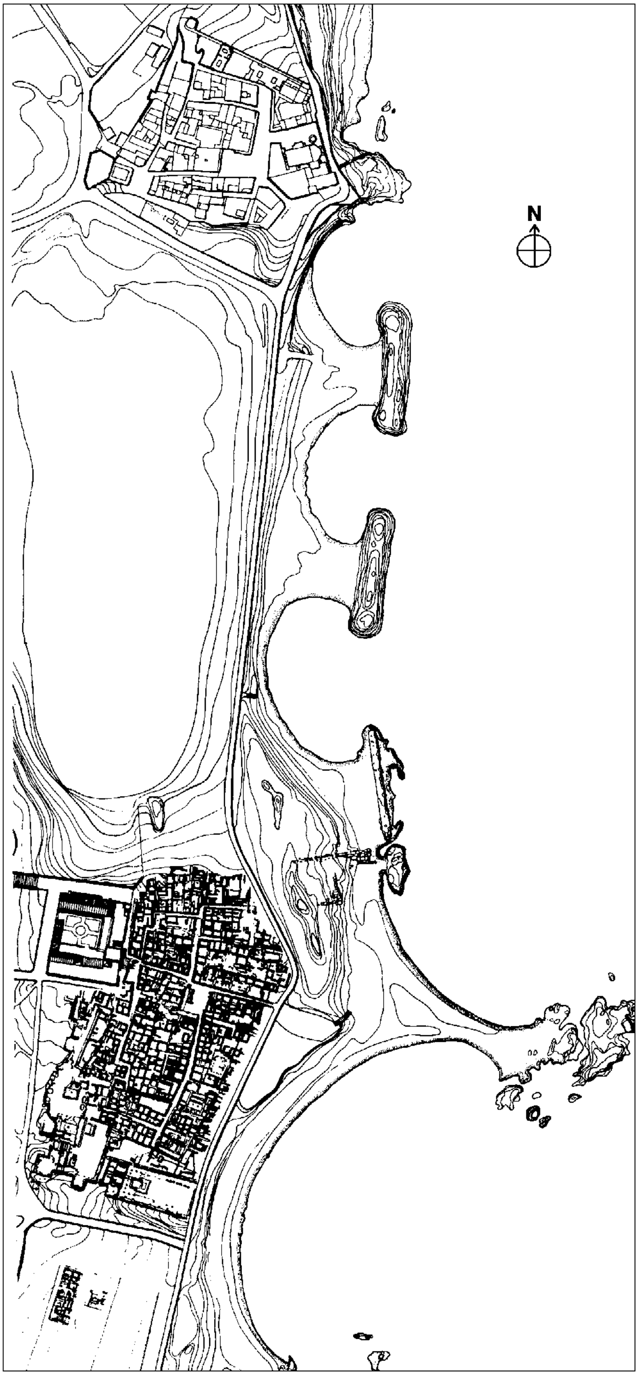

Fig. 26. Topography of Emporion, with Palaiapolis (north) and Neapolis (south) (after Marcet and Sanmartí 1990, 66).

he is guarded by the inhabitants, that no harm may befall him; and . . . they exact punishment from those through whom such harm comes.') Undoubtedly, it was the profitability of the exchanges with the Greeks (as promoters and ultimate recipients) that led to the adoption of such precautionary measures.

Having examined some of the issues raised by Greek trade in the Iberian Peninsula, it is necessary now to look briefly at the available evidence regarding the Greek settlements themselves.

Greek Cities in the Iberian Peninsula

Emporion

Since the city of Emporion is very well known in the literature, I shall not dwell on it here. My purpose is simply to establish the connexion between its urban development during the 6th and 5th centuries and the trade activities to which we have referred, which were partly directed from this city (Fig. 26).

The existence of Palaiapolis as the only stable settlement in the first half of the 6th century must be related to the period of intense trade activity centring on Tartessos, which required not only landmarks for navigation but also the channelling of a great deal of energy into the endeavour. The move inland, in the middle of the 6th century B.C., is certainly related to a period of maturity of the Phocaean foundations in the Iberian Peninsula, still under the direction of the metropolis in Asia Minor.

It is difficult to estimate the demographic repercussions of the fall of Phocaea and the migration of many of its inhabitants to the already existing settlements in the West. It is quite probable that Alalia was not the only place that benefited from a massive influx of new citizens, and it has been suggested, even quite recently, that other settlements, like Massalia itself, may have received immigrants. I would not rule out the possibility of the arrival of refugees in Emporion and other coastal places which were already familiar to the Phocaeans, and would now be strengthened.[107]

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[107] Graham 1983, 111–2; Gras 1987, 161–81. For Emporion and the rest of Iberia, I have suggested the possible arrival of refugees from Phocaea (Domínguez 1991c, 270–1). Blech (1990, 506) attributes to Ionian refugees settled in the southeast the sudden flourishing of craftsmanship of Ionian inspiration in that region. The

From the beginning of the occupation of what has been called Neapolis in the middle of the 6th century, the city continued its steady southward expansion—in a process which is still not altogether clear to us—until, towards the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., its size equalled that of the Hellenistic period (3–5ha). This can be seen in the remains of a wall of the 5th century, which ran parallel to what was the last wall of the 2nd century B.C., although 30m behind it, and which had a bastion (now almost totally destroyed) strengthening the fortification on the west side.[108] The construction through the second half of the 5th century of this wall and a whole group of closely linked sanctuaries[109] marks the ultimate consolidation of the *polis* of Emporion, as well as the end of a process of territorial appropriation and urban development. The discovery, also in the southern part of the city, of some sculptural remains made of local stone indicates the existence of sculptors' workshops in the city (Fig. 27).[110] Attached to the wall and sanctuaries of the 5th century was a small native settlement, which eventually became part of the *polis* in the middle of the 4th century.[111]

Although virtually no information exists about 5th century Emporion, it was responsible for the expansion of Greek influence along the Iberian coast, as well as for channelling a substantial quantity of raw materials from Iberia towards the central and eastern Mediterranean. Proof of this is the intense commercial activity of the city, which increased progressively throughout the 5th century—if we consider the presence in the city[112] and in the nearby native settlement of Ullastret, which was closely related to Emporion in many respects,[113] of Greek imports, especially from Athens.

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arrival of the cult of the Ephesian Artemis in Massalia in these years has also been suggested by Malkin (1990, 51–2). See also Domínguez 1999, 75–80.

[108] Sanmartí and Nolla 1986, 159–91.

[109] Marcet and Sanmartí 1990, 83–5; Sanmartí 1989, 399–405. From these sanctuaries a series of antefixes, an acroterion and, perhaps, the remains of a double altar, this one *in situ*, are preserved.

[110] Sanmartí 1989, 399, fig. 6.

[111] This would fit, in general terms, with the picture presented by Strabo (3. 4. 9), which recent excavations have corroborated (Sanmartí 1993, 87–101).

[112] Jully 1978. See Rouillard 1991, 272 for a table of imports.

[113] On Ullastret, see Martín 1988; On the Attic pottery, see Picazo 1977; Maluquer de Motes *et al.* 1984; table in Rouillard 1991, 73. See also Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 73–5.

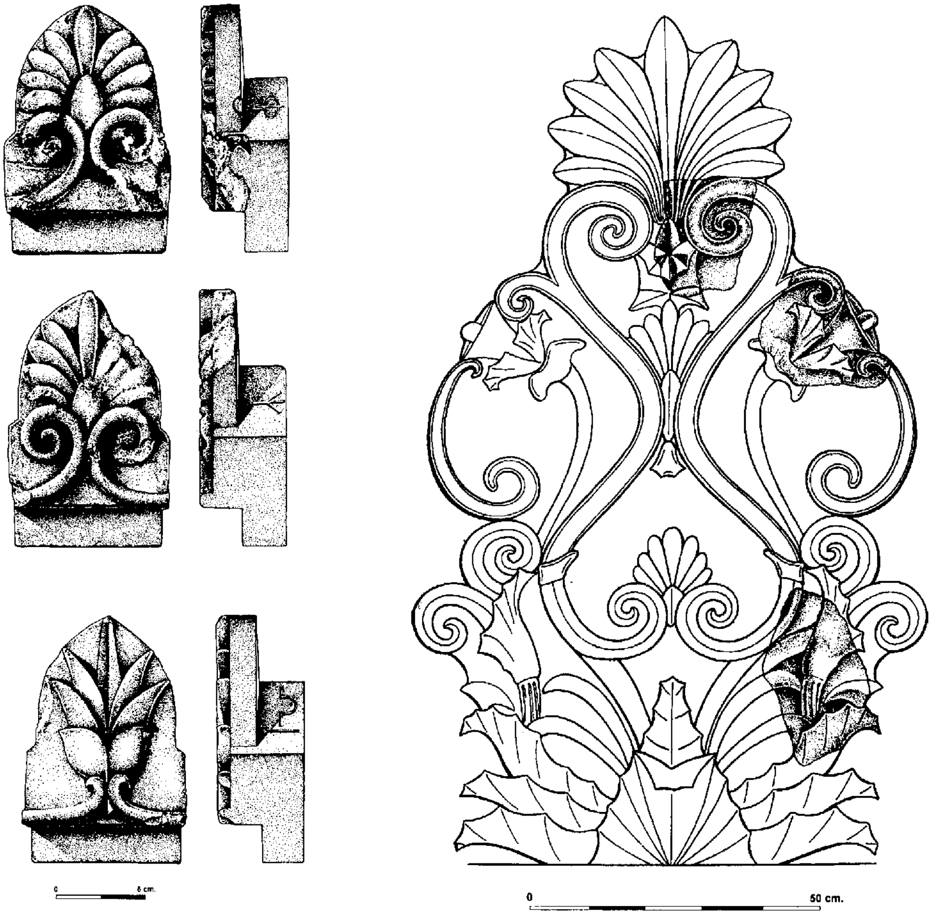

Fig. 27. Emporion: antefixes of a temple (left); acroterion of the temple (right). End of the 5th century (after Sanmartí 1992, 32–3, figs. 5–7, 9).

Moreover, the pottery in Emporion, as in Ullastret, is of the same type as that found in the rest of the Peninsula at the time, forming what has been considered the 'Emporitan horizon'. This is most clearly observed in the second half of the 5th century, above all on account of the presence of certain products that are widely distributed in Emporion, such as the St Valentin-type vases, but which are not very frequent outside this area—thus, their presence in a few native sites indicates that they were distributed from Emporion itself.[114] Much more significant is the recent find of three choes in a native necropolis in the interior of the Peninsula; they are part of the same set and date from the last quarter of the 5th century. Outside Athens, it is extremely unusual to find something such as this, and only one other example is known in the Peninsula—from Ullastret, again within Emporion's area of direct influence.[115]

What this evidence suggests, therefore, is the close link between the urban development of Emporion and the peak of the city's commercial enterprises in the Iberian world. The development of the Emporitan currency is most assuredly another consequence of the economic growth of the middle of the 5th century, with first the issue of small uninscribed fractions (*ca.* 0.94g) of the drachma in silver, which towards the end of the same century began to coexist with coins displaying the inscriptions ΕΜ or ΕΜΠ (indicating clearly that they were issued by Emporion) (Fig. 28). These coins were produced until the drachma appeared at the end of the 4th century B.C.[116] It is possible to keep track of their distribution in the Peninsula

[114] Of course, the St Valentin-type vases are not the only evidence, but they seem especially significant because, aside from Emporion, Ullastret and other points in Catalonia and Languedoc (Maluquer de Motes 1974, 411–37; Pujol 1984–85, 51–6), only a small number of examples of this type are known in the rest of the Peninsula (García Cano 1987, 59–70; Fernández Jurado and Cabrera 1987, 149–59; Cabrera 1987, 215–22; Sánchez 1992a, 172–5). However, the number has increased recently thanks to the pieces coming from the necropolis of Los Villares (province of Albacete) (Blánquez 1990b, 443–8; 1992, 121–43).

[115] Roldán 1993, 9–18. This is a type of vase which it is difficult to find outside Greece since it was not one used in exchange activities. In this regard, see Jully 1978, 10–1, 23–4.

[116] A general survey in Guadán 1968; 1970; Ripollés 1989, 303–17; Campo 1992a, 195–209; *cf.* Villaronga 1994, 3–8, although this scholar thinks that all this emission must be dated to the 4th century B.C. García-Bellido (1994, 115–49) had pointed out the relationship between the systems used by Emporion, Massalia and Gades.

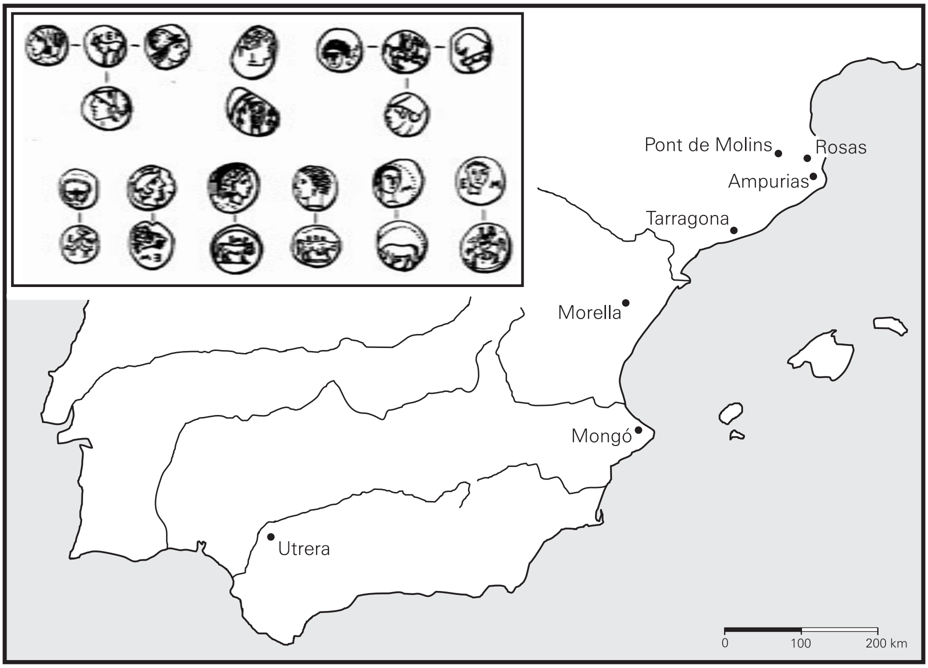

Fig. 28. Fractional coins from Emporion, second half of the 5th century/4th century B.C. (after Gil 1966, 39, fig. 5), and map showing the distribution of hoards in which they appear.

(mostly during the 4th century B.C.) through hoards found in the area around Emporion (Emporion itself, Rosas, Pont de Molins), except for Utrera in the Lower Guadalquivir, and from coastal regions (Tarragona, Mongó) or regions which are relatively close to the coast (Morella).[117] The currency is, then, another important piece of evidence for the rôle played by Emporion in relation to the native settlements in the Peninsula from the 5th century onwards. The distribution of these small coins (practically none weighs more than a gramme), suggests the custom already practised by the Phocaeans[118]

[117] A recent survey, which takes into consideration previous studies, is Chaves 1991; also Campo 1992b, 120. See also Ripollés 1989, 303–17; 1994, 137–53.

[118] We can mention in this regard a Phocaean coin made of electrum, found near Seville, which could be from the first half of the 6th century B.C. It weighs approximately 0.62g (Furtwängler 1977, 61–70).

of introducing small coins in fine metals into native contexts in order to promote exchange, although the exchanges themselves were mainly based on barter.

Thus, a close relationship between Emporitan involvement in Iberian trade and the prosperity of the settlement can be observed: the two are clearly parallel. The issue of coinage marks the birth of a *polis* with a clearly defined economic policy, with commercial activities as one of its main features, as suggested by Livy (34. 9) in his decription of the town, following the elder Cato, who visited it in 195 B.C., and who affirms that trade was one of its main activities:

> The Spaniards, who had no experience with the sea, enjoyed transacting business with them [the Greeks] and wanted both to buy the foreign merchandise which they brought in in their ships and to dispose of the products of their farms.
>
> (Loeb translation)

Rhode

The case of Rhode is, undoubtedly, somewhat more complex. Very little is known about its urban layout, and there is still uncertainity concerning the date of its emergence. The first significant evidence is from the middle of the 5th century B.C., although this is not clearly related to any structural remains.[119] It has been suggested that part of the uninscribed series of silver coins so far considered as fractions of the drachma may well correspond either to Emporion or Rhode,[120] although, in my opinion, the fact that only the inscriptions EM and EMΠ are found on the inscribed series raises doubts about this. Towards the end of the 5th century Rhode appears to have been within Emporion's area of influence, and both centres together controlled the coast of the Gulf of Rosas.[121] This consolidated the position of Emporion within its own area, it being essential for its commercial enterprise to operate in safe territory.

It seems that Emporion reoriented the entire hinterland of the Gulf of Rosas for its own benefit, not just for security (Fig. 29). Towards the end of the 5th century, in the hills bordering the coastal

[119] Martín 1982, 113–22; *cf.* Domínguez 1990, 13–25; Pujol 1989, 222–48.
[120] Ripollés 1989, 303–16; Campo 1992a, 195–209.
[121] On this complementarity, see Ruiz de Arbulo 1984, 115–40; 1992, 61–3.

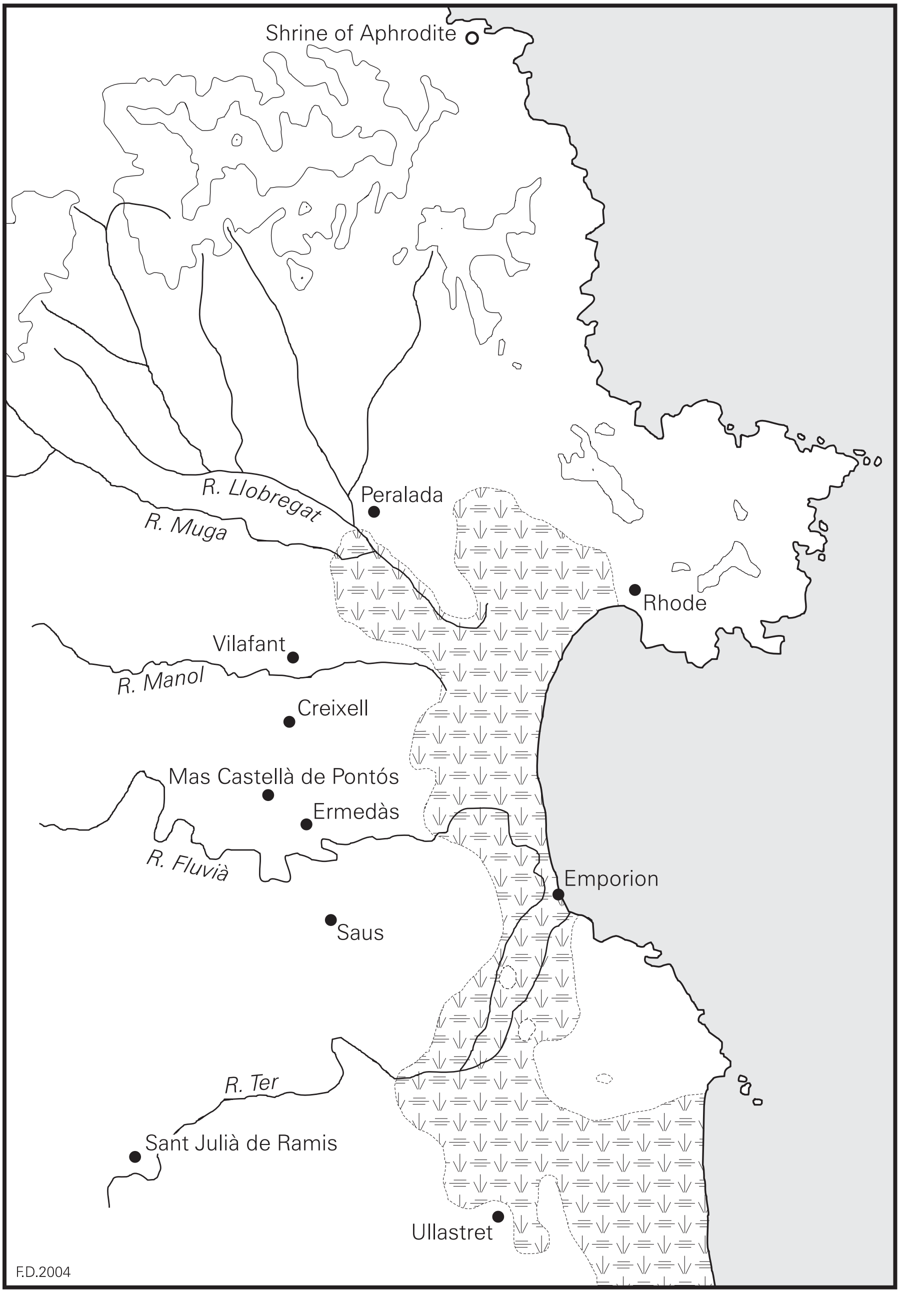

Fig. 29. Palaeogeographical setting of Emporion and Rhode, with the fields of storage pits surrounding both cities (after Ruiz de Arbulo 1992, 65, fig. 1).

lowlands, a group of native settlements began to emerge whose principal characteristic was the existence of a large quantity of pits, which may have been used for the storage of farming products and, eventually, for other manufacturing activities. Although these settlement reached their peak of prosperity in the 4th century B.C., this seems to have been the consequence of processes started during the preceding century. The location of these settlements appears to conform to a uniform patten, found also in Emporion and Rhode.[122] It would not be unlikely that this chain of native settlements was part of Emporion's *chora*, already in existence since the 5th century B.C.,[123] or it may have indicated the western limits of what Strabo (3. 4. 9) calls the *mesogaia*. In the period following that with which we are here concerned, there is some indication of the existence of sanctuaries in a number of these centres.[124] It is not necessary to go into the rôle played by sanctuaries outside the settlement in the definition of the concept of *polis*,[125] and those which are beginning to emerge would correspond to Malkin's definition of 'peripheral' regarding the location of suburban sanctuaries.[126]

The Problem of the Other Greek Sites in Iberia

In a text by Appian, which refers to the period before the outbreak of the Second Punic War, reference is made to Greeks living around Emporion, as well as 'anywhere else in Iberia' (Appian *Iber.* 7).[127]

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[122] For the first finds of these storage pits, see Martín 1977a, 1113–28; 1977b, 49–65; 1979, 677–90. The most recent research is summarised by Pons 1993, 105–28; Adroher *et al.* 1993, 31–70. On the fields of storage pits in Languedoc, see García 1987, 43–98.

[123] Ruiz de Arbulo 1992; *cf.* Domínguez 1986c, 193–9. However, Sanmartí (1993, 92–4) has suggested that the *chora* must be found instead towards the south of the town, in an area where there is also evidence for the existence of anchorages under Emporion's control (Nieto and Nolla 1985, 265–83); *cf.* Sanmartí 1995, 157–74. The area to the west of the town, according to Sanmartí, could have been an area devoted to agriculture. Concerning the relationship, in a broad sense, between Emporion and its region, Ampurdán, see Padró and Sanmartí 1987, 23–6. For a study of the *chora* of Emporion, see Plana 1994.

[124] Pontós: Adroher *et al.* 1993, 31–70. Sant Julià de Ramis—find of a vase, perhaps ritual: Burch *et al.* 1993, 40–45. In Ullastret two small temples situated in the highest part of the settlement are known, but I will not go further into this here.

[125] de Polignac 1984.

[126] Malkin 1987, 183–4.

[127] The quotation has already been commented upon by Tarradell (1974, 407–11).

Strabo, in his description of the Iberian Peninsula, mentions the fact that there were people from Emporion who lived in the region between Pyrene and the Trophies of Pompey (Strabo 3. 4. 9). Of course, these references belong to a later period, and it would not be valid to apply them automatically to an earlier time. However, as we have said above, both the information in the written sources as well as the traces left by Greek activities point towards the existence of Greek sites on the coast of the Iberian Peninsula. The problem remains of determining their type. Written sources are generally not of much help in identifying and evaluating these sites, since they are not usually precise enough to enable the nature of the eventual settlement to be determined (see Table).

List of Greek Settlements in the Iberian Peninsula

NAME	TYPE OF SETTLEMENT	METROPOLIS	LITERARY DATE OF FOUNDATION	EARLIEST GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL	REMARKS
Emporion	Initially *emporion*; later *polis*	Phocaea (Livy 34.9) Massalia (Strabo 3. 4. 8; Ps.-Skym. 204–205)	None	End of 7th/beginning of 6th century B.C.	The only true Greek *polis* in Iberia (perhaps from 5th century B.C.)
Rhode	Initially *emporion*; later *polis*	Emporion (Strabo 3. 4. 8) Massalia (Ps.-Skym. 205–206) Rhodes (Strabo 3. 4. 8; 14. 2. 10)	Before the establishment of the Olympic Games (Strabo 14. 2. 10)	End of 6th/beginning of 5th century B.C.	Perhaps a *polis* from 4th century B.C.
Hemeroskopeion	*polichnion*	Phocaea (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*) Massalia (Strabo 3. 4. 6)	None		Not identified with certainty; the region of Denia-Jávea has been proposed
Alonis	*polis* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*) *polichnion* ?	Massalia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*; Strabo 3. 4. 6 ?)	None	Some pottery of 6th century B.C.; more from beginning of 5th century B.C.	Perhaps one of the three cities cited by Strabo (3. 4. 6). Santa Pola has been proposed as place of location

NAME	TYPE OF SETTLEMENT	METROPOLIS	LITERARY DATE OF FOUNDATION	EARLIEST GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL	REMARKS
Unknown	*polichnion*	Massalia (Strabo 3. 4. 6)	None		Nothing is known about its name or localisation
Mainake	*polis* (Strabo 3. 4. 2; Ps.-Skym. 146–147)	Phocaea (Strabo 3. 4. 2) Massalia (Ps.-Skym. 146–147)	None	On the coast of Málaga, there is much Greek pottery from end of 7th/ beginning of 6th century B.C.	It would be a *polis* according to both authors; today (almost) nobody thinks of Mainake as a Greek city
Saguntum	*emporion*? *enoikismos*?	Zakynthos (Pliny *NH* 16. 216; Livy 21. 7. 2; Strabo 3. 4. 6; Appian *Iber.* 7)	200 years before the Trojan War (Pliny *NH* 16)	*Ca.* 580 B.C.	Almost certainly not a Greek city

By looking mainly at archaeological evidence, some authors have attempted to establish a distinction between what were native centres for the redistribution of Greek products and what were Greek *emporia*.[128] For Rouillard, *emporia* could be of three types. The first is one in which trade is more active than craft activity: Mainake and Alonis would belong to this type; the second is one in which both trade and crafts are active, but with a clear separation between Greeks and natives: Emporion is an instance of this. In the third type commercial activities are not very important: Rhode and Hemeroskopeion would belong to this category.[129] However, this perspective is far from satisfactory. There are problems concerning the nature of Mainake as a Greek settlement: it is not unlikely that this was a Greek name given to a Phoenician (Toscanos?) or native settlement. Regarding Rhode, hardly anything has been found in the 5th century B.C. As for Hemeroskopeion, it has not been identified with absolute certainty.[130] This leaves Alonis, which, as we saw before,

[128] Rouillard 1991, 311–2. See also M.H. Hansen's chapter in the present volume.
[129] Rouillard 1991, 311–2.
[130] *Cf.* the remarks on the non-existence of settlements in Fernández Nieto 1992, 131–2; see also the comments by Niemeyer (1989, 38–9). On the last place, see Pena 1993, 61–77.

seems to have been located near Santa Pola (province of Alicante).

Santa Pola has an excellent location, at the mouth of the Rivers Segura and Vinalopó. As palaeogeographic analyses of the area have shown, the two rivers flowed into a large lagoon (*Sinus Illicitanus*) with two islands where the lagoon met the sea—Santa Pola the one further north, El Molar to the south. In Roman times, Santa Pola contained the *Portus Illicitanus*,[131] obviously the outlet to the sea of the town of Illici, one of the key centres for the whole Iberian world in the south-east,[132] which was located in the Alcudia in Elche, on an ancient island close to what was then the mouth of the Vinalopó in the lagoon (Fig. 30).[133]

A small survey of Santa Pola in 1976 revealed some Attic pottery from the second half of the 5th century,[134] and it seems that some grey pottery of Greek origin was found (still unpublished). It is also argued that the Attic pottery found there has a larger variety of shapes than that commonly found in Iberian sites.[135] On the 'island' of El Molar two settlements and an Iberian necropolis have been discovered,[136] and opposite, on the other bank of the River Segura, a necropolis and a possible sanctuary.[137] Further towards the interior, there are La Peña Negra de Crevillente and Los Saladares, which reached a period of prosperity in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., thanks to the Phoenician presence.[138] These places still existed in the 5th century.[139]

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131 Sánchez *et al.* 1986.

132 On the central rôle of Illici, see Domínguez 1984, 141–60; Santos 1992, 33–47.

133 On La Alcudia, see Ramos 1991 (with bibliography).

134 Sánchez *et al.* 1986, 50–3.

135 References in Rouillard 1991, 304–5; 1982, 428–9. Excavation resumed in Santa Pola in 1991. The connexion between the variety of shapes and the Greek character of the place where they were found has already been shown in Jully 1978, 10–1.

136 El Oral, settlement of the first half of the 5th century B.C. (Abad and Sala 1993). Its inhabitants perhaps transferred themselves to neighbouring La Escuera (4th–2nd centuries B.C.) (Nordström 1967; Abad 1986a, 146–7). El Molar, necropolis, perhaps in relation to El Oral (Senent 1930; Monraval and López 1984, 145–62; Abad and Sala 1982, 145–67).

137 Cabezo Lucero, necropolis, end of the 5th-first half of the 3rd century B.C. (Aranegui 1992, 169–88; Aranegui *et al.* 1993). Castillo de Guardamar, perhaps a sanctuary, 3rd–2nd centuries B.C. (Abad 1986b, 151–2; 1992, 225–38; García Menárquez, 1992–93, 68–96).

138 González Prats 1991, 109–18; 1998, 191–228.

139 Peña Negra was abandoned in the middle of the 6th century B.C., but it seems to have been re-occupied in the last third of the 5th century (González Prats 1983). Los Saladares seems to be a residual settlement in the 5th century B.C. (*cf.* Abad and Sala 1993, 240–1).

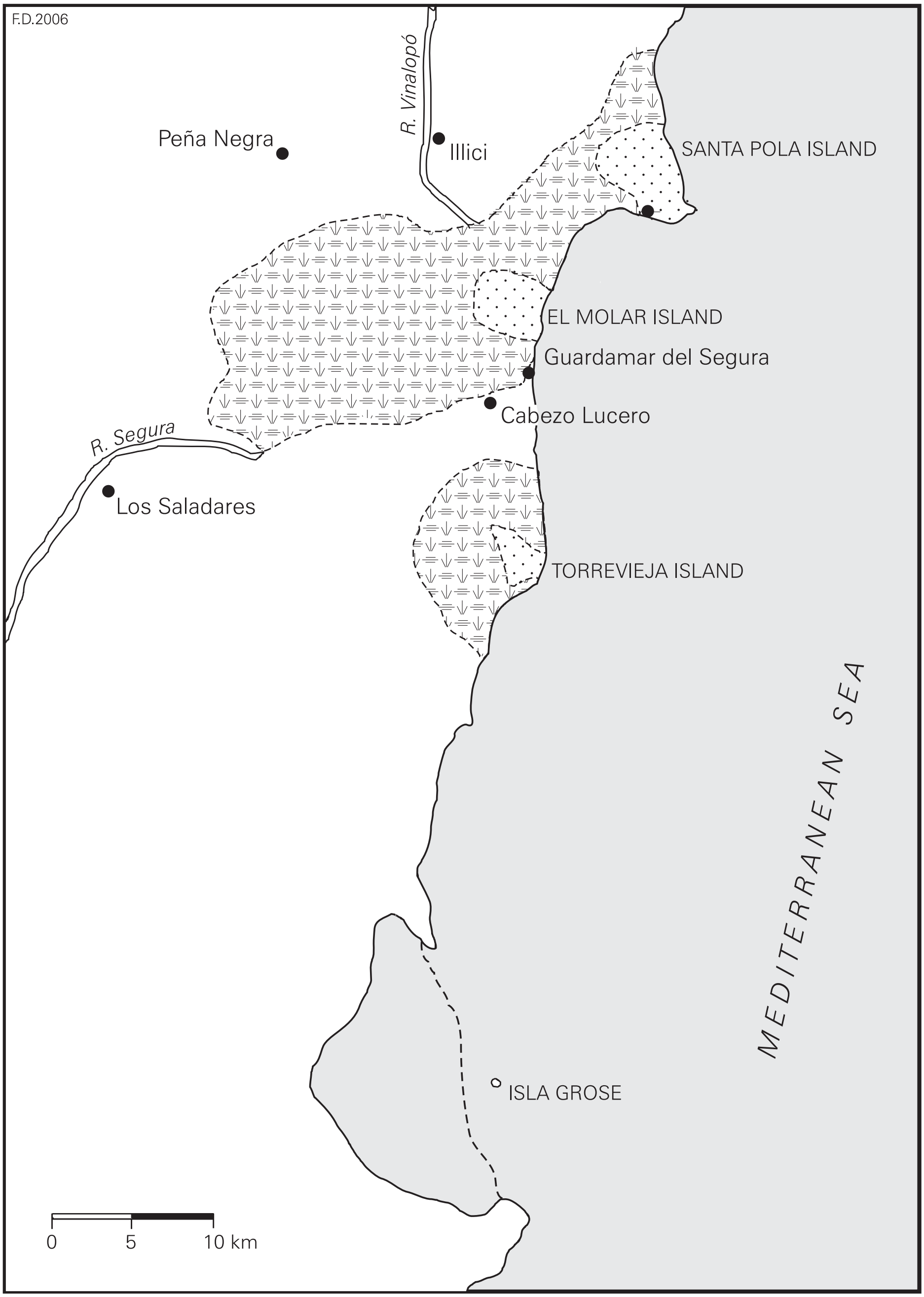

Fig. 30. Reconstruction of the ancient topography of the *Sinus Illicitanus*.

Both the old imports of the town of El Oral,[140] as well as the slightly more recent ones in the necropolis of Cabezo Lucero,[141] direct our attention back to Emporion. In Cabezo Lucero, the presence of lekythoi, pyxides and lekanides[142] return us to Emporion and its context, where there are vases focusing on the female world which are very poorly distributed outside the town itself.[143] The same is true of some graffiti in the Ionian alphabet (Fig. 6.2), indicating possession, on the base of an Attic lip cup of 500–480 B.C., which was buried in a grave dating from the end of the 5th century B.C.[144]

Finally, it should not be forgotten that Santa Pola is located at the starting point of a network of routes to the interior, by means of which stone sculptures of Greek influence and Greek pottery were distributed up country,[145] possibly from the important native settlement of Illici (Fig. 31). Nor should it be forgotten that it could have been another of the region's products, salt, that first captured the attention of the Greeks.[146]

Nevertheless, there is still a lack of tangible evidence for the existence of a Greek centre in Santa Pola.[147] However, use has been made of indirect evidence: the presence in the area of Greek pottery from the 6th century B.C.; the high volume of imports from the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 4th century; the importance of Iberian craftsmanship in the area; etc.[148] These are arguments that may only account for the intensity of

[140] The most usual form is the cup of type C (Abad and Sala 1993, 201–2, 237–8). This cup is well attested among imports from Emporion in the first half of the 5th century B.C. (Padró and Sanmartí 1992, 187).

[141] Rouillard 1993, 87–94. The earliest tombs are dated to the 5th century B.C.

[142] Rouillard 1993, 87–94.

[143] Sánchez 1992a, 287–8.

[144] Aranegui *et al.* 1993, 225–6, fig. 62.1, pl. 67 C–D.

[145] Chapa 1986; with Domínguez 1986d, 311–26. Domínguez 1984, 141–60; 1988, 327–34; *cf.* Abad and Sala 1993, 240–1.

[146] *Cf.* Domínguez 1985, 363; 1986b, 607–8. On the supposed relation of the name Alonis with the salt, see Jacob 1985, 256–7.

[147] Niemeyer (1988–90, 279) has noted that the sites in this area (Santa Pola, Cabezo Lucero) show no differences when compared with other Iberian sites on the eastern coast of Spain.

[148] For instance, in Cabezo Lucero 696 pieces have appeared. Among the Iberian sculptures of the necropolis there are Greek-type palmettes, fragments of simae with ovolo and darts, Egyptian simae, etc. For a discussion of all these arguments, see Rouillard 1993, 91–4; 1991, 303–6. On the sculptures from Cabezo Lucero, see Llobregat 1993, 69–85.

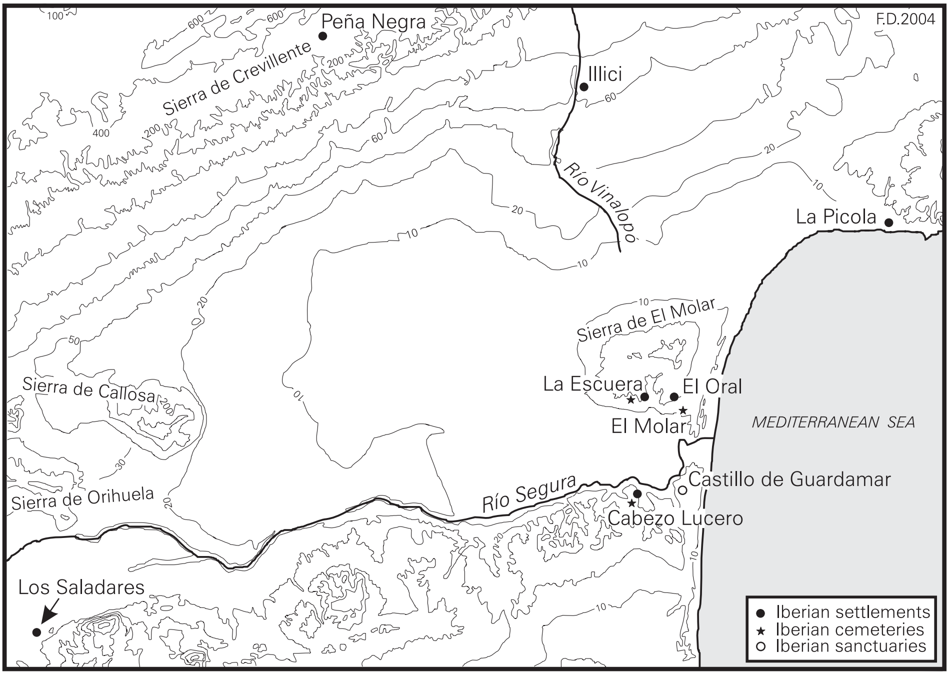

Fig. 31. The area of the mouths of the Rivers Segura and Vinalopó, and the ancient lagoon (*albufera*) of Illici (after Abad and Sala 1993, 5, fig. 4).

Greek commercial and cultural activities around the old lagoon in Elche, which makes it reasonable to suppose that there must have been a significant centre of operations there. New light on the question is shed by the recently published excavation of the fortified settlement of La Picola, in Santa Pola, which shows a regular layout and defensive system of clear Greek inspiration—it may have served as the harbour or the *emporion* for the native town of Illici, and Greek intervention seems clear (Fig. 32). It was built towards the mid-5th century and used until *ca.* 330 B.C. All the construction seems to have been based on the use of a foot (29.7cm), certainly the same as that used in Emporion.[149] The results of the excavation show that, in La Picola, the Greeks would have been under the authority of native rulers. This is the pattern most probably followed in Huelva

[149] Moret *et al.* 1995, 109–25; Badié *et al.* 2000.

Fig. 32. Possible territorial area of Illici and its periphery (after Santos 1992, 42, fig. 8).

and in other areas, such as Gravisca, and in many further places throughout the Mediterranean.[150]

Conclusions. Greeks and Iberians

To conclude this chapter, I would like to reprise the main issues considered.

First of all, the rôle of Tartessos as the focus of attraction for Phoenician and, later, Greek trade. It was its mining wealth which opened new economic perspectives to those Greeks, Ionians in general and Phocaeans in particular, who had the political and demographic ability to develop important trading and colonising activities in the last years of the 7th century B.C. and the first years of its successor. Once they had begun to frequent the Iberian Peninsula, the Phocaeans developed a strategy consisting in the establishment of ports of call and watering along the coast to ease their journeying to and from the Tartessian market. It is in this context that places such as San Martín de Ampurias arose, which in the future would become the city of Emporion. In these years place-names of Greek origin possibly appear, witness to the Greek's increasing knowledge and economic use of the Iberian coast.

From the second half of the 6th century onwards there are several facts that will prove decisive in shaping the Greek presence in Iberia. The fall of Phocaea to the Persians, the Greek-Etruscan and Greek-Punic wars in the central Mediterranean, the arrival of fugitives in the West, the decreased profits from the Tartessian mines, etc., would force the reshaping of Phocaean activities in the Peninsula. The consolidation of the city of Emporion and the increase of Greek trade in south-eastern Iberia were the direct consequences of these troubled years, along with the development of at least three establishments between New Carthage and the Júcar river, yet to be found or understood.

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150 On those *Gastkontoren* or foreign commercial agents, see Barceló 1988, 20. As well, see the very interesting inscription from Pistiros (Vetren, Bulgaria) which regulates the relationship between the Greek *emporion* and Greek *emporoi* and the native (Thracian) king (Domaradzki 1993, 35–57). On the *emporion* and its perception by the Greeks, see Rouillard 1995, 95–108; also the papers in Bresson and Rouillard 1993. See also M.H. Hansen's chapter in the present volume.

The 5th and the first half of the 4th century would have been a flourishing time in the urban and political development of Emporion, with the intensification of trade with the native people of Iberia the major consequence. Emporion acquired a great deal of wealth and was able to expand her trading net, thus benefiting from the new opportunities generated by the then very active Attic and Western Greek markets. At the same time, she exerted a very intensive cultural influence upon the Iberians, especially those living in the south-east of the Peninsula. From the second half of the 4th century a very different situation would materialise, but that is outside our scope.

The Greeks living in Iberia were never a political alternative for the natives, not least in those places, such as Emporion and Rhode, where they could develop autonomous political power. However, they were always useful, insofar as they could offer all the instruments required by the Iberians to express their own needs for a new political and ideological language; needs generated as a consequence of the contacts established first with the Phoenicians and later with the Greeks. The Greeks' secret lay in their capacity to provide the native population, especially the élite, with products required in the process of developing complex socio-political structures. Whether these products were tangible goods (pottery, wine, olive-oil) or services (such as 'technical advice' in matters such as writing, sculpture, etc.), the Greeks were able to satisfy the demand in exchange for the raw materials of the Iberian Peninsula.

However, this is not the same as making the Greeks responsible for the birth of 'Iberian culture'; that is the result of social groupings in the Peninsula, ones which were already heavily influenced by the earlier presence of the Phoenicians. Within the process of shaping Iberian culture, the Greeks must have played a passive rôle. However, when people from Iberia needed their artistic, commercial or cultural experience, or when, in order to emphasise the existing differences within their social structures, they needed distinctive elements such as exotic products, the Greeks were there to adapt their flexible commercial system to their Iberian partners' new demands. All of this was for profit (*kerdos*), which was the underlying motivation for a mercantile people such as the Phocaeans, but profit does not necessarily imply political control.

I think that this tiny political influence was a common feature that Emporion shared with most of the Phocaean settlements in the western Mediterranean: this is the obvious consequence of the small

chorai developed by these cities (Massalia, Elea/Hyele, Emporion). It is questionable if this was the result of a conscious decision or the result of external constraints. I would like to think the former.

Only Massalia had greater freedom of action, although not until the second half of the 4th century. At that moment she would expand her influence along the coasts of southern Gaul and Iberia in the form of a loose confederation, but even then she could do little more than consider as hers the old establishments created in the Peninsula by Greeks from Emporion. This is the main difference between the Greek presence in Iberia and Greek colonisation in other areas of the Mediterranean, and certainly one that makes this historical process exceptional.

Notwithstanding this, the Greeks succeeded at last in exerting a very deep cultural influence on the native Iberians (*e.g.* Strabo 4. 1. 5), in such a way that those regions affected by Greek activities had no difficulty in accepting the new cultural models represented, later on, by Rome, thus becoming fully Romanised before any other part of the Peninsula. This was, paradoxically, the main legacy the Greeks left in Iberia on the eve of its becoming Hispania.

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GREEKS IN THE EAST MEDITERRANEAN (SOUTH ANATOLIA, SYRIA, EGYPT)

John Boardman

A settled Greek presence overseas was dependent initially on a desire or need to leave home, and ultimately on the reactions and interests of those whose lands the Greeks visited or hoped to settle. In the areas considered in this chapter (Fig. 1) these were well-established kingdoms or their subject areas, and there was no question of founding colonies in the current scholarly sense of the word. We are dealing with *apoikia* only in the broadest terms, as 'a home from home', and more often with what might be usefully termed *enoikismos*,[1] settlement absorbed by or alongside the local population, and not even necessarily a 'Greek quarter'. Only in Egypt did the Greeks acquire a degree of local independence, strictly monitored by the Egyptians, and in early days at Al Mina in Syria they seem, for a while, to have been mainly on their own. Their presence in Cyprus will be considered by M. Iacovou in Volume 2. Our survey accordingly proceeds with reference to the history of the local populations, so far as it can be determined, rather than that of the Greeks. Some advantage in this lies in the fact that we are then somewhat less dependent on Greek sources than on local ones, which are contemporary and are not flawed by the imaginative invention of much later writers. Much of the other evidence is archaeological and we must judge evidence that might suggest or even prove Greek presence, whether this was a settled presence, and any indication of the terms under which it had been admitted. This is not a subject in which absolute proof can be expected. More often it is a question of judgment of plausibility, where analogy with other, better documented areas, can be of value.

The subject has lived long in the shadow of traditional views about the relative rôles of Greeks and Easterners. An Eastern site that produced much Greek pottery was naturally (over 50 years ago) taken

[1] This is not an altogether proper use of the Greek word except to the extent that *enoikizo* may imply tenancy.

Fig. 1. Map of the eastern Mediterranean.

for a colony, and even small quantities justified claims for a Greek presence, while all Greek literary sources were taken to be historically truthful. Revised views have produced equally exaggerated claims about the worthlessness of pottery as a marker, and the almost exclusive rôle in the Mediterranean of Easterners, usually taken to be Phoenicians,[2] which does less than justice to many others from the

[2] For an extreme example, see Negbi 1992, where all Eastern artefacts in the West are taken for Phoenician, Cypriot and mainland production is confused, two separate tombs at Knossos are conflated, and Kommos in Crete is promoted to being a Phoenician post on archaeological evidence which offers at best Phoenician visits for a limited period after a brief religious intervention (Shaw 1989). Most Eastern influence in Crete is (As)syrian or Cypriot.

East whose culture proved far more influential in the Greek world. The relevant Eastern documents are scrappy and rarely address directly the subjects that concern us, but they are suggestive.

Archaeological uncertainty about the identification of important diagnostic material which might be Phoenician, or North Syrian, or Cypriot, has not helped, and there are still problems of distinguishing between the Egyptian, Phoenician, Graeco-Egyptian, Graeco-Phoenician and Phoenicio-Egyptian. Fortunately there is no comparable uncertainty about the Greek material, except in details of dating, but this has ceased to be a serious problem for these years.

The first period carries us to around 700 B.C., a period of Assyrian domination in the north. However, the peoples we deal with are generally not themselves Assyrian, but the Syro-Hittite states and Phoenician cities. In Egypt it takes us to about the time when the XXVth (Ethiopian) Dynasty began to rule all Egypt (from 716 B.C., with Shabako). The second period takes us to the decline of Assyrian power and the rise of Babylon in the third quarter of the 7th century, and in Egypt to the first king who is relevant for us (Psamtek/Psammetichos I; 664–10 B.C.) of the XXVIth (Saïte) Dynasty. The third, to the arrival of the Persians a century later. Thereafter, no more than occasional notice.

The area covered runs from the coast west of Cilicia down the Levant coast to Egypt, excluding Cyprus and Libya (see the chapter by M.M. Austin in Volume 2). There are, first, Cilicia and North Syria, with ready access to the former from the sea, while the latter, on the other side of the Amanus mountains, led via the lower Orontes valley through the rich Amuq plain into upper Mesopotamia and the Assyrian homeland. With these comes the slight evidence for early settlement on the south Anatolian coast. Then comes the relatively narrow coastal strip of homeland Phoenicia with its major city ports. Beyond the mountains to the east lies South Syria, culturally and politically akin to North. To the south and with more contacts inland are the kingdoms of Israel and Judah with the various states of Palestine. Then the desert and Sinai provide a not impassable barrier to Egypt where the Nile is the focus of all activity. Sea currents made the passage from south to north along the Levant coast relatively easy. There was no serious problem about direct traffic between Egypt and Cyprus or East Greece except in the stormy season, and the passage between Rhodes and Egypt may have been open all the year round. In the Delta the main Egyptian cities are, in our period, significantly not on the coast, while the

major sites deliberately oriented to the northern sea are promoted by Greeks—Naukratis and later Alexandria.[3]

The Levant to around 700 B.C.

The first Iron Age Greeks known to the Assyrians were Ionians, *Iaones*, whom they called *Yawan* or *Yaman*, a usage adopted around 730 B.C. Athenians and Euboeans were Ionian, as well as the residents of cities of Ionia across the Aegean, and the Eastern term almost certainly came to be applied to almost any Westerner, including the Dorians of Rhodes and non-Greeks of Anatolia, like the 'Franks' in later centuries to the present day.[4] That the Ionians were named and identified so early, and not by sea-trading states but by Assyrians, suggests personal contact. The Greeks were far vaguer in naming people and places and Herodotus could take as 'Syria' almost anywhere from the Black Sea to Egypt. For Greeks 'Phoenicia' covered all the Syro-Palestinian coast, and the Persian satrapy 'Beyond the River' (Euphrates) included all this and perhaps Cyprus. The Assyrians called the Syrians 'Hatti' (our neo-Hittites) but extended the term to Phoenicians also, which is not helpful. Some of the *Odyssey*'s 'Phoenicians' are given a home in Sidon but a Greek 'Phoenician' could be almost any Levantine, including those from the Canaanite homeland of what we regard as the major 'Phoenician' cities. The words Phoenix and Canaan probably both refer to the purple dyes for which the coast-dwellers had been famous since the Bronze Age. Modern writers are easily confused. Here, by Phoenicia I mean the major cities from Aradus to Tyre, roughly modern Lebanon.

In the first period the Syro-Hittite states (Que and Unqi in our area) had been gradually annexed by Assyria, becoming Assyrian provinces in 738 B.C., but there had been an Aramaean presence

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[3] The principal secondary sources for the Greek rôle in this period are chapters in *CAH* III.3 (1982), notably Braun 1982a; 1982b, and for the archaeology, Boardman 1999a (a reprint of the 1980 edition, itself updating 1964, but with an additional chapter). Haider 1996 gives a good survey of the evidence for subjects in this chapter, especially the literary. And for Greeks in Syria, see Boardman 2002a and Kuhrt 2002.

[4] Braun 1982a, 1–3; Boardman 1994b, 24; Brinkman 1989 lists most ancient occurrences of the Eastern (Akkadian) terms.

there since at least 1000 B.C., which seems to have become dominant, eventually having the Phoenician script adapted to its language, and identifiable in its own centres, as at Hama. We must judge the Aramaean-Syrian folk to have been rich, businesslike and therefore with trading interests, but not, so far as can be judged, on the high seas.[5] The Assyrians were wary of the Syrians, especially after a period of their apparent alliance with Urartu, in the north-east, but both were politically extinguished by the beginning of the 7th century, although most of the Syrian cities survived and their craftsmen were busy. In this area there have been major finds of Greek material at Al Mina, at the mouth of the River Orontes, and at major sites of the hinterland, as well as at Cilician Tarsus, and these give rise to questions about the possibility of a Greek presence.

The Phoenician cities were possibly less seriously affected by the turmoils that attended the end of the Bronze Age and the activities of the Sea Peoples than areas farther south. In the 9th century there is record of 'tribute' from them to Assyria, which is assumed to have commercial connotations,[6] continuing into the 7th century. By this time there had been more active Assyrian involvement in the area, starting with Tiglath-Pileser's campaigns (734–732 B.C.). Close connexions with Egypt were maintained throughout, and this seems to have been a period of vigorous Phoenician activity and wealth, which had always depended on their resources of timber and perhaps production of textiles. This secured their status as architects (as for the Temple of Solomon) and shipbuilders. They provided ships and, it seems, a shipping service for the major powers of the East—Assyria and Egypt, and depended on the revenues from this activity rather than acquisition of land.[7] For their own trade they developed a variety of luxury crafts but also shipped, for themselves or others, foodstuffs in the ubiquitous 'Canaanite jars' (which are not exclusively Phoenician) and raw materials.

To what extent the Phoenicians were also installed on the North Syrian coast is obscure, and so far not attested archaeologically. This was Assyria's access to the sea via the Orontes valley, and since neither Assyrians nor Aramaeans were sea-goers they were reliant on

[5] Hawkins 1982 for a full account. On the origin of the Aramaeans, see Sader 1992.
[6] Kestemont 1972; 1983.
[7] Elat 1991; Kelly 1992.

others. Cilicia, beyond the Amanus, is a different matter. It led to eastern Anatolia and the old Hittite centres rather than Assyria, which was approached up the Orontes. There is some evidence for Phoenician interest or influence in eastern Cilicia, as far as Karatepe. I.J. Winter has argued this well, and differentiates it from any influence they had in the lower Orontes valley.[8] In the Classical period, under the Persians, Myriand(r)os (near Alexandretta) was described by Xenophon as a trading port inhabited by 'Phoenicians'.[9] The Persians were wholly reliant on the Phoenician fleet in the Mediterranean but we cannot lightly assume that the port had also been in Phoenician hands in and ever since the 9th century.

However, there were probably some Phoenicians in North Syria, and more certainly in Cilicia, in our period, serving Assyria or themselves, and they made some recognisable though relatively superficial contribution to the complexion of Syrian culture, where some Egyptianising arts had been familiar since the Bronze Age. In the major arts, such as ivory-carving and bronze-working, North Syrian, Assyrian and Phoenician styles are distinguishable (as at Nimrud), even South Syrian.[10] The glyptic record is also quite distinctive.[11] The pottery of Al Mina and the Amuq plain behind it has much in common with that of both Phoenicia and Cyprus. This is a period in which there appears to have been virtually a *koine* of pottery styles in this area, some of them deriving originally from Cyprus, many of them not yet readily distinguishable except through chemical analysis. Assumptions about what is 'Cypriot' or 'Syrian' or 'Phoenician' are regularly being revised. This pottery is a less reliable indicator than the contemporary, regionally distinctive Greek wares of the day, and we are perhaps better guided by other media.[12]

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[8] Winter 1979; 1995; *cf.* Bing 1985. Note that the names in Phoenician inscriptions in Cilicia are all Cilician, and it is suggested that Phoenician was used as an 'official language', as was Aramaic later. See Lemaire 1991; Tekoglu and Lemaire 2000.

[9] Kestemont 1983, 66; 1985, believing that the site lost autonomy in the late 8th century. Xenophon *Anab.* 1. 4. 6 (not *founded* by Phoenicians, as Kestemont says). Herodotus (4. 38) describes the Myriandian Gulf as lying towards Phoenicia. Ps.-Skylax (102) calls it a port (*limen*) of Phoenicians. The name, with an *-andos* ending, is Anatolian/Hittite.

[10] Winter 1976; 1981; 1988.

[11] Boardman 1996.

[12] Röllig 1992, on the Phoenician inscriptions in the north; also Hawkins 1982, 377–8, 437. It may be that what little Egyptianising Phoenician art contributed to the Greek Orientalising revolution also came via North Syria and the route via or

The history of the major Phoenician city-ports is reasonably well established. The finds are plentiful though seldom from effectively excavated sites. The decorative and figurative arts depend heavily on Egypt and always look south, not north. Farther south, Israel and Judah had close relations with Phoenicia and suffered only a little less from Assyrians, though Jerusalem was raided by Aramaeans around 800 B.C.[13]

Against this background we consider Greek finds in the Levant. Sixty years ago isolated finds of Greek Geometric pottery had been made, including a substantial quantity at Al Mina, where Sir Leonard Woolley sought evidence for East-West contacts at the obvious point of access to Mesopotamia. He found what he sought for both the Bronze Age (at Atchana/Alalakh) and the Iron Age. Al Mina lay at the mouth of the Orontes, providing neither a fine natural harbour nor a readily defensible site, but ideally placed for visiting shipping from the west and a convenient collection point for trading material from the hinterland: the perfect *emporion*, geographically. The finds resulted in Al Mina being called a Greek colony by some (and wrongly identified with the ancient Posideion). Its architecture is nondescript, more Eastern than anything, but largely dictated by available materials (water-worn boulders for foundations, brick for walls, unlike Greece where stone was in readier supply). Excavations in the Amuq plain immediately inland, including Tell Tayinat on which Al Mina must have been dependent, also yielded substantial amounts of Greek pottery, but unpublished.[14]

Excavation in Greece and the East, together with chance finds, have filled out the picture. We can now recognise most of the Geometric pottery in the East as from Euboea or its dependencies, and can be confident that the overall pattern will be confirmed by continuing discoveries, now virtually an annual occurrence (Fig. 1).

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past Cyprus and Rhodes rather than direct; *cf.* Boardman 1994b. At Aramaean Hama the pottery is broadly 'Phoenician' of the *koine*, virtually all other finds and inscriptions being Syrian/Aramaean (Riis and Buhl 1990).

[13] Mitchell 1982, the raid, 497–8.

[14] Boardman 1990, 172, with references (see also Boardman 1999b). For the site now, see Pamir and Nishiyama 2002; Boardman 2002b. Saltz 1978 is a major source for the Amuq finds but is an unpublished thesis. She argued for updating Greek finds by some 50 years but this discounts Greek colonial evidence for dating, and would, for instance, put the Bocchoris scarab at Ischia some 50 years earlier than Bocchoris himself. See Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 379. For the Near Eastern evidence, see Fantalkin 2001a.

It shows sporadic arrival of pottery from at least as early as about 900 B.C. (at Catal Hüyük, Ras el-Bassit, Tyre, and T. Hadar by the Sea of Galilee, so far), increasing to around 700 B.C.[15] But at Al Mina and its hinterland (notably Tell Tayinat), and to a lesser degree at Tarsus in Cilicia, the volume of Greek pottery of the 8th century, is relatively very much greater in proportion to the other wares found than it is on more southerly sites, and this indicates a different nature of contact with Greeks.

My Table below gives an indication of the relative proportions of Greek pottery at various relevant sites in this period, and of the intensity of its occurrence in excavated areas.[16] That at Al Mina is mainly of before 750 to after 700 B.C. Of the earlier pottery the distinctive type is the cup decorated with pendent semicircles (Sub-Protogeometric), well represented now on Euboean sites and its origin confirmed by clay analysis. It is current to at least the mid-8th century and followed by equally distinctive types with more conventional Geometric decoration. To assess what this import means in terms of possible Greek presence we have first to consider its character, and its possible carriers. Much of the Greek Geometric pottery in the East is cups, the only vessel shape which would not have been available to Greeks locally. That the demand for cups was an élite one, from Assyria, is most implausible. Easterners drank from handleless, round-bottomed cups, and the élite from metal; Greeks from handled, footed cups, of the type imported. I cannot see an Assyrian preferring a Greek clay cup, nor is there any evidence for such preference while there is much against it.[17] At Tyre and Ras el-Bassit there were also, with the early pottery, Euboean amphorae, presumably for the carriage of olive oil, a commodity hardly unfamiliar in the East and probably just 'in the baggage' of early visitors.[18]

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[15] Boardman 1990, 174, fig. 1, the map. Waldbaum 1993 mentions recent finds. See also Boardman 1999b; Luke 2003; Coldstream and Mazar 2003.

[16] For the figures, see Boardman 1990 and 1999b. It is possible now to be more precise about the Al Mina proportions (see Fig. 4). The Greek pottery items now number around 1500, so the items per m^2 are 0.65. Dr Lehmann tells me that Al Mina's site area is far more extensive than Woolley's reports might lead us to suppose. A good new assessment of the Greek pottery in the East in Popham 1994.

[17] Boardman 2002a, 8–10; 2004. Crielaard 1993 thought the Greek cups functioned as gift exchange with Assyrians—it would have to have been very low level. In this period exotica, East and West, would have ended their days in 'élite' graves whether they travelled as trade or gifts.

[18] Courbin 1993, for the amphorae; he thinks the Phoenicians would have taken it for a luxury!

Greek Pottery Proportions at some Eastern Sites
(*cf.* Boardman 1990, 171–75; 1999b, 153, n. 34)

SITES	AREA EXCAVATED IN SQ. M.	GREEK POTTERY ITEMS*	GREEK ITEMS* PER SQ. M.	GREEK % OF ALL
Tarsus	660	70	0.1	2?
Al Mina	2300	1500	0.65	47
Ras el-Bassit	900	25?	0.03?	?< 3
Tell Sukas	425	14	0.03	?< 5
Tyre	150	31	0.21	0.13

* 'decorated' pottery at Tyre; kept pottery at Al Mina; 'diagnostic' pottery at Tyre.

Greeks had probably known Eastern waters well, down to the 11th century, and Mycenaean pottery is relatively more common in Cyprus and along the northern Levant coast (Ugarit, Atchana) than farther south (see J. Vanschoonwinkel's chapter on Mycenaean expansion in the present volume). Although Cyprus may have been responsible for much of this activity of a Mycenaean flavour, it could hardly have been innocent of Greek involvement. The earliest surviving (hardly the first) Iron Age Cypriot syllabary inscription (11th century) is a Greek name on a Cypriot *obelos*.[19] And the Easterners had probably known the Aegean. A shared Dark Age does not mean that two-way traffic stopped, merely that it ceased to be archaeologically visible or culturally influential.[20] But since almost all the early pottery reaching the East came from Euboea it is reasonable to deduce that the Euboeans were the major carriers, since Easterners need not have been so selective of their sources. There is, for instance, nothing Cretan in the East yet Crete was a prime recipient of Orientalising culture.

At Al Mina, in the first phase from the inception of any settlement there, almost all the pottery is Greek, Euboean, with a very little Attic, and some Corinthian and Samian towards the end. One must deduce that Euboean Greeks were the founders, and geography suggests that their intention was to safeguard trade. There was and had been a measure of reciprocity, however carried, even from the 10th century on. But this is from a variety of sources, with goods

[19] Mitford and Masson 1982, 74–5.

[20] On the busy character of earlier trade in the Mediterranean, see Cline 1994.

from Egypt, Cyprus, Syria and Phoenicia.[21] The Euboeans had a longer record of exploration of foreign shores in the Early Iron Age than any other Greeks or even than the Phoenicians; witness their exploration of and settling in Macedonia from the 11th century on.[22] It looks as though the growing interest in the route between Euboea and North Syria/Mesopotamia through Al Mina and Tell Tayinat developed strongly at just the time the Euboeans were beginning to settle in the West (Ischia).

The flow of goods on this route, via or past Cyprus and Rhodes, resulted in the main Orientalising revolution in Greek culture in the 8th century, which was effected by Syrian goods and styles, rather than Phoenician, though these are also present to a lesser degree. Nor is it likely that the Phoenicians were major carriers for this route west since the pattern of distribution of relevant objects stops short of the Phoenician areas of exploration in the western Mediterranean (Fig. 3).[23] If Phoenicians had been the carriers we would expect the Syrian products to have been taken farther west, with other Phoenician goods, and they are not. The strong Syrian character of Greek Orientalising culture can only be explained in terms of mainly Greek initiative in the 8th century, probably building on earlier exploration and exchanges.

The second phase at Al Mina takes us to the beginning of the 7th century, probably then interrupted by the Assyrian dismembering of the remaining Syrian states. The proportion of Euboean (and a little other Greek) pottery is now roughly half, and most of the rest is of Cypriot type, beside some Syrian. This seems to argue a Cypriot presence beside the Greek, not surprising from a largely Greek-speaking island. Much of both the Greek and Cypriot pottery at Al Mina is of a type which seems not to have been made in Greece or Cyprus, but locally, probably in Syria, possibly some even at Al Mina.[24] There can be no stronger indication of settled Greek, then Cypriot, presence. Fig. 2 indicates the pottery proportions at Al Mina for the relevant period, involving some 3,000 fragments.

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[21] For the finds at Lefkandi in Euboea, see now Popham 1994.

[22] The point well made in Snodgrass 1994.

[23] Boardman 1990; 1994b. Add the passage of Mesopotamian glazed clay vessels via Al Mina to the Aegean and Etruria, not beyond. See Peltenburg 1969.

[24] Boardman 1999a, 148–50; 2003, 151–3.

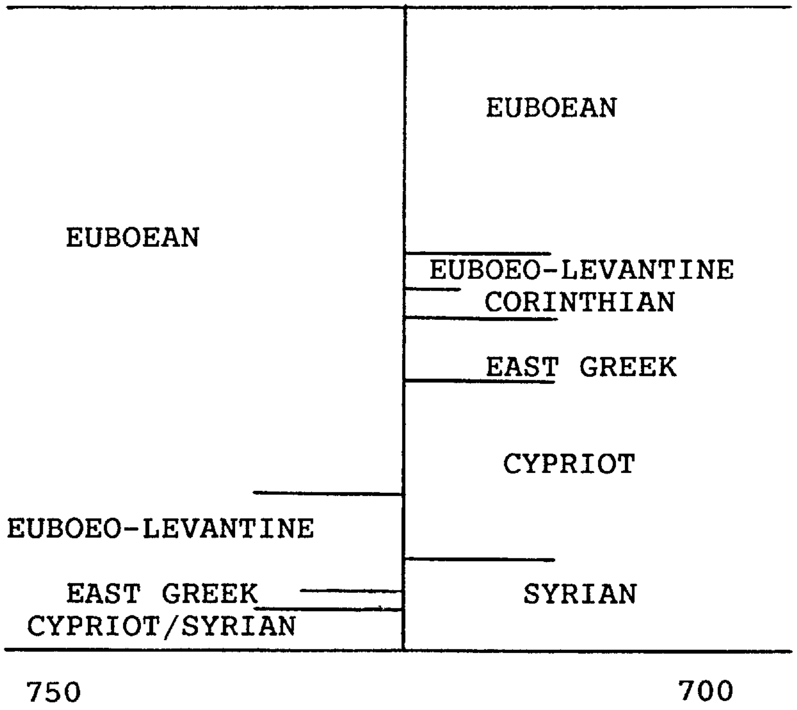

Fig. 2. Proportions of excavated pottery in Al Mina.

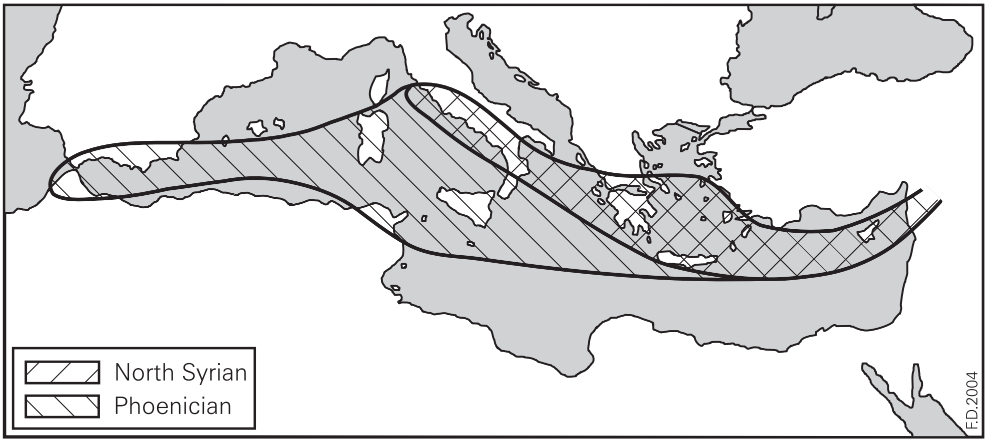

Fig. 3. Distribution of Syrian and Phoenician objects in the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

The Greek presence at Al Mina might have been no more than seasonal, but something very much more substantial seems indicated and there are other indications of active Syrian-Greek cultural rapports.[25] The other finds at Al Mina are mainly Syrian or Cypriot, not Phoenician.

Another influential aspect of the Orientalising revolution in Greece was the adoption of an alphabet. It is becoming more likely now that this derives from Aramaic/Phoenician, where vowel values were being added as early as the 9th century, and so may have been learned from North Syrians rather than Phoenician merchants.[26]

If we review this record from the Assyrian viewpoint, the first and Greek phase at Al Mina includes the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.), an indefatigable mover of populations, and not just for punishment, who might have had reason to tolerate a limited foreign presence that had trade potential; while the second, Graeco-Cypriot, sees the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) to whom seven kings of Cyprus sent gifts.[27] Could it be that the Cypriot presence in Syria was sanctioned or imposed by the Assyrians (like the Israelites who were moved into Samaria), and beside other Greek speakers who had come from lands beyond the Assyrians' grasp?[28] It was perhaps a Cypro-Greek who was to be a trouble-maker in the south (see below). And these were not years in which the Phoenicians slept easy.

At the North Syrian sites inland, and at Tarsus in western Cilicia, the Greek imports, though considerable, may not be enough to argue a presence (nor need one be expected), although publication of finds (except from Tarsus) is lacking. Greek Soloi on the Cilician coast was said to have been founded by 'Argives' and Rhodians; farther west along the Anatolian coast Phaselis was said to be a Dorian (probably Rhodian) foundation, and Nagidos and Kelenderis Samian. The attributions are plausible for an early date, in the light of the Greek associations in Tarsus and Syria, as staging points on the approach to the Levant, but are not yet supported by evidence on the ground.

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[25] In Homer's Syros the Phoenician ship stayed a whole year trading and stocking (*Od.* 15. 455–456). On the evidence for Syrian metalworkers in Al Mina, and thence in the Greek world, see Treister 1995.

[26] Marek 1993; and essays in Baurain *et al.* 1991, especially by A.M. Bisi and J.B.S. Isserlin.

[27] Reyes 1994, 50–6.

[28] Boardman 2001.

South of the Orontes (Ras el-)Bassit echoes the Greek name Posideion, but its possession of a Greek name does not mean that it ever admitted a Greek settlement, although Herodotus (3. 91) knew a Posideion 'on the borders of the Cilicians and Syrians' as a foundation of Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus. The name is more closely located at Bassit by Strabo (16. 2. 8). It has some Greek pottery from the 10th century on but no trace of Greek presence.[29] Tell Sukas is in like case, and farther south the presence of Greek pottery says nothing about the presence of Greeks although it includes some of the earliest found so far in the East.

Eastern documentary sources confirm the archaeological evidence for the presence of Greeks, but of raiders rather than settlers, since raiders are more newsworthy and had to be dealt with. A raid by Ionians (Ia-u-na-a-a) on the Phoenician coast was reported to the Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pileser III, in a letter of the 730s found at Nimrud.[30] Sargon II's Annals record success over Ionians 'caught in the midst of the sea like fish', and may refer to a revolt in Cilicia which he suppressed in 715 B.C.[31] The line between barter and piracy was a fine one in this period but it seems to have led Greeks into involvement with local affairs, on their own account it seems, and not as hired mercenaries (which comes later, though it has been suggested that Al Mina was a mercenary settlement in its first generation),[32] and this could hardly have happened if they were not at hand on a fairly regular basis. But there seems more than a hint of a Greek presence in the naming of a tribute-bearing area between Cilicia and Malatya in a mid-7th-century document as ia-[.]-na, which cannot readily be restored as other than ia-m-na.[33] We have again to judge what is plausible and probable, not what can be absolutely proved. Much farther south, a Yamana was said to have led a revolt in 712 B.C. at Ashdod which Sargon II had to quell. The form of the name has prompted queries about whether it can be at all ethnic, but it recurs elsewhere in the East at just this time, soon after the name for Ionians had been coined. Moreover, this

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29 Courbin 1986; 1993.

30 Saggs 1963, 76–8; Braun 1982a, 14–5, with improved translation; Brinkman 1989, 54–5; Kuhrt 2002.

31 Braun 1982a, 15–6; Jasink 1989; Brinkman 1989, 55–6; Kuhrt 2002.

32 Kearsley 1999, 127–30.

33 Forrer 1920, 53, 83; Braun 1982a, 19; Brinkman 1989, 68 worries about the damaged middle sign but offers no alternative; Kuhrt 2002.

Yamana is also referred to as Yadna, so perhaps he was a Greek Cypriot (Cyprus = Yadnana). Philologists are undecided.[34]

In all this it is clear that from the beginning, and whoever were the initiators of renewed contact between the Greek world and the Levant, land-hunger played no part. The acquisition of goods, whether raw materials or manufactured or human, was the driving force, plus acquisitive curiosity. Any serious trade in metals in the very early period seems improbable, rather than prospecting for barter, but the *Odyssey*'s Taphian carried iron to Cyprus where he sought bronze.[35] Phoenicians may have sought precious metals for themselves and Assyrians,[36] but the East generally was not short of copper and iron. Euboea had iron but it is not certain whether it was mined so early and there is nothing exceptional about the iron objects at Lefkandi in Euboea.[37] The other salient aspect of Greek presence in the East is belligerence: first the involvement of Greek ships in local affairs, to be followed in the next period by the availability of Greek mercenary soldiers. And in early Greece piracy was a respectable profession.[38] The East was not a colonising area for Greeks but it attracted them for other reasons, and they had stronger motives to explore there than the Easterners could have had exclusively in the Euboean Straits.[39]

The Levant after about 700 B.C.

In the 7th and 6th centuries the picture is less clear. The Euboean states may have been at loggerheads in the so-called Lelantine War and fell into rapid decline. Euboean interest in the East ceases, and the flow of Syrian goods into areas of Euboean commercial interest diminishes, which would hardly have been the case if Phoenicians rather than Euboeans had been the principal intermediaries before

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[34] For the ethnic, see Braun 1982a, 16–7; Saporetti 1999; Rollinger 1997. Against the ethnic, see Brinkman 1989, 56, n. 14.

[35] *Od.* 1. 184. *Aithona* probably means bright iron here rather than copper. The Taphians also kidnapped a Phoenician woman, *Od.* 15. 427.

[36] Frankenstein 1979.

[37] Bakhuizen 1975; 1976; Brinkman 1989, 59–60 (on iron from Yamana brought to Uruk in south Babylonia in 551 and 550 B.C.).

[38] Thucydides 1. 15.

[39] Popham 1994, 30.

700 B.C. At Al Mina, where the town was laid out on new lines, suggesting a serious though not necessarily long interruption in its fortunes, Euboean pottery is replaced by wares from East Greece, probably mainly Samos and Miletus, but there is little after about 600 B.C. There is also, however, more pottery now from the Greek mainland, from Corinth, which is probably a symptom of the broader pattern of Greek trading by this time. No doubt the East Greeks took on the Euboeans' rôle at the site, anticipating a very similar function at Naukratis in Egypt (see below), but the evidence is not as clear about their relative importance on the site or possible presence. The notable change in Greek sources suggests again that this was a matter of different Greeks taking up the trade, rather than Easterners turning to other parts of Greece. But there was probably a two-way traffic and a second-stage Orientalising revolution developed in East Greece.

At Tarsus there is more East Greek pottery of the years around and after 700 B.C., perhaps a reflection of Ionian or Rhodian presence or interest along the Pamphylian coast. There is late record of Greek participation in fighting Assyrians in the Tarsus area in the early 7th century, perhaps the occasion of a destruction of that city about 796 B.C., when there seems also to have been a disaster at Al Mina. The source for this is the Early Hellenistic Babylonian priest Berossus, but we have only much later accounts which may derive from him and we learn all this at third-hand only. They involve Sennacherib defeating Ionian warships, but are confused with other and anachronistic detail.[40] Further military involvement by Greeks is attested by an Ionian bronze shield and greave at Carchemish, generally taken to be brought there by a mercenary in the army of Egyptian Necho II, who had occupied the city in 606 and was subsequently expelled. The shield was in a house with many Egyptian objects including a scarab of Psamtek I.[41]

There seems to have been little change under Babylonian rule. 'Ionians' figure among the captive workmen at Babylon in the early 6th century and are designated carpenters, but their names are not

[40] Braun 1982a, 17–9, but it was Cypriot not Greek captive sailors whom Sennacherib used for his ships in the Persian Gulf; see Brinkman 1989, 56, n. 15; Kuhrt 2001.

[41] James 1981, 716; Boardman 1999a, 151. The shield is all-metal-faced and small for a hoplite shield (70cm across), the decoration Ionian.

Greek, though possibly Lycian.[42] Whence were they captured or bought? A rapid decline in the amount of Greek pottery arriving at Al Mina is matched by an increase, though still very modest, on sites farther south. This might indicate a significant shift or diminution of interest on the part of the East Greeks who were being pressed by Lydia, or more interested in Naukratis, or perhaps the change was promoted by Babylon. It makes no sense in terms of a new policy on imports or exports by local rulers, but it is not yet possible to make proportional comparisons of finds between sites, as it was for the earlier period.

Tell Sukas is an important town, a seaside mound with two natural harbours. It had its own route inland to Hama and the upper Orontes valley. The early Greek finds are modest, but a rectangular building of the later 7th century was rebuilt and has some features of a Greek temple, without quite being one. It did, however, have large clay roof tiles, which can only be Greek in this period, and one of them bears a Greek graffito.[43] There are also Greek graffiti on a clay spindle-whorl of about the same date and on a plain vase fragment. Both are said to be of local clay, and both are ownership inscriptions (genitive and *eimi*) of the sort suitable as votives.[44] The vase could be a dedication to Helios, a deity almost peculiar to Rhodes in this early period, while among the imported Greek pottery at the site, which is plentiful in these years, Rhodian seems to predominate.[45] At best, these imply Greek offerings to a local deity who could also bear a Greek identity, but also some involvement in building (the tiles), while the spindle-whorl should be from a resident. They might, of course, attest no more than literate and accomplished slaves. Greek import declines in the second half of the 6th century. There is a case here for a Greek presence, of some sort, on a site which remained in as close contact with North Syria as with the southerly ports, and which received Greeks and Greek goods.

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[42] Braun 1982a, 22–3; Brinkman 1989, 58–9.

[43] Riis 1970, for an account of the temple (esp. pp. 44–6, 52–8, 62–73). Ploug 1978, for the pottery and tiles (esp. pp. 92–9). Perreault 1993, 72–7, properly revises interpretation of the 'temple' but cannot discount the tiles and inscriptions.

[44] Whorl: Riis 1970, 157–8, fig. 53d; Johnston 1993–94, 161–2, but the name Peisagore might also be considered. Sherd with *alioem[i]* (= *Heliou eimi*?): Riis 1970, 78, 85, fig. 26e.

[45] Two Greek pieces per m^2 excavated are reported. See Ploug 1978, 95.

Much farther south there is wide distribution of mainly East Greek pottery, followed by Attic, through the later 7th and 6th century,[46] but evidence for a Greek presence depends not on this but on indications of their rôle as mercenary soldiers on a coast often marched by Babylonians, Egyptians and eventually Persians. One is anecdotal and individual, about Antimenidas, brother of the poet Alcaeus, who fought for the Babylonians, probably at Askalon in 604 B.C.[47] Evidence from excavation is more substantial. Tel Kabri, an inland fortified town, has Greek pottery, including cookhouse ware, which has been taken to indicate the presence of Greek mercenaries employed by Phoenicians(?), overthrown by Babylonians soon after 600 B.C.[48] Farther south, at Mesad Hashavyahu, there is a fort by the sea, but without a harbour, manned at least in part by Greeks to judge from the pottery which again includes kitchenware. The pottery is also East Greek but the date cannot be determined closely enough to identify the occasion. It was almost certainly a fort of Psamtek (Psammetichos) I, and abandoned by about 604 B.C.[49] We shall find Egyptians ready employers of Greek soldiers. There is a hint, though, that Joiakim of Judah employed Greeks (*Kittim* = Greeks of Cyprus?) in the southern frontier town of Arad.[50]

With the Persian period the wide distribution of Greek pottery, usually Athenian and of low quality, throughout the Levant, says more about its popularity with merchants and some customers than about any established Greek presence. Al Mina revives before 500 B.C., after what looks like a Babylonian period of recession.[51] What degree of Greek presence this implies we cannot say, but by now the existence of seasonal or regular foreign quarters in both Greek and Levantine ports must have been commonplace. The 6th-century trade with Greeks (Yawan) described by Ezekiel[52] as involving slaves and bronze vessels could hardly have been conducted at arm's length.

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[46] Wenning 1989, 171; Waldbaum 1993.

[47] Alcaeus fr. 350 (Z 27) Page; Quinn 1961; Braun 1982a, 22.

[48] Niemeyer 1995; Niemeyer and Niemeyer 2002.

[49] For the site, see Naveh 1960; Fantalkin 2001b; for this period in Judah, see Mitchell 1991, 383–401.

[50] Mitchell 1991, 399.

[51] Boardman 1980, 53–4; Elayi 1988; 1989 (on the Persian period).

[52] Ezekiel 27:13.

Egypt

Relations between the Greek world and Egypt have a long history. There were direct routes from the Aegean and Cyprus, and a coastwise return via the Levant coast was by no means compulsory. The stormy season was slightly less of a hazard here and the routes from Rhodes to Egypt and back were open much of the year.[53] In the Iron Age the first Egyptian or Egyptianising objects to reach Greece probably travelled via Cyprus, Syria or Phoenicia. Objects bearing the name of the Pharaoh Bocchoris (720–715 B.C.) appear in Italy and may indicate a period, possibly brief, of some direct contacts. Signs of further contact around 700 B.C. send different messages. Real Egyptian objects begin to appear in East Greece (mainly Rhodes and Samos) to a degree not matched in mainland Greece.[54] Rhodes also seems the source of a large series of Egyptianising faience scarabs and other objects, starting before 700 B.C.[55] These travel far to the west (they are not Phoenician) to markets later served by the products of a factory in Naukratis. This will be considered below, but the succession is a strong indication that the Rhodian faience should be regarded as Graeco-Egyptian.

For the rest of this section Herodotus is an important source but needs to be used with caution. He is in some instances demonstrably wrong; that is, he was misinformed of events or names of up to two centuries earlier by sources more concerned with Egyptian annals than Greek history; but the problems can generally be disentangled and he had visited some important places. Fortunately we are helped by both Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources, and the archaeology is rich.[56]

Psammetichos (Psamtek) I (reigned 664–610 B.C.) has been described as the 'real founder of the [Saïte] dynasty', though fourth in

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[53] Casson 1986, 270–2, based on Demosthenes 66. 30, which records three return trips Rhodes-Egypt while Athenians had to winter at home; and Casson 1994, 514.

[54] Survey in Boardman 1999a, 112–4, 280–1 (for Bocchoris).

[55] For the early scarabs, see Gorton 1996, 182–4. Other early products include the flask to which Coldstream drew attention (1969, 4, pl. 3a–b); see also Webb 1978, 64, with Greek pottery of the earlier 7th century. The Rhodian mass-produced scarabs for the Greek market are prominent at Perachora, a source of other *egyptiaca*. For the 7th century faience, see Webb 1978.

[56] The main secondary sources for this section are Austin 1970; Boardman 1999a, cap. 4, 280–1; James 1981; Lloyd 1975–1988; Haider 1988; 1996, who gives a detailed and lucid account of sources and problems.

the list of kings.[57] He secured Saïte rule in Upper and Lower Egypt from about 656 B.C., though probably largely dependent on the Assyrians who had invaded Egypt in 664/3 B.C. During his reign Greek presence is first attested and established in circumstances sometimes commercial, more often military. The accounts vary in their detail and reliability. Psammetichos had to establish himself in the Delta and hold off the Ethiopian king, Tanutamun. There is an Assyrian record (the Rassam cylinder) of king Gyges of Lydia sending a force to help him in these years. Given the extent of the Lydian empire at that time, it is not impossible that the force included (perhaps even exclusively) those Ionian and Carian mercenaries whom Herodotus says he also recruited, but these could have been acquired independently. They were 'brazen men' (*khalkeoi andres*): that is, equipped in Greek hoplite armour.[58] Only Carians are attested by inscription in Egypt so early, but Herodotus need not have been inventing Ionian participation; he was Carian-born himself and not prone to praise Ionians. He makes them freebooters who arrived accidentally, which is improbable, but he is explicit that it was from this time on that Greeks began to live in Egypt. The Pharaoh treated his mercenaries well, created a school of interpreters, and let them settle in the Camps (*Stratopeda*), on either side of the Pelusian branch of the Nile, where Herodotus saw remains of docks.[59]

Strabo said that in Psammetichos' reign 30 Milesian ships established a fort at the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile (West Delta; the *Milesion teichos*), which sounds belligerent but may not have been and is more interesting for the rôle attributed to Miletus. He goes on to say that the Milesian ships defeated an Inarus (a Libyan name), and since Egyptian sources reveal that Psammetichos was fighting Libyans in 655/4 B.C. it might be that the 'Milesian Wall' was another Greek military/maritime station set up by the Pharaoh. This is, however, quite speculative. The Milesians then, said Strabo, went on to found Naukratis, and there are other hints that the Greeks might have had to struggle for a foothold there.[60]

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[57] Gardiner 1961, 352–7; James 1981, 708–14.

[58] Braun 1982b, 36–7.

[59] Herodotus 2. 152–154. Haider 1988, 153–84, for all sources and discussion.

[60] Strabo 17. 1. 18 (801); Haider 1988, 154–5, 194–9, argues vigorously for the relevance of the Milesian Wall to Psammetichos' policy and Naukratis. For fighting up the Nile, see the report in Aristagoras of Miletus (*FGrH* 608 F 8; Lloyd 1975, 24–5; Braun 1982b, 37).

The first record we have of commercial voyages to or from Egypt refer to Kolaios, a Samian *naukleros* (ship-owner) who visited the Libyan coast, allegedly on his way to Egypt but finishing up in the silver-rich market of southern Spain. This was in about 638 B.C.[61] Diodorus remarks that it was Psammetichos who encouraged Greek trade.[62] In 7th century epic we have Odysseus' tale of a raid from Crete on the coast of Egypt, carrying off goods and women, whence he was eventually kidnapped by a Phoenician.[63] The story could well reflect events of the 8th–7th centuries and recalls the Greek raid on the Phoenician coast of the 730s.

The consensus of various sources in attributing Greek mercenary and commercial presence in Egypt to the reign of Psammetichos I is striking. The implication seems to be that their presence was valued, though Strabo believed that there was a time when the Egyptians had a lookout at Rhakotis (by the later Alexandria) to discourage visitors, especially Greeks who were plunderers and land-hungry.[64] The Camps (in the East Delta) are not identified, nor the Milesian Wall (in the West), but Greek mercenary presence is to be found in Egyptian garrison towns of the East Delta. At Tell Defenneh (Daphnae), where there is a fort and perhaps a palace, a Greek garrison seems well attested by Greek pottery and arms for the generation before the Persian invasion of 525 B.C., but earlier Greek pottery allows speculation about earlier Greek presence. The pottery does not closely match that at Naukratis and has a strong Rhodian element. A larger fort at what is probably Migdol seems in like case, perhaps with Levantine contingents also. The Greek pottery is mainly plain, for storage, and earlier pottery is lacking, though there are some cremation burials with Greek pottery at a site nearby.[65] Greek garrisons in Egyptian forts should probably not be confused with the early Greek mercenary settlements of veterans.

Greek commercial presence under Psammetichos I is demonstrated most clearly by the excavations at Naukratis, which was no fort. This lies on the western, Canopic branch of the Nile, as far upstream as

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[61] Herodotus 4. 152.

[62] Diodorus 1. 67.

[63] Homer *Od.* 14. 245–297; *cf.* 17. 424–444—where he is eventually taken to Cyprus.

[64] Strabo 17. 1. 6 (792); Fraser 1972, 5–6.

[65] Boardman 1999a, 133–5; Oren 1984 (Migdol is site T. 21, the burials at site T. 73); Haider 1988, 199–203.

largish ships might go. It was excavated by the British between 1884 and 1903, and more recent excavation has not been able to add any information about the early period. It was an untidy site, prolific, but stratigraphically unpromising. The earliest Greek pottery is of around 620 B.C. and it seems highly probable that there was no substantial Egyptian settlement there earlier. Greek presence seems to have been established in the last decade or so of Psammetichos' reign, which fits well with the other evidence. The lowest level, at the south of the site, is of heavy burning, suggesting an early disaster, apparently involving timber (a rarity in the Delta) which might indicate ships or shipsheds.[66] Over it lay the foundations of a Greek sanctuary of Aphrodite, well provided with Greek pottery votives, mainly from Chios. Nearby was a factory for faience scarabs and amulets which are in the mass-produced Graeco-Egyptian manner initiated in Rhodes before 700 B.C., and not at all typical of contemporary Egyptian production which is finer. The factory seems to have been active mainly through the reigns of Psammetichos II and Apries (595–570 B.C.) and its products travelled far in the Greek world.[67]

Of the Greek sanctuaries to the north that of Apollo may be as early as Aphrodite's, and there were shrines to Hera and to the Dioskouroi, hardly much later. There was a large adjacent *temenos* with votives inscribed 'to the gods of the Greeks', a combinatory focus for worship of Olympians. Here the pottery seems no earlier than the years just before 550 B.C., so it may be a later foundation serving religious needs not satisfied by the other shrines, of which at least that of Apollo boasted a substantial Ionic temple.

Overall, the pottery down to the Persian invasion of 525 B.C. is overwhelmingly East Greek. Milesian, Rhodian and Chian wares are prominent, with detectable quantities also from Samos (cups for their Hera), Lesbos and Clazomenae. The Corinthian, followed by Attic, follow the general pattern of Greek trade in the popular wares, and there is some Laconian, recalling the strong import to neighbouring Cyrenaica.[68] There is no archaeological evidence for the presence of either Carians or Phoenicians.

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[66] Möller 2000 is now the prime source for Naukratis, and see essays in Höckmann and Kreikenbom 2001. *Cf.* Boardman 1994a, for the interpretation of the lowest levels.

[67] Gorton 1996, Group 6 and 177–83.

[68] Details of sanctuaries and finds in Boardman 1999a, 118–29; Möller 2000. The early pottery is very similar to that found at Al Mina in these years.

All this can be deduced from the excavations. The Egyptian name was Pr-mryt ('house of the harbour'), a term which may or may not relate to the purely Greek name Naukratis, or to any possible earlier settlement.[69] Strabo remarks that it lay little south of Schedia, which was where the tolls for all traffic up- and down-stream were collected in his day, a reflection on its prime position.[70] Herodotus mentions the Milesians' temple of Apollo and the Samians' for Hera, but also the Aeginetans' for Zeus: Aegina is the only homeland Greek state involved, and could account for the arrival of Corinthian and Attic pottery, wares which Aeginetans used at home where there was no distinctive local pottery production. Herodotus also describes a Hellenion,

> built by the joint efforts of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Phaselis, and the Aeolians of Mytilene.

Herodotus thus confirms the archaeological evidence of the dedications 'to the gods of the Greeks'. But he also says that it was the Pharaoh Amasis (A-ahmes) who

> gave [the Greeks] Naukratis as a commercial headquarters for any who wished to settle in the country. He also made grants of land upon which Greek traders, who did not want to live permanently in Egypt, might erect altars and sanctuaries. Of the latter the best-known is the Hellenion . . .
>
> It is to these states that the sanctuary belongs, and it is they who have the right of appointing the officers in charge of the port (*prostatai*)

and Herodotus then mentions the other temples.

> Formerly Naukratis was the only port in Egypt and anyone who brought a ship into any of the other mouths of the Nile was bound to state on oath that he did so of necessity, and then proceed to the Canopic mouth.[71]

Herodotus makes a distinction between residents in Egypt and seasonal traders who are allowed home comforts (temples). He makes Amasis sound like a benefactor, and by the historian's day he may

[69] On the name, see Haider 1988, 189; Lloyd 1988, 222.
[70] Strabo 17. 1. 16; 17. 1. 18 (800–1).
[71] Herodotus 2. 178–179.

have appeared so, but he was in fact restricting Greek activity, which is in keeping with Herodotus' record of him moving the population of the Stratopeda to Memphis.[72] He was 'brought to the throne on a wave of anti-Greek feeling' (A.B. Lloyd).[73] Amasis' regulation of Naukratis does not carry with it the need to deduce that this was its first foundation, whatever Herodotus might have thought (his words are not decisive), given the archaeological and other evidence for its earlier history, but it was an important episode which gave Naukratis a special status.[74] It also explains the Hellenion and its archaeological date, early in Amasis' reign (570–526 B.C.) but later than the earliest Greek presence. That Milesians had some priority at Naukratis seems probable, in the light of their Temple of Apollo and perhaps the story of their 'Wall' on the coast. The situation is explained from non-Greek sources for Egyptian history after Psammetichos I, to which we now turn.

Psammetichos' immediate successors, Necho II (610–595 B.C.) and Psammetichos II (595–589 B.C.), both continued to use Ionian and Carian mercenaries; the former in the Levant, as we have seen; the latter famously in the south, in Nubia in 593/2 B.C., also attested by the graffiti of Greek and Carian soldiers on the monuments of Abu Simbel.[75] Necho was also much involved in shipbuilding, with the aid of Phoenicians and Greeks.[76] Meanwhile this seems a flourishing period for Naukratis, to judge from the variety and volume of Greek pottery there and other objects of a semi-luxury character, while (to pick up Greek gossip) Sappho's eldest brother Charaxus, purveyor of Lesbian wine, got involved with a lady of the town (Doricha/Rhodopis) whose profession was not the least flourishing in Naukratis, to judge from Greek reports.[77]

For what follows we turn to Babylonian and Egyptian sources, notably a cuneiform tablet recording a campaign of Nebuchadnezzar

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[72] Herodotus 2. 154; though hardly 'to guard him against the Egyptians'.

[73] Lloyd 1988, 230.

[74] Other literary dates for the foundation or early existence of Naukratis are discussed by Austin 1970, 23, and Braun 1982b, 38: mid-8th century (Olympiad 7; Eusebian), 688–685 B.C. (Olympiad 23; Polycharmus). Strabo implies the reign of Psammetichos I.

[75] On the campaigns Braun 1982b, 49–52. The graffiti: Boardman 1999a, 115–7; Masson 1994.

[76] James 1981, 720–2; Lloyd 1975a, 32–8; 1975b.

[77] On chronological problems of Rhodopis, see Boardman 1994a, 142.

II, and a stele from Elephantine in Egypt.[78] Apries (Wahibre) succeeded Psammetichos II in 589 B.C. and became involved in an unsuccessful war with Libyans. With the help of mercenaries, including Greeks, and Cypriot ships he confronted the usurper Amasis in 570 B.C. and was defeated at Momemphis, near Naukratis. He returned in 567 B.C. with a fleet in the entourage of an invading Babylonian force, the Babylonians having by now assumed the rôle of the Assyrians in Eastern and Egyptian affairs. The Babylonians and Apries were defeated by Amasis' army, which included Greeks from Cyrenaica, and Apries was killed. In the light of this it is easy to understand Amasis' restrictions on Naukratis early in his reign and tighter control of mercenaries, in Memphis. Herodotus' account conflates the events of 570 and 567 B.C. and he was told nothing about Babylonians, but he does say that Apries' Greek and Carian troops numbered 30,000.[79] Once the Greeks in Egypt were under control Amasis could afford to appear generous, or condescending, to the Greek states whose commerce with Egypt could only have been to the benefit of his land; this is well documented by Herodotus, by whose time the image of Amasis the philhellene had been well established.[80]

Elsewhere Greek goods and influence were widespread but their presence could only have been temporary, and Carians are in better evidence as residents and soldiers, with Graeco-Egyptian tomb monuments inscribed in Carian at Saqqara and Abusir, unmatched by anything wholly Greek. Carians are generally paired with the Greeks in sources but it seems that their status as mercenaries may have been better established, and they were also formidable seafarers.[81] Both were well represented in Memphis, as *Karo-* and *Helleno-memphitai*.[82] In Naukratis some Greeks were making cheap votives—notably plain Chian cups with bespoke inscriptions, which were also ordered by Aeginetans and taken home, and in the earlier 6th century the many Egyptianising faience scarabs, already remarked, which were well dispersed in the Mediterranean world. Varieties of 'Rhodian'

[78] Most recent discussion is Reyes 1994, 72–6; see also Lloyd 1988, 178–80; Edel 1978; Boardman 1994a.

[79] Herodotus 2. 161, 163, 169.

[80] Herodotus 2. 178–182 for his beneficence.

[81] See Austin 1970, 17, 55–7 (for the Carians' reputation); Masson 1980; Braun 1982b, 43–8.

[82] Braun 1982b, 36, 46–7.

situlae, well represented at Daphnae (Tell Defenneh), may be local products too. There are various indications of Greek awareness of a Greek market in Egypt even if not of an Egyptian one for much other than wine or oil. Naukratis became a classic example of what is now called a port-of-trade.[83]

With Persian occupation of Egypt in 525 B.C. Greek pottery import fell away. This does not mean reduced activity rather than a probable change in the Greek way of life there, no longer to be measured by imported decorated vases. In 475 B.C. we have harbour records of Ionians importing Ionian wine and vases, Phoenicians importing Sidonian wine, among other things, and both departing with loads of natron. This may have been sought also in the Archaic period; the Greeks liked pickling fish and the natron was essential. It is likely that Persian rule loosened Amasis' restrictions.[84] Naukratis long remains a wholly Greek town with a totally mixed Greek population, eventually regarded as a *polis*. Since it was not a colony devoted to an expansionist interest in land, but only to trade of mutual benefit to Greeks and Egyptians, its prosperity could be tolerated and even encouraged by Egyptians and Persians, until Greeks again shifted the main focus of trade to Alexandria, placed at the mouth of that arm of the Nile on which Naukratis had been founded three centuries earlier. Elsewhere there may well have been many Greeks in residence, as well as Carians, Phoenicians and Jews, though the reason would normally have been commercial or military (mercenary). Marriages with Egyptian women were probably not permitted, and it was not only through taxes that the Egyptians kept as firm a grip as they could on their many foreign immigrants.[85]

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[83] On this, see especially Möller 2000; and generally, Roebuck 1951; 1959; Austin 1970, cap 3; Braun 1982b, 38–42. On Greek manufacture and objects in Egypt, see Boardman 1999a, 133–41, 280; and on the Chian cups, see Boardman 1986.
[84] Herodotus 2. 179 describes the restrictions as applying 'formerly' (*to palaion*).
[85] Lloyd 1975, 19–20, 27–8. Samian veterans settled in an oasis in the western desert which they called the Island of the Blessed (*Makaron nesoi*): Herodotus 3. 26; perhaps Khargeh oasis.

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AL MINA AND SABUNIYE IN THE ORONTES DELTA: THE SITES

Hatice Pamir

Al Mina, In the Orontes delta, functioned as one of the important trading centres of the eastern Mediterranean between the 8th and 4th centuries B.C. The site was explored, excavated and soon after published by Sir Leonard Woolley,[1] who hoped to find traces of links between the early civilisations of the Aegean and the cultures of the Near East.[2] The results of his excavation and his suggestion that the site was the main trading centre of the Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean led to a heated discussion concerning Al Mina and its geopolitical status. This discussion, which centres on whether Al Mina was founded as an *emporion* by Greek settlers or merchants, or by Phoenicians whose merchants traded there alongside Greeks and Cypriots, continues to engage archaeologists and historians.[3] In order to clarify the issue, fresh archaeological evidence has been collected from the site and combined with a regional perspective.

The Orontes Delta Survey Project began in 1999, as part of the Amuq Valley Regional Project, under the auspices of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago and the Mustafa Kemal University, Antakya, Turkey.[4] The project aims to complement Woolley's research and to conduct a comprehensive investigation of the Orontes delta. Its main purpose is to collect long-term archaeological and environmental evidence of human activity in the area. The investigation

[1] Woolley 1937, 1–15; 1938, 1–30, 133–70.

[2] Woolley 1938, 1.

[3] For the last several decades Al Mina has been a central issue for classical archaeologists and historians interested in Greek colonisation, Mediterranean trade, and cultural contacts between East and West. For the history of research at Al Mina, see Boardman 1999, 135–63. See also Kearsley 1999, 109–32; Boardman 1990, 169–90; 2002; Waldbaum 1997, 1–18; Graham 1986, 51–65; Perreault 1993. See also J. Boardman's chapter in the present volume.

[4] See detailed publication of the results of the project in Pamir and Nishiyama 2002. See also Boardman 2002.

includes systematic surface surveys and geological analysis of the sediment deposited by the Orontes river. In addition, geomorphological research has been set in train to define the changes to the coastline caused by tectonic and seismic movements. It is hoped that the project will move discussion about Al Mina into a new phase.

This chapter is a brief overview of what we have been undertaking in the Orontes delta, with special focus on the surface surveys at two important sites: Al Mina and Sabuniye.

The Geographical and Cultural-Historical Context of the Orontes Delta

Al Mina's location on the northern bank of the Orontes river was ideal for local as well as international trade. The river provided navigable access from the Mediterranean to Antiocheia (modern Antakya/Hatay).[5] Its delta, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, was shaped and reshaped by both alluvial deposits and tectonic movements.[6] The delta is triangular, approximately 40 km^2 in area, with Samandağ, Cilli and Çevlik serving as interstices (Fig. 1).[7]

Of importance is the fact that the delta region is closely connected both culturally and physically with the Amuq plain, which in turn is connected by overland trade routes with the Anatolian highlands to the north, North Syria and Upper Mesopotamia to the east, South Syria and Palestine to the south, and the Mediterranean coast to the west.[8] In the 2nd millennium B.C. Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh) was the chief political and administrative centre in the plain, its main access to the Mediterranean and beyond (especially Cyprus and the Aegean) apparently being through the Antakya Gorge and along the Orontes to the delta. Woolley's excavation revealed that the only Iron Age port city in the delta was Al Mina, which he considered to be the port for Alalakh.[9] He claimed that the earlier periods had been swept out to sea by the changing courses of the river.[10]

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[5] Several ancient sources (Strabo 16. 2. 7) state that the Orontes river was navigable in at least certain periods in antiquity. The Gorub Papyrus mentions its navigability in 246 B.C. (Holleaux 1942, 281–309). Riverboats were sailing up the Orontes (upwards of 4.8km) at least 30 years ago (*Admiralty Chart* 1976, 100).

[6] Erol and Pirazzoli 1992, 320.

[7] Erol 1963, 8.

[8] Alkim 1969, 280; Yener *et al.* 2000, 163.

[9] Woolley 1937, 2, 12.

[10] Woolley 1937, 4.

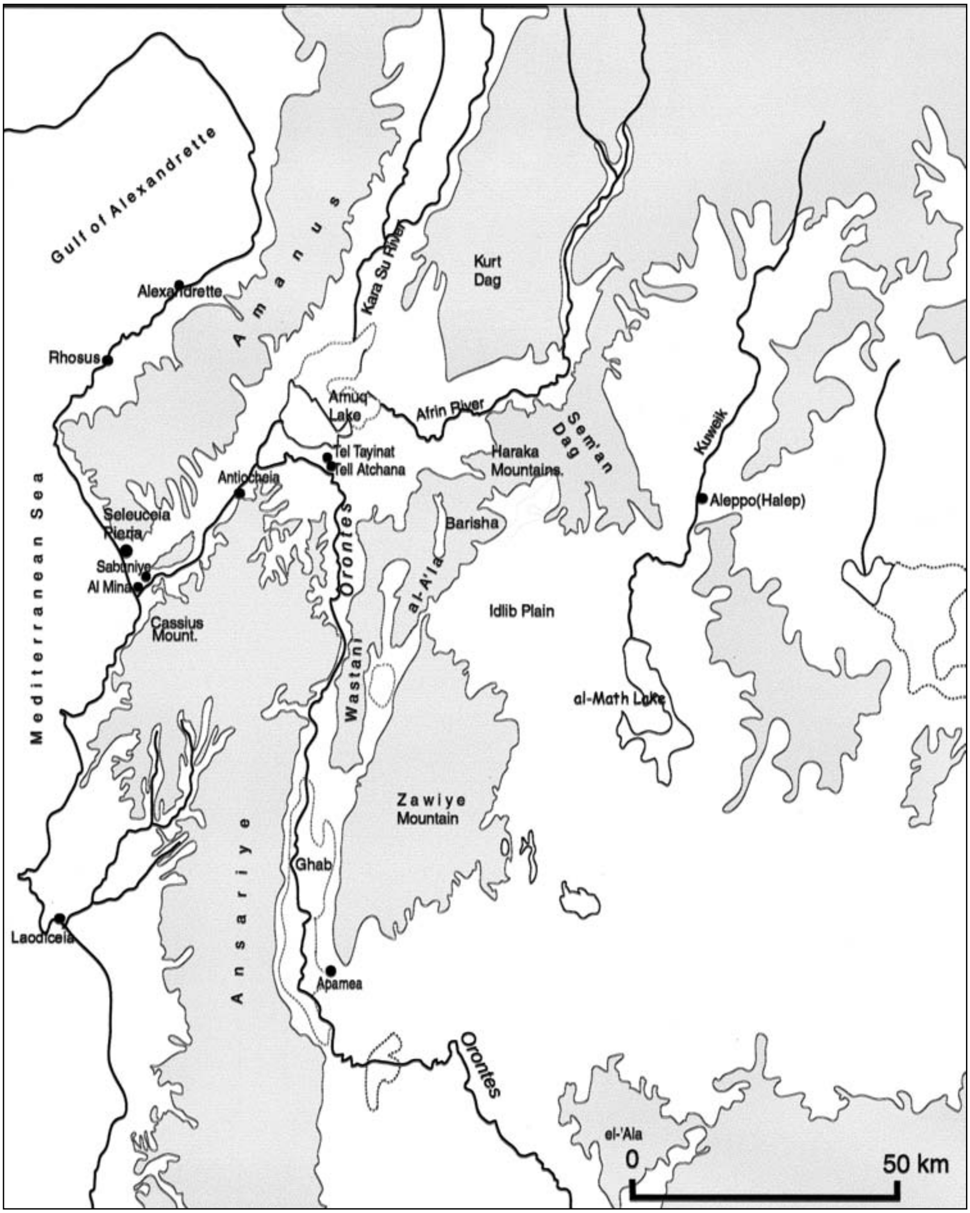

Fig. 1. Map of the north-western Levant; the Orontes delta and the Amuq plain.

There are few favourable locations for ports in the northern Levant. The Orontes delta is one; the most famous is around Latakia, where Ras Shamra (Ugarit) and Ras Ibn Hani are located; and the others are on the coast in the region of Tartus-Jeble and Ras el-Bassit. Despite its significance, the Orontes delta is the only one of these areas not to have been studied archaeologically since Woolley's excavation at Al Mina. Discussions of Al Mina are based entirely on the material he excavated. The geographical position of the site, its relation with Sabuniye and the delta as a whole, await further archaeological investigation. However, Woolley did conduct some research on the delta and explored along the river inland to Sabuniye, regarding it as the residence of traders who worked in Al Mina.[11]

Location of Al Mina

Al Mina is located (N 36° 03' 679", E 35° 58' 433") on the northwestern bank of the Orontes. The mound is small and low-lying, about 250m from the modern river channel and 1.8km from its mouth and the present coastline (Figs. 1–2). Orchards, fields and village houses surround the mound, which is oriented NW-SE and measures approximately 80m (E-W) × 200m (N-S), that is some 1.6ha. Its height ranges between 2m and 5m on the east and south, owing to the remnants of the large sondages of the 1930s excavations. Levelling for a modern road (maximum height 0.5m) cuts the west side. The eastern point of the mound is about 20m above sea level. The main boundaries are the modern road, the orchards and the fields. There is a Muslim shrine on the northern edge known as Seyh Yusuf el-Garib Türbesi, which sadly covers the only undestroyed or untouched portion of the mound. The southern part of this summit is occupied by a farmhouse, and hereabouts is a 50 × 60m field in which seasonal agriculture is practised. It is here that one encounters a dense scattering of ceramic material.

Survey of Al Mina

The field season at Al Mina was carried out in 1999. The general surface collection confirmed all the ceramic sequences mentioned in

[11] Woolley 1937, 13.

Fig. 2. Southern part of the Orontes delta and Al Mina.

Woolley's excavation results. The fragments collected include all the periods specified by J.D. Beazley, C.M. Robertson and J. du Plat Taylor.[12] No study has yet been conducted on analysis of the local Hellenistic and Roman fragments from Al Mina. The surface collection includes material of these periods as well as local Byzantine and Islamic sherds, these last two found especially on the western part of the mound in the modern village of Liman Mahallesi.

In order to determine the extent of the area of occupation, 14 sample squares (5 × 5m) were set out on or around the mound. Within them, every artefact was collected, counted and recorded. Preliminary results of this intensive sampling suggest that the area of the modern village had also been settled in antiquity, and that the area of occupation therefore extended further west and northwest than had been assumed hitherto. While collecting ceramic fragments in the village area, some architectural remains were identified.[13]

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[12] Beazley 1939, 1–43; Robertson 1940, 3–21; Taylor 1959, 62–92.

[13] According to a villager, some architectural remains constructed with ashlar masonry were found about 3m below the modern land surface.

Despite the heavy cultivation around the mound, the result of the sample squares shows that a high number of fragments were scattered to the east and south-east of the mound, which may indicate that the site extends some 10–15m beyond the present edge of the mound.

Towards the south-eastern edge of the mound, a relatively long 'cut' was found, approximately 40m in length, 1.3m in height and at its highest point about 3m below the summit of the mound, revealing part of the mound's accumulation. Four archaeological levels were identified, two from the bottom of the cut yielding Roman-Byzantine and Hellenistic artefacts respectively.

The result of the survey so far suggests that the site is significantly larger than Woolley indicated. Current investigations show that the mound extends considerably to the west.

Sabuniye

Since the aim of our project is to investigate the whole delta, another important site was examined in relation to Al Mina: the less well-known Sabuniye. Here, in 1936, Woolley made only a sondage[14] and devoted less than a page of his report to it. Since then, the site has been neglected and its exact location was completely lost for several decades. According to Woolley the site lies three miles (5km) upstream from Al Mina along the Orontes. He also mentions that

> the hill is natural, a flat topped mass of very friable conglomerate whose sides, now gently terraced, were once precipitous; the disintegration of the rock had resulted in the destruction of everything on the summit, and in the burial of whatever may have been at its foot beneath an enormous mass of detritus. . . .
>
> The top of the rock had been enclosed by a massive wall of rubble and mud brick, and the rock face below had been artificially scraped, so that it formed an acropolis likely to be proof against any attack by a barbarian enemy. . . .[15]

Woolley's investigations at the site showed that period of occupation parallels that of Al Mina, except for the Late Bronze Age. There

[14] Woolley 1937, 11–2; 1959, 179.
[15] Woolley 1937, 11; 1959, 179.

were Mycenaean fragments of the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., white slip 'milk bowls' of the 15th century, and a cylinder seal from about the 18th century. Woolley thought that Sabuniye was the dwelling place of the merchants of Al Mina, the two having a relationship akin to that between Piraeus and Athens.[16]

According to Woolley, the Mycenaean pottery found at Sabuniye, 'though not at Al Mina since it would have been in that part of the mound which has disappeared', was the evidence of the link with tradition.[17] Although he mentions a large collection of ceramics and metal objects, as well as coins from the Byzantine period, he failed to publish them.[18]

Locating Sabuniye

In the 1999 season Sabuniye was rediscovered close to the Orontes, located on the southern promontory of a natural hill known as Hisallitepe (N 36° 04' 976", E 36° 00' 089"), the westernmost hill of a range which rises in height towards the east to join the Mount St Simeon range. The floodplain north of the Orontes commences where this range ends.

The site measures approximately 150m (N-S) × 75m (E-W), about 1.2ha. It is at the confluence of two rivers, about 55m above sea level and 30m above the present extensive floodplains: the first extends to the south and west, whilst to the north is that created by the Wadi Mutayran. The western and northern slopes of the natural rocky outcrop on which the mound lies are very steep and appear to have been cut artificially; the southern slopes rise more gently with terraces. The outcrop is of conglomerate composition.

The Results

The finds from Sabuniye suggest that occupation began in the Middle to Late Bronze Age and continued into the Iron Age. Attic black- and red-figure wares, and the collection of Hellenistic and Roman-

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[16] Woolley 1959, 179.
[17] Woolley 1959, 179.
[18] Woolley 1937, 11, 12 note 1; 1959, 179.

Byzantine ceramics suggest that occupation continued during these periods as well.

Consequently, our survey results suggest that Sabuniye existed from the Middle-Late Bronze Age to the Islamic period. They may indicate that it was a part of a Late Bronze Age gateway settlement to funnel goods to the Amuq plain and beyond. It confirms the work of Woolley that the Orontes delta was another port area opened to the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age.

Sabuniye now lies 5.3km inland. The fact that it is so far from the coast should not be regarded as a reason why it could not have been an international trading centre or port. If, a millennium after the first occupation of Sabuniye, ships were still able to travel 25km inland to Antiocheia, the same route could have been in use much earlier.

Conclusions

The results of the survey suggest that Woolley's description of Al Mina was fundamentally accurate, although the size of the mound is not as he described: it extends considerably further to the west than he indicated. The surface collection from the southern and western faces of the mound at Sabuniye includes Middle-Late Bronze Age material, some with clear Aegean and Cypriot connexions. It appears to confirm what Sabuniye's geographical position suggests: that it was the limit of navigation up the river and served as an entrepôt linking the Mediterranean with the inland cultures of the Amuq and western Syria.

Understanding of the shifting coastline and its effect provides essential information on the rôles Al Mina and Sabuniye played in antiquity. Sabuniye may once have been the port for Atchana, displaced by Al Mina for political and geological reasons. The use of Al Mina as a harbour does not necessarily suggest that Sabuniye was abandoned. Once Seleuceia Pieria was built, all trade and port activities moved there from Al Mina, but Al Mina continued to be occupied through the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

There are many questions awaiting answers: the relationship between Sabuniye and Al Mina, and the port city concept in the delta; their rôle in trade via the Amuq plain between the hinterland, Cyprus, the Aegean and other Mediterranean cultures; the possibility of some

other Bronze Age site on the plain. Work in the Orontes delta is still at an early stage, and we hope to continue archaeological and geomorphological investigations there in the future.

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